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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,  
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NOTES AND QUERIES,  
CONCERNING THE  
ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY  
OF  
AMERICA.

VOL. V. SECOND SERIES.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.  
HENRY B. DAWSON.  
1869.

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## PREFATORY NOTE.

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The close of our Fifteenth Volume affords an opportunity to return our thanks for the continued kindness of our subscribers and contributors, and to solicit, respectfully, an extension of it.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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JANUARY, 1869.

[No. 1.]

I.—THE FIRST BLOOD SHED IN THE  
AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

THE BATTLE OF GOLDEN-HILL.

We know of no subject, connected with the history of America, which has been more frequently discussed and more persistently misrepresented than the time when and the place where occurred the first conflict, between the Colonists and the soldiery, which resulted in the shedding of blood by the latter, in their assaults upon the rights, the property, and the persons of the former.

One portion of the disputants in this warfare of words, has steadily and systematically contended for LEXINGTON and THE NINETEENTH OF APRIL, 1775; and every school-book which those who compose it have been permitted to control, and every volume of greater pretension which they have produced, have been as zealously employed in the dissemination of this baseless theory, as if its nothingness had not been, long-ago, exposed, and the evidence of its entire falsity never been submitted to the world.

Another party in the contest, composed mainly of Vermontese and those of other States who are in the interest of Vermont, has insisted that the first conflict was at WESTMINSTER, in Cumber-land, now Windham, County, in that State; and that William French, who fell there, on the THIRTEENTH OF MARCH, 1775, was the proto-martyr of American Independence.

More moderate than the others whom we have referred to, those who compose this faction have made no very strenuous effort to give currency to their ill-founded pretensions; preferring, rather, to assert their claim, with dignity, in the written histories of the State; to perpetuate it by proposing to erect a substantial monument to the memory of their hero, and to leave the rest to the candid students of their Country's History and to the annalists of that eventful period.

A third party, less numerous than any other, has directed our attention to THE ALAMANCE, IN NORTH CAROLINA, and told us that there, on the SIXTEENTH OF MAY, 1771, the "Regulators," as the disaffected Colonists were called in that vicin-

ity, met and fought, in battle, the Royal troops, commanded by the Colonial Governor, Tryon, who had been their oppressors; but this faction, like the last-named, seems to have been disposed to leave the subject, quietly, in the hands of the annalists of that State and period and in those of the more faithful students of the general history of the American Revolution.

A fourth party, scarcely less numerous and nearly as clamorous as the first-named, has pressed the claim, long since made, of KING-STREET, BOSTON, where, on the evening of THE FIFTH OF MARCH, 1770, a mob of the town's-people wantonly insulted the sentry who was on duty there and the main-guard which was turned out for his support, was fired on by the excited soldiery whom it had thus lawlessly abused, and was duly "massacred," as rioters are often "massacred," by the legally-constituted guardians of the public peace.

In behalf of each of these localities, as we have said, a party has been raised, more or less numerous and more or less clamorous, to assert and maintain its right to the assumed honor of having been the place where the first blood was shed in defence of the natural and legal rights of the Colonists, in the great struggle which is known in History, as THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION; and we propose, very briefly, to notice these several claims and to ascertain, as nearly as possible, which, if either, is entitled to what seems to have become a much-coveted honor in the land.

As to "The Battle of Lexington," so called, there need be no dispute concerning either its character or its date; and the affair at Westminster, also, seems to be equally well-defined, in all that relates to the matter now under consideration. It is clear, however, that if these were truly conflicts between the Colonists and the Crown, concerning the rights of the former which had been lawlessly invaded by the latter, to the full extent which has been claimed for them by their most earnest advocates, they were not more conspicuous instances of patriotic devotion to the popular cause than that, on the Alamance, in which "the Regulators," of North Carolina, under the leadership of James Hunter,

resisted the arrogant tyranny of the Royal Governor, William Tryon; while the latter evidently ante-dated the affair at Westminster and the, so-called, "Battle of Lexington," nearly four years. For the purpose of this inquiry, therefore, "The Battle of the Alamance," fought on the sixteenth of May, 1771, is better entitled to the honor of *priority* than either Lexington or Westminster; while the *character* of that contest, in the forests of North Carolina, as a struggle to secure the rights of man from the invasion of them by a local tyrant, was even more notable than it was, subsequently, on the village-green at Lexington or in the Court-house at Westminster.

From the Alamance, on the sixteenth of May, 1771, therefore, looking on the Past, what instance had there been, if any, of the shedding of blood in the cause of the liberties of the Colonists, before that date?

"The Boston Massacre," as Boston has delighted to call the overthrow of the rioters in King-street, in that Town, on the fifth of March, 1770, was indeed earlier, by fourteen months, than "The Battle of the Alamance;" but, while it indisputably ante-dated the latter, it lacked the character which is as essential as the date, in the determination of the question which is now under consideration.

Instead of a contest between the towns-people and the soldiery, for the defence of some popular right which had been lawlessly invaded by the tools of the Government, it was simply the intemperate outburst of a mob, wantonly insulting a sentry who was on his post of duty and the main-guard which was turned out for his support, and the subsequent chastisement of that mob, and its dispersion, by the justifiable "massacre" of some of the offenders. We cannot concede to King-street, Boston, therefore, the standing, as a contestant for the honor of priority in the patriotic sacrifice of life in the cause of the Colonies, which has been claimed for it; and we have the less hesitation in thus passing judgment, since legally empannelled juries of "the solid men of Boston," in the midst of the excitement occasioned by the transaction, by solemnly acquitting the commanding officer and the greater number of the guard, entirely relieved the soldiery from the heavy charges under which they had staggered, and justified the homicide of the rioters, which had been styled "Murder;" and, as certainty, they fastened upon the townsmen the onus of an unprovoked aggression on the troops, and branded them as transgressors against, rather than conservators of, the written law.

Ante-dating both Lexington and Westminster, and possessing necessary characteristics which were not possessed by King-street, Boston, "The Battle of the Alamance" evidently stands, preeminent, as the earliest of the revolutionary uprisings

in America, against the soldiery of the King, which resulted in the actual shedding of blood; unless some earlier contest than we have yet alluded to shall be found recorded in the annals of that period. Such a record really exists; and, while King-street, in Boston, is thereby fairly ante-dated, the Alamance itself can boast of no more honorable or patriotic character than that which belongs to the City of New York, as the last claimant of the honor of having first resisted the aggressions of the soldiery and first shed her blood in defence of the legal and natural rights of the Colonists, on GOLDEN-HILL, near Pearl-street, on FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH OF JANUARY, 1770.

We are not insensible of the fact that this "Battle of Golden-hill," concerning which this very important claim has been asserted, has not been recognized, nor even alluded to, by the greater portion of those who have most diligently sought to give tone to the sentiment of the Country and to be considered the best informed in all that relates to the Past of the Republic; notwithstanding the same persons have quite as industriously paraded, with great ostentation and as primary causes of the American Revolution and of the War which resulted therefrom, the unprovoked riot in King-street, Boston, and the inoffensive parade on the village-green at Lexington—both of them subsequent to the other, in point of time, and neither of them to be compared with it, in point of political significance—whenever, either in season or out of season, they have found an opportunity to do so. We are not ignorant, also, of the causes which have evidently controlled these falsifiers, in thus concealing an important fact for the purpose of unduly adding dignity to another in which, were it not for that concealment, no such dignity would have been found. Indeed, the intelligence of the country has been so often insulted by the literary insolence of the *coterie* to whom we have alluded, that it is rather a matter of surprise, and of congratulation, too, that it has wandered, in this instance, as far from its well-trodden paths as the village of Lexington; and the fact that it has also discovered that any opposition to the Home Government was ever entertained in any hole or corner outside of Boston, is so far demonstrative of the truth, so often heard, now-a-days, that Boston is gradually passing into the hands of those whom, until recently, she knew not, that we are not without hope that our children may be permitted to hear, on Beacon-hill, what we have not, *notwithstanding its truthfulness*, that Massachusetts was not a leader, but an underling, in the cause of the Colonies against the Government; that she was a timid follower, instead of a gallant leader, in the cause of Revolution; that her blood was shed, at Boston, at Lexington,

and at Bunker's-bill, through no well-determined agency of her own; and that her post-Revolutionary pilferings from the well-earned trophies of her sisters entitle her to take position rather among the camp-followers, than as one of the leading belligerents, in the contest. To how much credit Massachusetts is really entitled on the claim of having yielded the first blood which was shed in the cause of the Colonies, during the American Revolution, whether at Lexington or in King-street, in April, 1775, or in March, 1770, let the following well-supported facts bear witness; and let them bear witness, also, to what portion Massachusetts is entitled, of the promised recompense of those who improperly removeth their neighbors' landmarks.

From an early day, the great body of the Colonists, in New York, had manifested considerable uneasiness concerning the maintenance, among them and at their expense, during a time of Peace, of a standing military force; and the Assembly of that Colony had steadily claimed the right to judge, for itself, of the necessity for establishing and providing for such a force\*—it had even refused, with great stubbornness, to supply any stores to the Royal Army whom it had not ordered into the Colony and whom it could not control, notwithstanding the Country was then engaged in an Expedition against Canada, especially for the establishment of security for the frontiers of New York.† It was reasonable, therefore, that the officers and soldiers of the Royal Army, who were stationed in that Colony, should consider the greater number of those among whom they were thus quartered, as their natural enemies; that there should not be wanting, between them, frequent differences and outbursts of passion; and that aggressive acts, by way of retaliation for fancied or intended insults, should sometimes be indulged in by either party, tending, at once, to annoy those against whom they were especially directed and to disturb the public Peace, if, indeed, they did not serve, also, gradually, but surely, to sap the foundations of the Monarchy within the Colony, and to promote Revolution.

This spirit of deep-seated antagonism among the Colonists had intensified the opposition which, in the Summer of 1766, was raised by the Assembly of New York, against the provisions of the Mutiny Act, which, in the Spring of 1765, had been re-enacted, in an amended form, by the Parliament;‡ and it had, undoubtedly, also added

point to the taunts, and jeers, and ridicule, which were hurled on the soldiers by the populace, when, by the adverse action of the Assembly, the latter were deprived of the Fuel and Lights, the Bedding and Cooking-utensils, the Salt and Vinegar, and the Small-beer or Cider, which should have been provided for their use, under the provisions of the Act which had been thus resolutely disregarded and nullified.\* Indeed, the ill-feeling of the Colonists against the soldiery was manifested on every conceivable occasion and in every conceivable manner; and whenever, as in the case of the Stamp Act riots, in 1765, the populace rose in its might, to oppose the aggressions of the Government on the individual or collective rights of the Colonists, the Royal Army was immediately assumed to represent those whose measures were thus resisted, and as promptly doomed to endure the worst insults of those who were thus resisting them.† On the other hand, as we have intimated, the soldiers were not slow to retaliate; and it is not improbable that the peculiar circumstances attending their situation caused their officers to wink at their ill-advised conduct, if not to prompt some of their most of-

the Ministry then in power, as a vindication of the principles, in the Stamp Act, which had been so successfully resisted by the Colonists. All this, however, is erroneous. The Act itself was a measure of long standing, renewed from time to time, and with provisions which extended over all the dominions of the King, European and American; and even the most offensive of the provisions of the Act which was then in force—those relating to the supply of the Garrisons in America—were enacted in the Spring of 1765, long before the Stamp Act was forcibly resisted, or seriously controverted, even in the most disaffected of the American Colonies.

Without reference to any others, the reader will find in the "Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion and for the better payment of the Army and their Quarters"—23 George II.—and in those, with very similar titles, passed in the beginning of the following Reign—5 George III, Chapter VII; 5 George III, Chapter XXXIII, for instance—the principal features of the Act complained of, which is known in the Statute-books as "6 Geo. III. Cap. XVIII," will be found provided for.

\* The provisions of this Act, of which complaint was especially made, were in these words:

"And, whereas, there are several Barracks, in several places in His Majesty's said dominions in America, or some of them, provided by the Colonies for lodging of soldiers, in lieu of quarters, for the ease and convenience, as well of the inhabitants in such Colonies as of the soldiers so put out and placed in such barracks, or in hired or uninhabited houses, out-houses, barns, and other buildings, they shall be, from time to time, furnished and supplied there, by the persons to be authorized and appointed for that purpose, by the Governor and Council of each respective Province, or upon neglect or refusal of such Governor and Council, in any Province, then by two Justices of the Peace residing in or near such places, with candles, fire-wood, vinegar, salt, bedding, and utensils for cooking their victuals, and small-beer, or cider, not exceeding five pints, or half a pint of rum, mixed with a quart of water, to each man, without paying therefor."

† Instances of this feeling among the inhabitants were seen in the insult which was offered to the Garrison of Fort George, when the armed populace boldly knocked at the Gate of that work, and demanded the surrender to its leaders, of the boxes of Stamps which had been placed therein, for safe-keeping; and the destruction of Major James's residence, for words rashly spoken, affords a similar instance of the feeling referred to in the text.

\* Vide Dawson's *Sons of Liberty in New York*, 44, 45, and the authorities quoted and referred to, therein.

† Governor Clinton's Warrant to the Commissioners of the Colony, September 29, 1746; Commissioners' Report thereon to the Assembly, November 8, 1746; Journal of the Assembly, Morning Session, November 8, 1746; Governor Clinton's Despatches, June 22, 1747, November 15, 1748, August 7, 1749, October 4, 1752, etc.

‡ This Mutiny Act has generally been supposed to have been a special measure of opposition to the Colonists, by



fensive aggressions on the private rights of the inhabitants—the latter were not exempt therefore, from the suspicion of the Colonists, as we shall presently show, of being the personal, but disguised, leaders of the soldiers in some of the most lawless of the insults which were thrown by the Garrison on the inhabitants of the City.

As we have intimated, the Assembly of the Colony boldly disregarded the requirements of the Mutiny Act, so called. In December, 1765, it resolutely refused to vote a shilling for the provision of the Garrisons, within the Colony, with the Fuel and Lights, Bedding and Cooking-utensils, Salt and Vinegar, Cider or Beer, which that Act directed to be provided by the local authorities;\* and in June, 1766, while it conceded some portion of the demand, it as promptly disregarded other portions of the same Act, and refused to supply such articles for the use of the Garrison as were not supplied by the local authorities, in like cases, to the Garrisons in Europe.† In both these instances, by its stub-

bornness, the Assembly completely overawed both the General commanding the Forces and

"Troops then under orders of march for this city, the consideration of the Message I sent was postponed till after the arrival of the Troops by which they were put to very great Inconveniences and afterwards such resolutions were entered into that appeared to me as evasive as they were unexpected. After informing the General with what had passed, I sent a second Message, which was ordered in such a manner as to require a categorical answer which laid them under some difficulties for altho' it appeared plainly that they did not choose to shew that obedience which was due to an Act of Parliament it was as evident that they were too apprehensive of all the ill consequences which would attend their refusing to comply with it. They have now ordered a Bill to be brought in for providing Barracks, Fire Wood, Candles, bedding, and utensils for the Kitchen as demanded, but the Articles of Salt, Vinegar, Cider or Beer are not to be included in the Bill, being furnished with this Pretence for leave them out that they are not provided in Europe for his Majesty's Troops which are in Barracks." \* \* \*—Governor MOORE'S Despatch to the Home Government, "FORT GEORGE, N. YORK, June 20, 1766."

We have been permitted to copy, and now re-print for the first time, the proceedings of the General Assembly, on this subject, from the only known copy of the Journal of that Session of the General Assembly. For this privilege we are indebted to our friend, GEORGE HENRY MOORE, LL.D., the well-known Librarian of the New-York Historical Society.

"Die Jovis, 9 ho. A. M. the

"19th June, 1766.

"The House (according to order) resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House upon his Excellency's Message of the 13th instant, recommending the making provision for Quarters, Bedding, Utensils, &c. for a number of troops mentioned in a return accompanying the said Message: After some time spent in considering the same, Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair, and Mr. Philip Livingston reported the Resolutions of the Committee; which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the Table, where the same were again read, and are as follows, viz.

"Resolved

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the General Assembly of this Colony have always been ready and willing to comply with every requisition made to them by Order, and for the service of his Majesty; nor can they recollect one single instance wherein they have withheld the aid requested.

"Resolved

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the requisition made by the above mentioned Message, is of such a nature and tendency, that should it be granted, the expense might, and probably would, very soon exceed the ability of this Colony to pay; as the number of troops that may from time to time require the like provision, are to this Committee entirely unknown, and the Articles required for the greatest part, as this Committee is informed, unprecedented.

"Resolved

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the requisition now made will amount at least to three pence per day, for each private man, exclusive of Beds and Bedding.

"Resolved

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the House upon a proper requisition from the crown for that purpose, should be at the expense of furnishing Barracks, Bedding, Utensils for dressing Victuals and Firewood and Candles, for a proportionable part of the Troops, with the rest of the Colonies; which the Committee conceives is as much as reasonably can be requested.

"Resolved

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, That his Majesty's service cannot in the least suffer by the non-compliance of the House with this requisition, because the troops have hitherto subsisted very well without any such provision; and if that was not the case, a sum of money to the amount of three thousand nine hun-

\* Journal of the Assembly December 3, 5, and 13, 1765.

See, also, the Governor's Despatch to the Home Government, dated "FORT GEORGE, NEW YORK, June 20, 1766," in which he said,—"it will appear on the minutes of the Assembly that I made the same demand during their last Session, without being able to obtain the smallest sum for that purpose."

† The news of the Repeal of the Stamp Act were received in New York, on the twentieth of May, 1766; and, on the following day, it was welcomed by "a great Number" of the people "assembled in the Fields, [now the Park,] where, at 1 o'clock, a Royal Salute of 21 Cannon were fired; a numerous Body dined together at Mr. Howard's, [at the present North-west corner of Broadway and Chambers-street] and at every loyal Toast 7 Cannon were fired. At Night there were 2 great Bonfires in the Fields, and the whole City was more generally and beautifully illuminated than ever was known before upon any other Occasion."

A sudden Joy was immediately diffused thro' all Ranks of People in the whole City. Neighbours ran to congratulate each other, and all the Bells in Town were set to ringing, which continued till late at Night, and began again early next Morning (Yesterday) continuing till 9 o'clock." *Holt's New-York Gazette; or, the Weekly Post-boy*, No. 1220, New York, Thursday, May 22, 1766.

On the fourth of June, following,—two weeks after the preceding—the King's birth-day was celebrated with equal enthusiasm; and a flag-staff was erected on the Fields, near where the City-hall now stands, and dedicated to "THE KING, PEACE, AND LIBERTY."—*Holt's New-York Gazette*; No. 1222, New York, Thursday, June 5, 1766; Dunlap's *History of New York*, l. 432; Leske's *Life of John Lamb*, 28; Bancroft's *History of United States*, vi. 14, 15.

Taking advantage of this enthusiasm, on the thirteenth of the same month of June, the Governor communicated to the General Assembly of the Colony, by Message, the provisions of this obnoxious Act, and demanded the supplies which it provided, for two Regiments of Foot which were then on their way from Europe. Just how well that demand was received, and just how much the City of New York cared for the coming soldiers, will be seen in the following extract from Governor Moore's Despatch to the Home Government, nine days after: \* \* \* "From the General Satisfaction which was expressed here by all Ranks and Degrees of People, I had all the Reason to expect that the earliest opportunity would have been taken to shew their Gratitude for such signal favors received. You may then easily judge, Sir, how much I was surprized to find myself disappointed in my expectations, for upon Genl Gage's application to me for Bedding Utensils &c agreeable to the Act of Parliament for his Majesty's

the Royal Governor of the Colony, and compelled both these servants of the King to acquiesce in the local nullification of the Act of Parliament;\* but it also incurred the earnest dis-

"dred and ninety pounds, is now remaining in the Treasury of this Colony, subject to the Order of the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's troops in North-America, which he may apply for the service of his Majesty's forces as he thinks proper.

"And the said Resolutions having been read a second time;

"Resolved

"That the House do agree with the Committee in the foregoing Resolutions.

"Ordered

"That Mr. Thomas, and Col. Livingston, wait upon his Excellency with the foregoing Resolutions."

On the twentieth of June, (1766,) after this indirect refusal to obey the Laws, the Governor communicated to the General Assembly a letter from General Gage, inquiring if it was the intention of that body, in the last of the Resolutions just quoted, to appropriate the amount necessary to carry out the provisions of the Mutiny Act, from the balance of a former appropriation remaining unexpended; and to this specific inquiry, three days later, [June 23, 1766.] the House thus responded:

"Die Luna, 3 ho. A.M. the 23d June, 1766

\* \* \* \* \*

"The House (according to order) resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, upon His Excellency's Message of the 20th instant, relating to the quartering of His Majesty's forces in this Colony: After some time spent therein, Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair, and Mr. Philip Livingston reported the resolutions of the Committee, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the Table, where the same were again read, and agreed to by the House, and are as follows, viz:

"Resolved

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, That it is impossible for the General Assembly, in justice to their constituents, to raise or appropriate any fund for furnishing His Majesty's forces in the manner required by His Excellency, for the reasons given in the Resolutions of the House of the 19th instant: But as the General Assembly have been always ready to promote his Majesty's service, as far as they were able, consistent with their duty to, and a due regard for, the interest of their constituents: The Committee are of opinion, That provision should be made for furnishing the Barracks in the Cities of New York and Albany, with Beds and Bedding, Fire-wood, Candles, and Utensils for dressing of Victuals, for two Battalions not exceeding five hundred men each, and one Company of Artillery for one year.

"Resolved,

"That the expenses to accrue by virtue of the foregoing Resolutions, be made payable out of the money now remaining in the Treasury, by virtue of an Act passed the 20th of March, 1762, entitled 'An Act directing the Treasurer of this Colony, to pay the Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's forces in North-America, the sum of four thousand, seven hundred and ninety pounds for his Majesty's service, to be repaid when his Majesty shall think proper.'

"Ordered

"That a Bill be brought in pursuant to the said Resolutions, and that Mr. Philip Livingston and Mr. Down, prepare and bring in the same."

\* This is seen in the Despatches of Sir Henry Moore, the Royal Governor of the Colony, especially in that, already referred to. (Page 4, Note 1, ante).—In that letter, after describing the provisions of the Assembly's Bill, from which Salt, Vinegar, and Cider were excluded, the Governor remarked: "as the General is satisfied that nothing more can be obtained at this time I hope that I shall be thought to act for His Majesty's Service in passing the Bill in its present State, for the difficulties which would arise in the other Colonies upon a like application from their Governors

pleasure of the Royal authorities, both those in America and those in Europe,\* and aroused, both for themselves and for those whom they represented, the liveliest animosity of the soldiery, who were so deeply interested in the question at issue.

For the purposes of this inquiry, we need not notice the unfriendliness, on either side, beyond the outburst of indignation among the soldiers which followed the action of the Assembly concerning the Cider and Beer for the Garrisons, and the counter-irritation of the populace. The latter was sharpened, if possible, by what seemed to be a wavering spirit in the Assembly, concerning the demands of the Governor, under the Mutiny Act; and it was peculiarly offensive both to the Garrison and the local Government;† while a por-

"may by this Step be obviated, as I am persuaded from what I have seen that the example of this Province in making the Provision required will have a greater influence on the Proceedings of the others than any other motion what so ever and it will appear on the minutes of the Assembly that I made the same demand during their last Session, without being able to obtain the smallest sum for that purpose" \* \* \*—Governor Moore's Despatch, "Four GEORGE, N YORK, June 20, 1766."

\* The ill-feeling of the Royal Government in the Colony is seen in Sir Henry Moore's Despatch of the twentieth of June, already referred to, (Page 4, Note 1, ante.) and in that which followed, on the twenty-third of August. The former of these was fully responded to by the Earl of Shelburne, in his Despatch to Governor Moore, dated the ninth of August, following, in the following terms: "I have His Majesty's Commands to acquaint you of the satisfaction he feels in the happiness of His subjects arising from the tender care and consideration of the Parliament but I am ordered to signify to you at the same time that as it is the indispensable duty of his subjects in America to obey the acts of the Legislature of Great Britain, The King both expects & requires a due and cheerful obedience to the same and it cannot be doubted that His Majesty's Province of New York after the Lenity of Great Britain so recently extended to America will not fail duly to carry into execution the Act of Parliament past last Session for quartering his Majesty's Troops in the full extent and meaning of the Act without referring to the usage of the other parts of His Majesty's Dominions where the Legislature has thought fit to prescribe different Regulations, and which cannot be altered any more than in No. America except upon a respectful and well grounded Representation of the Hardship or inconvenience. These considerations I am convinced must of themselves have so much weight with the Assembly of New York not only in the present conjuncture, when it is natural to suppose the minds of men retain sensible impressions of what has lately passed, but upon other occasions which may call for a ready obedience. That I can not think it necessary for me to enlarge further upon their importance I must only Sir in general add that I hope and believe that a very little time, together with that temperate Administration of Government which your regard to the People under it must make you naturally incline to, and that firmness which your duty to the King equally requires will allay whatever remains of those heats which have so unhappily for America prevailed and which if continued must prove of the most fatal consequence to whatever Province they are suffered in I am therefore persuaded that the Assembly will lose no occasion that offers of convincing his Majesty that the People of New York will yield to no other part of his Subjects in duty, Loyalty, & obedience to such Laws as the King and Parliament have thought proper to enact for their benefit & Protection."—Earl SHELBURNE to Governor Sir HENRY MOORE, August 9, 1766.

† The temper of both the Garrison and the local Government is indicated in the temper of those who spoke for them; and in his Despatch to the Duke of Richmond,



tion of the Twenty-eighth Regiment of Foot, then forming a portion of the Garrison, displayed its feeling on the subject, on the tenth of August, 1766, by cutting down the Liberty-pole, which, on the King's birth-day, in the preceding June, the inhabitants had erected on the Common, near where the City-hall now stands, in honor of "THE KING, PITT, AND LIBERTY," and to commemorate the triumph of the Colonists in the repeal of the Stamp Act;\* and by attacking

dated the twenty-third of August, 1766, Governor Sir Henry Moore's temper cannot be misunderstood. Referring to his Despatches of the thirtieth of April and the twelfth of July preceding, he continued, "It was my opinion at that time from the Notions which the Common People here had adopted that the Spirit of Licentiousness which had so long prevailed would hardly be subdued without some further attempts on their side to regain their former Power. I have not been deceived in my expectations and since the arrival of the 28 and 46th Regiments in this Town (where their presence was much wanted) no means has been left untried by the Populace to make their situation uneasy to them and to excite them to commit some action, for which public censure might be drawn on them. The better sort of People see this with concern but have it not in their Power to prevent it and are afraid of exposing themselves to the resentment of the Mob in attempting it. The Magistrates on the other hand have lost too much of their authority in the late disorders to reassume it with sufficient vigor so that the Peace of the city seems to depend chiefly upon the Prudence and good Conduct of the officers. To effect this General Gage has given the strictest orders relative to the Troops, & declared to the Mayor, Recorder & Aldermen in my presence that he would never screen any soldiers who should be concerned in any Riot, but deliver them up to be punished by the Civil Power, and hoped the Magistrates would endeavour on their part to prevent any further Insults being offered either to the Officers or Soldiers. I took this opportunity of explaining to the Mayor and the Rest of his brethren what I expected of them, for the preservation of the Peace of the city, and have received the strongest assurances from them of their readiness in following such measures as were then recommended for so desirable a purpose. I hope it will not be supposed from what I have the Honor of mentioning to your Grace that any particular objection is raised to either of the Regiments now in this Town or that they have given any reason for the Inhabitants to be dissatisfied with their behavior. The great objection here is that of having any Troops at all for while they continue in this Town, those licentious Assemblies of the People (who call themselves the Sons of Liberty and were frequently committing the greatest irregularities) must be suppressed and the hands of the magistrates so far strengthened that the Laws of the Country must again take Place; nor is it to be wondered at that a Mob, which once had so much sway in a Town as to strike terror into the greatest part of the inhabitants should with regard to a period put to the power they had usurped and abused, and order and regularity again introduced which had been so long suspended."—Governor Sir HENRY MOORE to the DUKE OF RICHMOND, "FORT GEORGE N YORK 23d AUG. 1766."

"On Sunday Night last, the Mast or Flag Staff, erected on the Common, at the Time of public Rejoicing on his Majesty's Birth Day, for the Repeal of the Stamp Act, left standing inscribed with the Names of his Majesty, Mr. Pitt, and Liberty, as a Monument of that happy Event, and Gratitude to those by whom it was accomplished, was cut down, by some of the Soldiers, belonging to the 28th Regiment, quartered in the Barracks; and as it appeared by several Depositions, to have been done by Way of Insult to the Town, It gave great Uneasiness, and the next Day occasion'd two Frys between the Town People and the Soldiers, a small Number of each, in which two or three were wounded, and several hurt, by the Soldiers. It appears by many Affidavits, that the Soldiers were incited by the Aggressors: And the People are in general very uneasy that such a Number of arm'd Men, without any visible Occasion for them, are station'd among us, and

and dispersing a body of the inhabitants, which, on the following day, had assembled on the Common for the purpose of restoring the emblem of their political faith which, on the preceding day, had been destroyed by the Garrison.\*

"suffer'd to patrol the Streets, as in a Military or con-quer'd Town."—*Holt's New-York Gazette; or, the Weekly Post-boy*, No. 1232, New York, Thursday, August 14, 1766.

\* The following extract from a Card, signed by Theophilus Hardenbrook and Peter Vandervoort informs of this subject.—"Whereas in Consequence of the Fry that happen'd on Monday the 11th Inst. between some of the People of this Town, and a Party of the Soldiers of the 28th Regiment, the Mayor and Aldermen of this City, publicly desired, that all Persons who were able to give any material Evidence concerning that Matter, would appear before them at 9 o'Clock the next Day, at the City-Hall: And whereas we were present when the said Fry began and all the Time it lasted, we attended the said Magistrates according to their Appointment, and gave Evidence to the Matters contained in the two Depositions next following, viz.

"New York, ss. Theophilus Hardenbrook, of the said City, House-Carpenter, of full Age, being duly sworn, deposeeth and saith, That Yesterday Afternoon, about 3 o'Clock, being in the Common with sundry others, in order to erect a Post that had been taken down the Night before; that during their being there, some Person appeared in the Crowd in the Dress of a Drummer; that upon his coming up to them, several Words passed; that the first Expression he understood from the said Drummer was, *Do you resent it*, or Words to that Effect; that one, Berrien, replied, *I do resent it*; that thereupon, the said Drummer drew his Weapon when some Persons who stood by, took hold of him and shoved him from the Crowd, some of which said, *Carry him to the Mayor*, and others said, *Let him go*; that accordingly they let him go; that soon after a Number of Soldiers, appeared turning the Corner of John Harris's, which he, the Deponent, thought came from the Barracks; that upon them coming up to the Crowd, of which he the Deponent was one, the said Soldiers being above 50 in Number, with their Bayonets in their Hands, some drawn, and others drew them as they came up; that as soon as they came up to the Deponent and others, they, the Soldiers, fell foul of them by cutting and slashing every one that fell in their Way; that the Deponent and those with him were obliged to retire for Safety; that the said Soldiers pursued them as far as Chapel-street (now Beekman-street) that several Persons were cut and wounded by the said Soldiers, particularly Captain Sears, and John Berrien, and further saith not.

"THEOPHILUS HARDENBROOK.

"Sworn August 12th, 1766.

"before me

"JOHN CROGER.

"City of New York, ss. Peter Vandervoort, of the said City, being duly sworn, deposeeth and saith, That the several Matters of Fact, set forth in the foregoing Deposition of Theophilus Hardenbrook, are, according to the best of his Knowledge true.

"PETER VANDERVOORT.

"Sworn the Day and Year aforesaid,

"JOHN CROGER."

[*Holt's New-York Gazette; or, the Weekly Post-boy*, No. 1233, Thursday, August 21, 1766.]

While this investigation was being carried on before the Mayor, Major Arthur Brown came into Court, and our said Depositions, being by the Mayor handed to him, after looking at them for a while, he in a disdainful manner threw them on the Table, and spoke the Words following, viz I will prove every Word of it to be false: whereupon other affidavits were put in, to sustain those of Messrs. Hardenbrook and Vandervoort, by Captain Isaac Sears,

\* It may not be amiss for those who insist that Battles may be fought when only one party is engaged in the fight, as at Lexington and Westminster, to stick a pin in this record, while they search for the earliest instance of bloodshed in such an encounter.

Thus overpowered by the obnoxious soldiery, while they were engaged in restoring this witness of American and Royal animosity, it may well be supposed that the Colonists would speedily rally for the establishment of what they conceived to be their invaded rights; and that the Garrison would be obliged, both by their officers, by the local authorities, and by the more influential of the inhabitants, to offer no resistance to the popular will concerning so unimportant a matter as the erection and preservation of this Liberty-pole; and so it proved, since the inhabitants, soon after, assembled on the same Common, and, without molestation from any one, raised another pole in the place of that which had been thus cut down by the soldiers.\*

On Tuesday evening, the twenty-third of September, following, the Liberty-pole was cut down a second time: and, on the following day, it was replaced by the inhabitants, apparently without excitement.† Such an indication of silent, but resolute, determination was so remarkable, however, that, besides the General-in-chief's formal announcement, a few days previous, that the Garrison, for all such offences, should be made accountable to the local civil authorities, measures were adopted to punish those, in civil life, who were supposed to promote the disorders.‡

Notwithstanding these precautions, although the offences were less open and undisguised, the soldiers were constantly returning, blow for blow, the insults which they received from the inhabitants; and they did not hesitate, also, to increase the volume of their unpopularity, by other and more frequent outrages than mere personal insults, on those whom they personally encountered.§

John Berrien, Jr., Cornelius Berrien, Philip Will, Ephraim Brasher, Joseph Dwight, John McGinnis, and Alexander McGinnis. The discussion appears to have gone no further.

\* The fact that another Liberty-pole was thus raised in the place of that which was cut down, as stated in the text, were successively cut down, after this date, as will be seen hereafter; and it is reasonably inferred that no obstruction was placed in the way of the construction of the first of these, since there is no mention, in the newspapers of that day, of any such disturbance, on the erection of that particular Pole.

† "The Mast or Flag Staff on the Common, which was lately cut down, and occasion'd a good deal of Disturbance in this City, was on Tuesday Night cut down again, and Yesterday another was, by the Inhabitants erected in its Place."

"The Authors of this Insult are not yet certainly known, but some particular Persons are Spectated."—*Holt's New-York Gazette; or, the Weekly Post-boy*, No. 1238, New York, Thursday, September 25, 1766.

See, also, *DRAPER'S Massachusetts Gazette*, October 2, 1766; *The Boston Evening-Post*, October 6, 1766; *LEAKE'S Life of Lamb*, 33.

‡ General Gage's announcement is set forth in Governor Moore's Despatch to the Home Government, dated the twenty-third of August, 1766; and the punishment of the Tavern-keepers who supplied the Soldiers with liquor is referred to in *Holt's New-York Journal, or, the General Advertiser*, of November 18, 1766.

§ As two or three of many instances of the insolence of the Soldiers, we append the following:

"On Tuesday Night between 10 and 12 o'Clock, a Number

In the meantime, as we have said, the General Assembly had wavered in its opposition to the provisions of the Mutiny Act, since its action on the nineteenth of June; and a compliance with the letter of its terms, as far as they applied to the Fuel and Lights, the Bedding and Cooking-utensils, was yielded, when that body could no longer avoid a choice between open nullification of the Act and direct obedience.\* As might have been expected, the popular leaders, sustained by their associates in opposition, had boldly assailed those members of the Assembly who had thus yielded to the demands of the Government; and, at the same time, the Home Government was far from satisfied with the action of the Assembly, as well as with the temper with which it was evidently actuated; and the Ministry was not slow in communicating to the Governor,† nor the latter to the Assembly,‡ "His Majesty's Commands" on that important question.

Thus placed between two fires, the Assembly seems to have disregarded the extreme demands of both the Sons of Liberty and the Government; and it proceeded calmly to consider the subject in all its aspects—meeting after meeting, in Committee of the Whole, were thus occupied, without

"of Soldiers with Bayonets, went to several Houses in the Fields, where they were very noisy and abusive, to the great Disturbance and Terror of the Inhabitants. This was occasion'd, it is said, by ill Treatment, which some of the Soldiers had received the Night before, at some of those infamous Houses, which to the great scandal of our wholesome Laws, are suffered to exist as so many receptacles for loose and disorderly People."—*Holt's New-York Journal, or, the General Advertiser*, No. 1242, New-York, Thursday, October 23, 1766.

"On Tuesday the 3d (4th) Instant, about Eleven o'Clock at Night, a Number of Soldiers, said to belong to the 46th Regiment, entered into the House of Casper Hart, a Carman of this City; a very honest inoffensive Man, and without the least Provocation, on the poor Man's Side, cut and wounded him in a terrible Manner, and dragged him into the Street, so that it is next to a Miracle he was not murder'd; not contented with using him in this Manner, they went to his Stable, and there hamstring his Horse, the only Means he had for his Subsistence; on which the Guard was sent for, they immediately came and made search for the Person accused, and on entering a House suspected of harboring Soldiers, there found the Soldier, whose Clothes were stain'd with the Blood from the Wounds of the Poor Man, he was immediately confined, and from the Endeavours of the Officers of the Army to assist the Magistrates, it is not doubted that he will receive condign Punishment."—*Holt's New-York Journal, or, the General Advertiser*, No. 1244, New York, Thursday, November 6, 1766.

On the fifteenth of November, "a Number of Soldiers" and "a Party of Sailors and others," on the Common, "had some Words, and at length came to blows, in which one of the former, a Taylor, received several dangerous Wounds, which makes his Life uncertain."—*Supplement Extraordinary to the Postman's New-York Journal, or General Advertiser*, No. 1245, Thursday, November 20, 1766.

\* *Minutes of the Assembly*, June 23, 1766—vide Page 5, Column 1, ante.

† The letter of the Earl of Shelburne to Governor Moore, dated the ninth of August, 1766, which relates to this matter has been already quoted—Page 5, Column 2, Note \*, ante—and to it the reader is respectfully referred.

‡ Message of Governor Moore,—*Journal of the Assembly*, November 18, 1766; Governor Moore's Despatch to the Earl of Shelburne, "19 Dec. 1766."



arriving at a definite conclusion, until shortly before it was prorogued.

On the twenty-fifth of November, the Governor sent a second Message, demanding an appropriation to reimburse monies advanced to the Army by the Corporation of the City of New York, to supply the wants which were unprovided for in the half-way appropriation of the nineteenth of the preceding June;\* but the Assembly sullenly referred it to the Committee of the Whole, in whose custody the former Message had been placed; and there it has remained, unnoticed, specifically, until this hour.

At length, strengthened by what was evidently the weight of public opinion as well as by the demands of its own interests, on the twelfth of December, the Assembly boldly resolved that it could not, "consistent with the trust reposed in "them by their constituents, comply with the "Requisition made by the Message" of the eighteenth of November, which had merely covered and urged obedience to the Earl of Shelburne and to "His Majesty's Commands," communicated therein;† Six days later [December 18, 1766] an Address was placed in the Governor's hands, in which the spirit of that Resolution was still more resolutely expressed; when the Assembly was immediately dissolved.‡

Thus the animosity between the inhabitants and the soldiers was fostered, until the eighteenth of March, 1767, when the anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act was celebrated with great spirit throughout the Colony;§ and, there is little doubt, the inhabitants were unusually warm in their denunciation of those who, ever so remotely, were obnoxious to the Colonists or, ever so abstractly, aggressive on their supposed liberties.

On the other hand, the Garrison was just as ready as the inhabitants, to promote a quarrel; and, in the evening of that day, the third of the series of Liberty-poles which had been erected in the City of New York, was levelled by some antagonistic hands. On the following day, [March 19, 1767,] the inhabitants restored the Pole—the fourth which they had erected—and they rendered it more secure from the attacks of their enemies, by securely bracing it and by strapping it with bars of iron, to a height which would compel an assailant to resort to means

which would probably lead to his immediate discovery and summary chastisement.

On the day when this fourth pole was erected, [March 19, 1767] the soldiers attempted to prostrate it, but were unsuccessful; and on four subsequent nights and days [March 21, 22, 23, and 24, 1767,] the attempts were renewed—sometimes with the aid of gunpowder, at others with that of ladders and saws—in every case, with similar success. The rising indignation of the masses, however, alarmed those who were in authority; and the last of these attempts on the Liberty-pole was frustrated by some of the officers of the Garrison, in person, who appeared on the Common, and ordered the offenders to their Quarters.\*

\* The following contemporary account of this affair is better than any we can give in other words: "A few very mischievous Spirits among the Soldiery, supposed to be of the lowest Rank, quarter'd in the Barracks in this City, have again for this Week past been endeavouring to raise Ill-will and Disturbance, between the Citizens and the Soldiers. The Causes of such a malevolent Disposition towards the Inhabitants is unknown, as well as the Persons possessed of it.—It particularly shews itself on Occasions when every true Friend to the English Nation and Government, every one who wishes its Prosperity, and the preservation of its happy Constitution, would feel Dispositions of a quite opposite Kind,—in affectionate regard for a People so firmly attach'd to that Constitution which is the Glory and Happiness of Englishmen, so Loyal to his Majesty, and resolutely determin'd to defend and support, at the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, Him, and every Order in the Nation, in the full enjoyment of their just Rights and Privileges.—Such Principles and Tempers, universally prevalent with the People here, which would have endeav'd them to every true Englishman, excites it seems, the Enmity of those lurking Foes to Peace and good Order, to Liberty and Happiness, to the British King and Government.

"After the Entertainments on Wednesday the 18th Inst. mention'd in our last, (on Commemoration of the Repeal of the Stamp-Act, which, if it had taken place must have ruin'd the whole British Empire;) the Evening having concluded with great good Humour and Harmony. The Mast erected on the Common, inscribed to his Majesty, Mr. Pitt and Liberty, on occasion of the Repeal, was in the Night cut down. Next Day the Inhabitants erected another, more large and substantial, secured with Iron to a considerable height above Ground; The same Night attempts were made both to cut it down, and to undermine and dig it down—but without Effect. On Saturday Night, the 21st, there was an attempt to destroy it by Gunpowder, by boring a hole, and charging it with Powder. But this also fail'd.—Next Night Sunday—a strong Watch was set by the Citizens, at an adjacent House; a small Company of Soldiers in the Night appear'd with their Coats turn'd, arm'd with Bayonets and Sticks, but no Guns.—Some of the Watch went out, ask'd who they were, and their Business? But received no satisfactory Answer. They then drew up before the Door where the watch was kept, but after a few Words, thought proper to retire. On Monday about 6 in the Evening, a party of Soldiers march'd by the Post, and as they pass'd by Mr. Bardin's Tavern fir'd two Muskets, two of which were pointed at the House; next morning it was found that a Ball had been fired thro' the House, and another into one of the Timberers.—On Tuesday about 1 o'Clock in the Afternoon, the same party as it is supposed, took a Ladder from a new Building, which they carried to the Barracks, and were from thence proceeding towards the post—but being seen by an officer he stop'd, and turn'd them back—and no ice of this Behaviour of the Soldiers, getting to the Governor and General and the Magistrates of the City,—we hear strict Orders were immediately given and effectual Measures taken to prevent Disturbance, or any the like future

\* Message of the Governor—*Journal of the Assembly*, November 25, 1766.

† *Journal of the Assembly*, December 12, 1766. Governor Moore's Despatch to the Earl of Shelburne, December 19, 1766.

‡ *Journal of the Assembly*, December 18, 1766; Governor Moore's Despatch to the Earl of Shelburne, December 19, 1766; The same to the Lords of Trade, December 19, 1766.

§ *Hutchinson's New-York Journal; or, the General Advertiser*, No. 1263, New York, Thursday, March 19, 1767; *GAINES'S New-York Mercury*, No. 805, New York, Monday, March 23, 1767. *DESLAIE'S History of New-York*, i, 434; *LEAKE'S Life of Lamb*, 37; *DAWSON'S History of the Park*.

The soldiers were not the only antagonists of the resolute Colonists of New York. The Government, too, was evidently preparing to enforce obedience to the supreme Laws of the land: and the prospect of troubles became more apparent with the arrival of every Packet. The Assembly, composed largely of Merchants,\* viewed those preparations with alarm; and when, in May, 1767, it was convened for the transaction of business, it not only exhibited a comparatively good temper,† but it actually voted Three thousand Pounds for the purposes referred to in the Mutiny Act,‡ not, indeed, in such loyal terms as the Governor and the friends of the Government conceived was its duty, but sufficiently so to relieve the Army from the embarrassments with which it had been surrounded, and to supply the comforts which had been previously withheld from it, by reason of the resolute disobedience of the Assembly, during the preceding Session.§

The indignation of the great body of the Colonists, which followed this abandonment, by the Assembly, of the high ground which it had previously occupied, was still more aroused on the receipt, early in October, of an Act of Parliament “for restraining and prohibiting the Governor, Council, and House of Representatives of the Province of New York, until provision shall have been made for furnishing the King’s Troops with all the necessaries required by Law, from passing or assenting to any Act of Assembly, Vote or Resolution for any other Purpose.”||

It may readily be conceived that such an extraordinary exercise of unauthorized power as this, by the Parliament of Great Britain, would alarm and arouse, not only the Colonists in New York but those in other parts of the Continent: and we find, therefore, that while the

Royal Army was thereby lowered in the public esteem and became, if possible, still more obnoxious to the populace, because of this arbitrary abrogation of the hitherto recognized rights of the Colonists—the express purpose of the Act being to enforce obedience in New York to the provisions of the Mutiny Act—the newspapers of the day, in New York and throughout the Continent, teemed with articles of great merit, which not only enabled their readers to understand their rights, as men and Englishmen, but nerved them for their defence.

Nor was the popular feeling, either that in opposition to the irresolute Assembly or that which resisted the arrogance of the soldiery and the Parliament which sustained it, diminished by the supplementary appropriation, by the Assembly, on the third of December, of Fifteen hundred Pounds, to reimburse that sum paid to the officers of the Forty-sixth and Twenty-eighth Regiments;\* and, when, very soon after, the Commander-in-chief assumed “a superiority over all the Governors of America, on all occasions,”† the height of military pretensions and unpopularity seemed to have been reached.

A new Assembly, composed largely of new men,‡ assembled on the twenty-eighth of October, 1768: but it was little less determined in its opposition to the pretensions and usurpations of authority, by the Home Government and the soldiery, than the last had been;§ and, on the second of January, 1769, after voting One thousand eight hundred Pounds “for furnishing his Majesty’s troops, quartered in this Colony, with necessaries,” and adopting, in Committee of the Whole, a series of Resolutions|| which were

\* Occasion of it; since which all has been quiet, and we hope this Matter, in itself trivial, and only consider’d as of Importance by the Citizens, as it shew’d an intention to offend and insult them,—will occasion no farther Difference.”—*Supplement Extraordinary to the New-York Journal, or General Advertiser*. No. 1264. Thursday, March 26, 1767.

See, also, GAINÉ’S *New-York Mercury*, No. 804, Monday, March 30, 1767; *Boston Evening Post*, Saturday, April 4, 1767; *Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, Saturday, April 4, 1767; DUNLAP’S *History of New-York*, i. 434; LEAKE’S *Life of Lamb*, 37; DAWSON’S *History of the Park*, § Governor Moore’s Despatch to the Home Government, 14 January, 1767.

† Governor Moore’s Despatch to the Earl of Shelburne, June 10, 1767.

‡ *Journal of the Assembly*, June 2, 1767. See, also, Report of the Lords of Trade to the King, May 7, 1768.

§ Governor Moore’s Despatches to the Earl of Shelburne, 21 August, and October 5, 1767; Lieutenant-governor Colden to the same, November 23, 1767.

|| Compare the Governor’s Despatch to the Earl of Shelburne, October 5, 1767, with the Earl’s Despatch to him, dated July 18, 1767. See, also, the Governor’s Despatches to the Earl, 5 March and 12 May, 1768; the Earl’s Despatch to the Governor, July 9, 1768; HOIT’S *New-York Journal*; or, *the General Advertiser*, No. 1285, New York, Thursday, August 20, 1767; *Extraordinary Supplement to the New-York Mercury*, No. 527. Thursday, September 3, 1767.

\* *Journal of the Assembly*, December 3, 1767; *Laws of New-York*, ii. 496.

† Compare, also, the Governor’s Despatches to the Earl of Shelburne, 29 December, 1767, and 3 January, 1768.

‡ See, also, Report of the Lords of Trade to the King, May 7, 1768.

§ Governor Moore’s Despatch to the Earl of Shelburne, 5 March, 1768. The same to the Earl of Hillsborough, August 19, 1768.

|| Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Hillsborough, April 25, 1768.

§ Governor Moore to the Earl of Hillsborough, 4 January, 1769.

¶ In order to show the temper of the Assembly, in its own words, we copy this series of Resolutions, *in extenso*:

“As it is not only the common birthright of all his Majesty’s subjects, but it is also essential to the preservation of the peace, strength, and prosperity of the British Empire, that an exact equality of Constitutional Rights among all his Majesty’s subjects in the several parts of the Empire, be uniformly and invariably maintained and supported; and as it would be inconsistent with the Constitutional Rights of His Majesty’s subjects in Great Britain, to tax them either in person or estate, without the consent of their Representatives in Parliament assembled. It is therefore,

“Resolved, Nemine Contradicente

“That it is the opinion of this Committee, that as His most gracious Majesty is the Common Father of all his good sub-



most radically offensive in their character, it was suddenly dissolved.\*

On the fourth of April, 1769, another new Assembly was convened;† and, soon after, in accordance with a request of the Governor, although very much against the inclination of that body,‡ an appropriation of Eighteen hundred Pounds, for the purposes of the Mutiny Act, was voted by it,§ after doing which it was speedily prorogued.

On the twenty-first of November, the Assembly was again convened;|| and, on the next day, the Lieutenant-governor demanded another appropriation.\* About the same time, by an union of the respective friends of the De Lancey and the Colden parties,\*\* a Bill was introduced for the emission of One hundred and twenty thousand Pounds of Colonial Bills of Credit;†† while another, ordered to be introduced on the fifteenth of December—only after great opposition and by a majority of only one vote—provided for the

jects, dispersed throughout the various parts of the British Empire; And as the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, do enjoy a Constitutional Right of humbly petitioning His Majesty, as the common Father of his people there, for constitutional benefits and the redress of grievances; the Representatives of this Colony, in General Assembly convened, lawfully may, and ought to, exercise the same Constitutional Right, when and as often as to them shall seem meet.

Resolved,  
“That it is the opinion of this Committee, that this Colony lawfully and constitutionally has and enjoys an internal Legislature of its own, in which the Crown, and the People of this Colony, are constitutionally represented; and that the power and authority of the said Legislature, cannot lawfully or constitutionally be suspended, abridged, or annulled by any power, authority, or prerogative whatsoever, the prerogative of the Crown ordinarily exercised for prorogations and dissolutions only excepted.

Resolved, Nemine Contradicente,  
“That it is the opinion of this Committee, that this House has an undoubted Right to correspond and consult with any of the neighboring Colonies, or with any other of His Majesty's subjects out of this Colony, or belonging to any part of His Majesty's realm or dominions, either individually or collectively, on any matter, subject, or thing whatsoever, whereby they shall conceive the rights, liberties, interests, or privileges of this House, or of its constituents, are or may be affected.

Ordered  
“That a Committee be appointed to correspond with the Agent of this Colony, at the Court of Great Britain, during the recess of this House; and be hereby authorised to correspond and consult, during such recess, with any other of His Majesty's subjects out of this Colony, or belonging to other parts of His Majesty's realm or dominions either individually or collectively, on any matter, subject or thing whatsoever, whereby the rights, interests, or privileges of this House or its constituents, are or may be affected.”—*Journal of the Assembly*, December 31, 1768.

\* *Journal of the Assembly*, January 2, 1769.  
† *Journal of the Assembly*, 4th April, 1769. Compare Governor Moore's Despatch, dated 30 March, 1769.

‡ Address of the House to the Governor.—*Journal of the Assembly*, April 8, 1769.

§ *Journal of the Assembly*, May 12, 1769.

|| *Journal of the Assembly*, 21st November, 1769. Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Hillsborough, 4 December, 1769.

\* Message of Lieutenant-governor Colden, November 22, 1769.—*Journal of the Assembly*, same date.

† Handbill signed “A SON OF LIBERTY.”

†† *Journal of the Assembly*, November 29, 1768.

payment of Two thousand Pounds for the purposes of the Mutiny Act.\*

The circumstances under which these Bills were introduced were very well calculated to excite the suspicions of the popular party; and, accordingly, on the sixteenth of December—the day after the Order was made for introducing the last-named of the two—a handbill, addressed “To the BETRAYED Inhabitants of the City and Colony of New-York,” and signed “A SON OF LIBERTY,” was scattered throughout the City,† suggesting that the inhabitants should meet in the Fields, on the succeeding Monday, to express their views on the subject, and to obstruct its passage. As the language of this handbill indicates very clearly the sentiments of the popular leaders at that time, on the subject now under consideration, we copy it, *in extenso*, from an original, which is preserved in the Library of the New York Historical Society:

“To the BETRAYED Inhabitants of the City and Colony of New-York.

“My dear Fellow Citizens and Countrymen,

“In a Day when the Minions of Tyranny and Despotism in the Mother Country, and the Colonies, are indefatigable in laying every Snare that their malevolent and corrupt Hearts can suggest, to enslave a free People; when this unfortunate Country has been striving under many Disadvantages for three Years past, to preserve their Freedom; which to an Englishman is as dear as his Life,—when the Merchants of this City and the Capital Towns on the Continent, have nobly and cheerfully sacrificed their private Interests, to the publick Good, rather than to promote the Designs of the Enemies of our happy Constitution: it might justly be expected, that in this Day of Constitutional Light, the Representatives of this Colony, would not be so hardy, nor be so lost to all Sense of Duty to their Constituents (especially after the laudable Example of the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay and South-Carolina, before them) as to betray the Trust committed to them. This they have done, in passing the Vote to give the Troops a Thousand Pounds, out of any Monies that may be in the Treasury, and another Thousand out of the Money that may be issued, to be put out on Loan, which the Colony will be obliged to make good, whether the Bill for that Purpose does or does not obtain the Royal Assent. And that they have betrayed the Liberties of the People, will appear from the following Consideration, to wit: That the Ministers are waiting to see, whether the Colonies,

\* Resolution of the Assembly, ordering the introduction of a Bill making such an appropriation.—*Journal of the Assembly*, December 15, 1769.

† Lieutenant-governor Colden's Despatch to the Earl of Hillsborough, 6 January, 1770.

“under their distressed Circumstances, will divide  
 “on any of the grand Points, which they are  
 “united in, and contending for, with the Mother-  
 “Country: by which they may carry their Designs  
 “against the Colonies, and keep in the Adminis-  
 “tration. For if this should not take Place, the  
 “Acts must be repealed; which will be a Reflec-  
 “tion on their Conduct, and will bring the Re-  
 “proach and Clamour of the Nation on them, for  
 “the Loss of Trade to the Empire, which their  
 “Mal-conduct has occasioned.

“Our granting Money to the Troops, is im-  
 “plicitly acknowledging the Authority that en-  
 “acted the Revenue-Acts, and their being oblig-  
 “atory on us. As these Acts were enacted for  
 “the express Purpose of taking Money out of our  
 “Pockets, without our Consent; and to provide  
 “for the Defending and Support of Government  
 “in America; which Revenue we say by our  
 “Grant of Money, is not sufficient for the Pur-  
 “pose aforesaid; therefore we supply the Defi-  
 “ciency.

“This was the Point of View in which these  
 “Acts were considered, by the Massachusetts and  
 “South-Carolina Assemblies, and to prevent that  
 “dangerous Construction, refuted it. On this  
 “important Point we have differed with these  
 “spirited Colonies, and do implicitly approve of  
 “all the tyrannical Conduct of the Ministry to the  
 “Bostonians, and by Implication censure their  
 “laudable and patriotic Denial. For if they did  
 “right (which every sensible American thinks  
 “they did) in refusing to pay the Billeting Money,  
 “surely we have done wrong, very wrong, in  
 “giving it. But our Assembly says, they do their  
 “Duty, in granting the Money to the Troops:  
 “Consequently the Massachusetts Assembly did  
 “not do theirs, in not obeying the Ministerial  
 “Mandate. If this is not a Division in this grand  
 “Point, I know not what is: and I doubt not  
 “but the Ministry will let us know it is to our Cost;  
 “for it will furnish them with Arguments and  
 “fresh Courage. Is this a grateful Retaliation to  
 “that brave and sensible People, for the spirited  
 “and early Notice they took of the Suspending  
 “Act? No, it is base Ingratitude, and betraying  
 “the common Cause of Liberty.

“To what other Influence than the deserting  
 “the American Cause, can the Ministry attribute  
 “so pusillanimous a Conduct, as this of the As-  
 “sembly; so repugnant and subversive of all the  
 “Means we have used, and Opposition that has  
 “been made by this and the other Colonies, to  
 “the tyrannical Conduct of the British Parlia-  
 “ment! To no other. Can there be a more ridic-  
 “ulous Farce to impose on the People, than for  
 “the Assembly to vote their Thanks to be given  
 “to the Merchants, for entering into an Agree-  
 “ment not to import Goods from Britain, until  
 “the Revenue Acts should be repealed, while they

“at the same Time counteract it by countenance  
 “in British Acts, and complying with Ministerial  
 “Requisitions, incompatible with our Freedom?  
 “Surely there cannot.

“And what makes the Assembly's granting this  
 “Money the more grievous, is, that it goes to the  
 “Support of Troops kept here, not to protect,  
 “but to enslave us. Has not the Truth of this  
 “Remark been lately exemplified in the audacious,  
 “domineering and inhuman Maj. Pullaine, who  
 “ordered a Guard to protect a sordid Miscreant,  
 “that transgressed the laudable Non-Importation  
 “Agreement of the Merchants, in order to break  
 “that, which is the only Means left them, under  
 “God, to baffle the Designs of their Enemies, to  
 “enslave this Continent. This Consideration  
 “alone ought to be sufficient to induce a free  
 “People, not to grant the Troops any Supply  
 “whatsoever if we had no Dispute with the  
 “Mother Country, that made it necessary not to  
 “concede any Thing that might destroy our Free-  
 “dom; Reasons of Economy and good Policy,  
 “suggest, that we ought not to grant the Troops  
 “Money.

“Whoever is the least acquainted with the  
 “English History, must know, that Grants fre-  
 “quently made to the Crown, is not to be refused,  
 “but with some Degree of Danger of disturbing  
 “the Repose of the Kingdom or Colony. This  
 “evinces the Expediency of our stopping these  
 “Grants now, while we are embroiled with the  
 “Mother Country; that so we may not, after the  
 “grand Controversy is settled, have a new Bone  
 “of Contention about the Billeting Money;  
 “which must be the Case if we do not put an  
 “End to it at this Time: For the Colony, in its  
 “impoverished State, cannot support a Charge  
 “which amounts to near as much per Annum, as  
 “all the other Expenses of the Government  
 “besides.

“Hence it follows, that the Assembly have not  
 “been attentive to the Liberties of the Continent;  
 “nor to the Property of the good People of this  
 “Colony, in particular. We must therefore at-  
 “tribute this Sacrifice of the public Interest, to  
 “some corrupt Source. This is very manifest in  
 “the Guilt and Confusion, that covered the Faces  
 “of the perfidious Abettors of this Measure,  
 “when the House was in Debate on the Subject.  
 “Mr. Colden knows, from the Nature of Things,  
 “that he cannot have the least Prospect to be in  
 “Administration again; and therefore, that he  
 “may make Hay while the Sun shines, and get a  
 “full Salary from the Assembly. flatters the igno-  
 “rant Members of it, with the Consideration of  
 “the Success of a Bill, to emit a Paper Currency,  
 “when he and his artful Coadjutors must know,  
 “that it is only a Snare to impose on the simple;  
 “for it will not obtain the Royal Assent. But while  
 “he is solicitous to obtain his Salary, he must at-

"tend to his Posterity. And as some of his Children hold Offices under the Government, if he did not procure an Obedience to its Requisitions, or do his Duty, in Case the Assembly refused the Billeting Money, by dissolving them, his Children might be in danger of losing their Offices. If he dissolved the Assembly, they would not give him his Salary.

"The Delancy Family knowing the Ascendency they have in the present House of Assembly, and how useful that Influence will be to their ambitious Designs, to manage a new Governour, have left no Stone unturned to prevent a Dissolution. The Assembly, conscious to themselves, of having trampled on the Liberties of the People, and fearing their just Resentments on such an Event, are equally carefully to preserve their Seats, expecting that if they can do it at this critical Juncture, as its imagined the grand Controversy will be settled this Winter, they will serve for Seven Years; in which Time they hope the People will forget the present Injuries done to them. To secure these several Objects, the Delancy Family, like true Politicians, altho' they were to all Appearance, at mortal Odds with Mr. Colden, and represented him in all Companies, as an Enemy to his Country; yet a Coalition is now formed, in order to secure to them the Sovereign Lordship of this Colony, The Effect of which, has given Birth to the abominable Vote, by which the Liberties of the People are betrayed. In short, they have brought Matters to such a Pass, that all the Checks resulting from the Form of our happy Constitution, are destroyed. The Assembly might as well invite the Council, to save the Trouble of Formalities, to take their Seats in the House of Assembly, and place the Lieutenant Governor in the Speaker's Chair, and then there would be no Waste of Time in going from House to House, and his Honour would have the Pleasure to see how zealous his former Enemies are in promoting his Interest to serve themselves. Is this a State to be rested in, where our all is at Stake? No my Countrymen, Rouse! imitate the noble Example of the Friends of Liberty in England, who rather than be enslaved, contend for their Right with King, Lords and Commons. And will you suffer your Liberties to be torn from you by your own Representatives? Tell it not in Boston; publish it not in the Streets of Charlestown! You have Means yet left to preserve a Unanimity with the brave Bostonians and Carolinians; and to prevent the Accomplishment of the Designs of Tyrants. The House was so nearly divided on the Subject of granting the Money in the Way the Vote passed, that one would have prevented it; you have therefore a respectable Minority. What I would advise

"to be done, is, to assemble in the Fields, on Monday next, where your Sense ought to be taken on this important Point; notwithstanding the Impudence of Mr. Jauncey, in his declaring in the House, that he had consulted his Constituents, and that they were for giving Money. After this is done, go in a Body to your Members, and insist on their joining with the Minority to oppose the Bill; if they dare refuse your just Requisition,—appoint a Committee to draw up a State of the whole Matter, and send it to the Speakers of the several Houses of Assembly on the Continent, and to the Friends of our Cause in England, and publish it in the News Papers, that the whole World may know your Sentiments on this Matter, in the only way your Circumstances will admit: And I am confident it will spirit the Friends of our Cause, and chagrin our Enemies. Let the Notification to call the People, be so expressed, that whoever absents himself, will be considered as agreeing to what may be done by such as shall meet.—And that you may succeed, is the unfeigned Desire of,

"A SON OF LIBERTY.

"New-York, Dec. 16th, 1769."

This was followed, evidently on Monday morning, the eighteenth of December, by a second handbill, signed "LEGION,"—"the Notification to call the People," referred to by "A SON OF LIBERTY," on the preceding Saturday—naming the hour and place for this projected meeting; and more particularly specifying its purpose to be a condemnation of the Assembly's compliance with the terms of the Mutiny Act;\* and as this, also, indicates the temper of the Burghers, concerning the soldiers, we copy it, *verbatim*, for the information of our readers, from an original, which, like those already copied, has been preserved in the Library of the New York Historical Society. It was in these words:

"To the PUBLIC.

"THE spirit of the times renders it necessary for the inhabitants of this city to convene, in order effectually to avert the destructive consequences of the late BASE, INGLORIOUS conduct of our General Assembly,

\* There can be no doubt that this handbill was supplementary to that addressed "To the BETRAYED INHABITANTS," because the latter named no hour for the meeting: because the latter was too elaborate in its terms to touch the general sympathy; and because this was evidently issued on Monday morning, and could not, therefore, refer to any other meeting than that called by "A SON OF LIBERTY." Besides, there is no account of any other Meeting than that on Monday; and when the Assembly voted on the discharge of John Lamb, who had been arrested for writing both this and the hand-bill signed "A SON OF LIBERTY," the said "two libels" were referred to, as connected with "the meeting of a number of the inhabitants of this city, in the FIELDS, on MONDAY last."—*Journal of the Assembly*, December 21, 1769.



"who have in opposition to the loud and general voice of their constituents, the dictates of sound policy, the ties of gratitude, and the glorious struggle we have engaged in for our invaluable birthrights, dared to vote supplies to the troops without the least shadow of a pretext for their pernicious grant. - - - The most eligible place will be in the Fields, near Mr. De La Montagne's - - - and the time - - - between 10 and 11 o'clock this morning, where we doubt not every friend to his country will attend

"LEGION"

The meeting thus called was held on Monday, the eighteenth of December, 1769;\* and the popular sentiment, in opposition to the proposed grant of Two thousand Pounds, was most decided in its character,† and not without its effect on the members of the Assembly, since the Government was subsequently compelled to compromise by unwillingly granting authority for the issue of the Paper Currency which was so much desired by every one; and, even then, the majority which was secured was "a very small" one.‡ That body professed, however, to be very indignant concerning it; passed Resolutions declaring the two papers "infamous libels;" and asked the Governor to offer a reward for the apprehension of their authors—subterfuges which were exposed, when the undisguised resolution which was shown by other members of the party, a few days later, led the Assembly, soon after, to dismiss the subject. ||

A few days later, [January 4, 1770] information was received that Boston had filtered in her opposition to the Government; and that even John Hancock had sought a contract with the Military authorities to supply the troops under the provisions of the Mutiny Act. Notwithstanding the latter portion of the report was subsequently contradicted, the popular party was greatly excited; and this reported defection in the ranks of that party and the almost simultaneous passage of the Act by the Assembly, in which the demands of the Parliament were fully complied with and the soldiers supplied with Beer as well as with Fuel and Lights, worked a corresponding change in the temper of the Garrison—the soldiers were made much more insolent than, for sometime previous, they had been; and the populace was far less inclined to submit to their insults.

As we have said, the meeting of the populace was held on Monday, the eighteenth of Decem-

ber—three days after the vote had been taken in the Assembly, authorizing the introduction of a Bill for granting the supplies demanded under the provisions of the Mutiny Act;—and on the thirtieth of the same month the Bill was passed, by two majority, notwithstanding the protests of the Inhabitants.\* On the fifth of January, 1770, the Council concurred; and, on the same day, Lieutenant-governor Colden assented to the Bill, and the grant was perfected. Of course, the excitement was intense: the soldiers were delighted at the result of the contest, and more than usually arrogant; while the Colonists were peculiarly indignant, and not in the least disposed to overlook an insult nor to allow one to go unpunished.

Such was the temper of the inhabitants and of the Garrison, on the evening of Saturday, the thirteenth of January, 1770, when a party of some forty soldiers, after placing sentries on the different roads which led to the Common, proceeded to saw the spurs which were at the foot of the Liberty-pole—that standing evidence of the triumph of the Colony over the Parliament—with the evident intention of again destroying it. They were discovered, however; and an attempt was made, by raising an alarm of "Fire," to rally a sufficient force for the immediate protection of the Pole. Having made considerable progress when they were discovered, the soldiers succeeded, notwithstanding this threatened opposition, in hastily boring a hole into the Pole and in charging it with gun-powder, with the evident intention of splitting it; but the fuse failed to communicate with the charge, and the iron-strapped Pole was not materially injured.

Hisses and jeers, by the small number of citizens who had arrived on the ground, were immediately hurled on the offenders; and these, in their turn, drew their arms, and attacked not only the unarmed inhabitants who were present, but the Tavern of Abraham De La Montaigne, the Head-quarters of the "Sons of Liberty," as the popular party was called, which was near by, destroying the windows and beating the waiter; after which they hastily retired.

Complaint was promptly made to the officer in command of the Guard, and a sentry was temporarily posted near the Pole, "as is supposed," to prevent any further attempt to level "it;" but he was soon after removed, and the matter ended for the night.

On the following Monday evening, the fifteenth of January, the soldiers prepared for another attempt on the Pole; but, before they had made much progress, they were discovered by Alderman Lott, who immediately reported the fact to the officer in command; and again they were unsuccessful.

\* *Journal of the Assembly*, December 30, 1769.

\* *Journal of the Assembly*, December 21, 1769; Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Hillsborough, 6 January, 1770.

† Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Hillsborough, 6 January, 1770.

‡ Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Hillsborough, 6 January, 1770.

§ *Journal of the Assembly*, December 19, 1769.

|| Compare the *Journal of the Assembly*, December 20, 1769, with the same *Journal*, December 21, 1769.

On the following day, Tuesday, the sixteenth of January, the walls and fences of the City were placarded with a small, but neatly printed, handbill, from an original copy of which, in the Library of the New York Historical Society, we have made the following exact copy:

"To The PUBLIC.

"**W**HETHER seriously considers the impoverished State of this City, especially of many of the poor Inhabitants of it, must be greatly surprised at the Conduct of such of them as employ the Soldiers, when there are a Number of the former that want Employment to support their distressed Families. Every Man of Sense amongst us knows that the Army is not kept here to protect, but to enslave as; and notwithstanding our Assemblies have given vast Sums of Money to provide them with such Necessaries which many of the good Burgers want.

"These Supplies are paid by a Tax on the Colony, a third of which is the Quota for this City and County. Add to this Burthen the heavy Duty we pay on Sugar, &c. which so greatly distresses our Trade, and has so impoverished this City, that many of its former Inhabitants have removed, and others that remain, are, for want of Employ, unable to support themselves and are thereby become a public Charge. This might, in a great Measure, be prevented with Comfort to their distressed Families, and a saving to the Community, if the Employers of Labourers would attend to it with that Care and Benevolence that a Citizen owes to his Neighbour by employing him. Is it not enough that you pay Taxes for Billeting Money to support the Soldiers, and a Poor Tax, to maintain many of their Whores and Bastards in the Work-House, without giving them the Employment of the Poor, who you must support if you don't employ them, which adds greatly to swell your Poor Tax? I hope my Fellow Citizens will take this Matter into Consideration, and not countenance a Set of Men who are Enemies to Liberty, and at the Beck of Tyrants to enslave. Especially when it will bring on you the just Reproaches of the Poor. Experience has convinced us, that good Usage makes Soldiers Insolent and Ungrateful; all the Money that you have hitherto given them, has only taught them to despise and insult you. This is evident in a great Number of them, attempting last Saturday Night to blow up the Liberty-Pole, which they had near effected if some of the Inhabitants had not discovered them. They had Time to Saw the Braces, and bore a hole in the Pole, which they filled with Powder, and plugged it up, in order to set Fire to it; which was discovered by a Person at Mr. MONTAGNE'S:

"They in Resentment broke Seventy-Six Squares of his Windows, entered his house, and stopped him in the Passage with Swords, and threatened if he stirred to take his Life, which so intimidated the People in the House, that they were induced to go out of the Windows. Not satisfied with this atrocious Wickedness, they broke two of his Lamps, and several Bowls, and that they might the better accomplish their Designs, they posted Sentinels in the Roads that leads to Liberty-Pole, to prevent their being discovered. This and worse would be the Treatment we might expect if there were a greater Number of them. It's hoped that this Conduct with the former Considerations will be sufficient to prevent any Friend to Liberty from Employing any of them for the future. There is a Matter of the utmost Importance to the Liberties of the good People of this Colony and the Continent now before the Assembly. All the Friends to Liberty that incline to bear a Testimony against a literal Compliance with the Mutiny Act, [otherwise called the Billeting Act] are desired to meet at Liberty-Pole, at Twelve o'Clock, on Wednesday next, which will be on the 17th Instant, where the whole matter shall be communicated to them.

"BRUTUS.

"New-York, January 15th, 1770."

It was dated on Monday, but it was not posted until Tuesday; and its appearance could not, therefore, have provoked the renewal of the attempt to destroy the Pole, which had been made on Monday evening. It is probable, however, that the appearance of the hand-bill, on Tuesday, tended to the production of more determined efforts on the part of those against whom it had been directed; and we find, therefore, that the soldiers so effectively concealed their purposes, that, without exciting any suspicion, they succeeded in splitting the Pole with gun-powder, before eight o'clock in the evening of that day; and in effecting their escape without hindrance or detection. They also so completely arranged their plans, that, notwithstanding the shattered Pole was carefully watched until ten o'clock, by some of the inhabitants who heard the explosion, it was subsequently cut down, sawed in pieces, and split; and in that condition, on Wednesday morning, the seventeenth of January, it was found, thrown down before the door of Montagnie's Tavern, as if in defiance of those who frequented it.

The success which had thus attended this last attempt of the soldiers served still more to arouse the indignation of the inhabitants; and while the latter, in response to the invitation of "BRUTUS," were assembling around the stump of the prostrated Liberty-pole, on the Common, a party of seamen, ever ready to assist those

who appear to be oppressed, scoured the docks and piers on either river and the different warehouses throughout the City; and compelled every soldier who was employed as a laborer or stevedore, to leave his occupation and to return to his quarters.

At noon, on the same day,—Wednesday, the seventeenth of January—some two or three thousand excited Burglers assembled around the spot where, since the Summer of 1766, the Liberty-pole had stood; and there they were addressed by some one, whose name has not come down to us, in terms which were well calculated to arouse all the indignation of which they were capable. He reminded them “of the Design of the Erection” of the Liberty-pole. He undoubtedly told them, in that connection, that the “Rights of Man” were inviolable; that the property of the citizen could not be taken by any one without his “consent,” unless in defiance of the Constitution and the fundamental Laws of the Realm; that the Colonists had denied the propriety of Taxation without Representation; that they had resisted the collection of Taxes thus illegally imposed; and that, *by union*, they had succeeded in overthrowing the Ministry, in its attempt to thus oppress them. He reminded them, also, of the grievances under which the Colonists then lived; of the peril to which their Liberties were then exposed; and of the necessity for the suppression of all “Party Differences” and for the formation of an earnest union, in support of their common cause. He then submitted the following Resolutions, which had been prepared by those who had assembled at Montagnie’s Tavern, on the preceding evening:

“It is very alarming, at this important crisis, notwithstanding the humane and benevolent treatment that the troops quartered in this City have received from the Colony, and this City in particular, (although we have great ground to suspect they are not stationed here to protect us) that they should be so ungrateful and insulting to the Citizens as to make several attempts to blow up and cut down the Liberty-pole, which has been erected as a memorial of Freedom. This base conduct is an incontestable proof that they are not only enemies to the Peace and good order of this City, but that they manifest a temper devoted to destroy the least monument raised to show the laudable spirit of Liberty that prevails among the Inhabitants; and as the same diabolical spirit will naturally dispose them to use their utmost endeavors to enslave us, they must be considered by all men who are actuated by a free spirit of Liberty, as enemies, mortal enemies, to all that is dear and valuable to Englishmen.

“Impressed with these considerations, We

“RESOLVE, That we will not employ any Soldier, on any terms whatsoever; but that we will treat them with all that abhorrence and contempt which the enemies of our happy Constitution deserve.

“And, WHEREAS, many of them have repeatedly travelled the streets of this City, in the night, with arms, with which they have attempted to take the lives of many of the citizens, and, notwithstanding, made their escape, and thereby eluded the Laws and passed with impunity: THEREFORE, that the Inhabitants may not, for the future, be insulted and put in peril of their lives,

“RESOLVED: That if any Soldier shall be found in the night, having arms, except Centinels and Orderly-sergeants, or out of the Barracks after the Roll is called, such as are found, even without arms, and behave in an insulting manner, shall be treated as enemies to the Peace of this City. And we do hereby solemnly engage, to and with each other, that we will, to the utmost of our power, strictly adhere to the above Resolutions, and, if possible, bring the transgressors of them to condign punishment.

“NEW YORK, January 17, 1770.”

These Resolutions and the Pledge appended thereto, as we have said, were submitted to the vote of the meeting, and “agreed to”; and, after the adjournment, “they were signed by the most of the Inhabitants that then met.”

After signifying “their Abhorrence to a Compliance with the Mutiny or Billetting Act,” which was done “universally, by holding up their Hands, with loud Huzzas,”—and the appointment of “a Committee that should call the People together, as occasion might require,” the assemblage adjourned.\*

Smarting under the denunciations of this influential meeting, and indignant at the interference, by the seamen, with the laboring soldiers who had worked as stevedores, porters, wood-sawyers, etc., some one connected with the Garrison caused a small hand-bill to be prepared as a response to those denunciations, and in defense of the character of the soldiers. It was exceedingly violent in its tone; and, although it was evidently the product of a well-informed man, it was very well calculated to arouse all the passions of the populace and to produce mischief where mischief might be productive of the most important results.

As this hand-bill is important in this connection

\* The only record of this meeting which we have found is contained in an article “from Mr. Parker’s Gazette,” which was printed in Holt’s *New-York Journal*; or, the *General Advertiser*, No. 1412, Thursday, January, 25, 1770. It will be found among our “*Illustrative Documents*,” at the close of this article.



tion, we present it, *in extenso*, from an original copy which has been preserved in the collection of Broad-sides, in the Library of the New York Historical Society.

"God and a Soldier all Men doth adore,

"In Time of War, and not before :

"When the War is over, and all Things righted,

"God is forgotten, and the Soldier slighted.

66 "WHEREAS an uncommon and riotous disturbance prevails throughout this city, by some of its inhabitants, who stile themselves the S—s of L—y, but rather may more properly be called real enemies to society : and whereas the army, now quartered in New-York, are represented in a heinous light, to their officers and others, for having propagated a disturbance in this city, by attempting to destroy their Liberty Pole, in the Fields ; which being now completed, without the assistance of the army, we have reason to laugh at them, and beg the public only to observe, how chagrined those pretended S— of L— look as they pass thro' the streets ; especially as these great heroes thought their freedom depended in a piece of wood, and who may well be compared to Esau, who sold his birth right for a mess of pottage. And altho' those shining S— of L— have boasted of their freedom, surely they have no right to throw an aspersion upon the army, since it is out of the power of military discipline, to deprive them of their freedom : However, notwithstanding we are proud to see those elevated genius's reduced to the low degree of having their place of general rendezvous, made (a Gallows Green) a vulgar phrase for a common place of execution, for murderers, robbers, traitors and r—s, to the latter of which we may compare those famous L—B—s, who have nothing to boast of but the flippancy of tongue, altho' in defiance of the laws and good government of our most gracious sovereign, they openly and r—-y assemble in multitudes, to stir up the minds of his Majesty's good subjects to sedition : - - they have in their late seditious libel, signed Brutus, expressed the most villainous falshoods against the soldiers : But as ungrateful as they are counted, it is well known since their arrival in New-York, they have watched night and day, for the safety and protection of the city and its inhabitants ; - - - who have suffered the rays of the scorching sun, in summer, and the severe colds of freezing snowy nights, in winter, which must be the case, and fifty times worse, had there been a war : which we sincerely pray for, in hopes those S—s of L— - - - may feel the effects of it, with famine and destruction pouring on their heads. 'Tis well known by the officers of the 16th regiment, as well as by several others, that the soldiers of the sixteenth, always gained the esteem and good will of the inhabitants, in whatever quarters they lay, and

"was never counted neither insolent or ungrateful, except in this city. And likewise the Royal regiment of Artillery, who always behaved with gratitude and respect to every one. But the means of making your famous city, which you so much boast of, an impoverished one, is your acting in violation to the laws of the British government ; but take heed, lest you repent too late, - - - for if you boast so mightily of your famous exploits, as you have heretofore done, (witness the late stamp-act) we may allow you to be all ALEXANDERS, and lie under your feet, to be trodden upon with contempt and disdain ; but before we so tamely submit, be assured we will stand in defence of the rights and privileges due to a soldier, and no farther ; but we hope, while we have officers of conduct to act for us, they'll do so, as we shall leave it to their discretion, to act impartially for us, in hopes they and every honest heart, will support the soldiers wives and children, and not whores and bastards, as has been so maliciously, falsely, and audaciously inserted in their impertinent libel, addressed to the public ; for which, may the shame they mean to brand our names with, stick on theirs.

"Signed by the 16th Regiment of Foot."

On Thursday, the eighteenth of January, the day after the meeting on the Common, this hand-bill was posted on some of the fences and buildings throughout the City, giving great offence to the inhabitants ; and, during the day, Captain Isaac Sears and Walter Quackenbos, two of the "Sons of Liberty," noticed a party of six or seven soldiers whom they supposed to be engaged in posting the hand-bill, and followed them, for the purpose of watching their movements.

When they reached the Fly-market, then standing at the foot of Maiden-lane, the soldiers proceeded to post the obnoxious bills ; when Captain Sears seized the man who was thus engaged, while Mr. Quackenbos seized another, who was carrying the bundle of bills which they were thus employed in posting. The associates of the two captives seem to have made little opposition to the arrest of their comrades—one, only, drew his bayonet ; and he was promptly silenced by a blow on his head from a ram's-horn, which was hurled at him by Captain Sears ; while all the others, as well as himself, seem to have fled, without striking a blow, probably to the lower Barracks, in Fort George.

Thus relieved from the interference of the comrades of their prisoners, Captain Sears and Mr. Quackenbos promptly carried the latter to the Mayor's-office, and lodged a complaint against them, probably on a charge of Libel : and His Honor, after sending for Alderman



Desbrosses, seems to have proceeded, as promptly, in an examination of the subject.

The little City appears to have been quickly aroused by the arrest of these soldiers; and within a few minutes, "a considerable number of people" hastened to the Mayor's office; while, from the lower Barracks, a party of upwards of twenty soldiers, armed with cutlasses and bayonets, and thirsting for revenge, hastened, by way of Pearl-street, to the same place.

As the inhabitants were unarmed, they generally determined to allow the soldiers to pass, without molesting them, and opened for that purpose; but Captain Richardson and a few of the inhabitants, more resolute than the others, "judging that they intended to take the two soldiers from the Mayor's, by force," promptly moved toward the door of the office, when they saw the soldiers approaching, and declared their intention of defending the entrance. The soldiers halted when they came opposite to the office; and many, if not the whole of them, drew their arms, faced about, and demanded the release of the two prisoners: some of them, it is said, attempted to force themselves into the office, for the avowed purpose of rescuing the offenders; and would have undoubtedly succeeded, had not those who stood at the door, headed by Captain Richardson, "prevented them," and ordered them to return to the Barracks.

In the meantime, while the infuriated soldiers were thus threatening the inhabitants who were present, a number of the latter "ran to some sleighs that were near, pulled out some of the 'rungs,' and returned to the Mayor's office, ready, and evidently willing, to measure their strength, in conflict, with those, belonging to the Army, who seemed to be preparing to attack the Magistracy of the City, while it was engaged in the discharge of its official duties.

The volunteer guard, at the Mayor's door, was firm in its resolution to prevent the soldiers from interfering with the course of justice, within the office; and when the sleigh-rungs appeared, each held by a resolute hand, the time seemed to have come when the Colonists and the Royal troops were to become open enemies and active belligerents. There is little doubt that serious consequences would have speedily followed, had not the Mayor and Alderman Desbrosses, at that moment, appeared at the door and ordered the armed soldiers to return to the Barracks—an order which, "after some time," was seemingly obeyed, by the party moving up the Fly, now Pearl-street, attended and over-awed, as it went, by the resolute men who had already confronted them, as well as by the Magistrates and a large concourse of the inhabitants.

When the retreating soldiers reached Golden-hill,—as John-street, between Gold and Pearl-streets, was then called—they turned up that way, with the crowd at their heels; but they had scarcely reached the summit of the high ground, when "a considerable number of soldiers joined them," probably from the upper Barracks, near where the new Court-house now stands. This reinforcement was led by one who wore "silk stockings and neat buckskin breeches,"—probably, as was then supposed, an officer in disguise;—and as it was also armed, the united parties of excited soldiers were mutually "inspired to re-insult the Magistrates" and exasperate the inhabitants.

The passage up Golden-hill, from the Fly, was then a narrow one—much narrower, indeed, than that part of John-street is now—and the more resolute of the citizens were thus enabled to securely cover the unarmed crowd in their rear, from what, very soon, was seen to be the wicked intentions of the greatly strengthened party of armed soldiers.

The soldiers drew their weapons and pushed down the Golden-hill, towards the Fly, with the evident intention of returning, through the inhabitants who had followed them, to the Fly, and, probably, of proceeding, again, to the Mayor's office, for the purpose of rescuing the two prisoners, whom they had not succeeded in rescuing, a few minutes before—their silk-stockinged leader crying out, "Soldiers: draw your bayonets and cut your way through them;" and the soldiers defiantly shouting, "Where are your Sons of Liberty, now?" at the same time, "falling on the citizens with great violence, cutting and slashing." The resolute burghers who had followed them, notwithstanding all, except six or seven who had clubs, were entirely unarmed, steadily opposed them, however; and the soldiers made little progress down the hill, "for some time;" and not until one, who struck a blow at one of the soldiers and, by missing his aim, lost his club and was compelled to retreat, were the soldiers successful in their attempt to break the line.

While this contest was in progress, and before the line of the inhabitants, already mentioned, was broken, "a *posse* of soldiers came from "another quarter," evidently along the Fly; and showed themselves on the rear of the inhabitants, who were holding in check those who were on the hill. It is not stated where this reinforcement to the assailants came from; but, from the fact that another, a third, reinforcement was simultaneously moving *up* the Fly, evidently from the lower Barracks, in Fort George, it is very likely that this had come from the upper Barracks, *down* the Fly; and that both were moving in concert. Be this as it

may, the former showed itself at the foot of Golden-hill, in the rear of the struggling inhabitants; and it showed its proclivity by shouting to the soldiers who were on the hill, "Cut your way down, and we'll meet you half way;" but, as nothing is said on the subject, it is probable that, while the parties were yet separated by the cordon of citizens, it made no other demonstration than that which we have mentioned.

Nor was the party who advanced up the Fly, less insolent or abusive of the unarmed citizens whom it encountered. Mr. John White was pursued by an armed soldier who avowed his intention to take his life, and was saved only because his pursuer slipped and fell, affording an opportunity for the intended victim to escape; and others were insulted as they attempted to pass along the street.

As we have stated, the line on Golden-hill was broken; and some of the assailants rushed down the slope, toward the Fly, cutting and slashing as they went; seriously wounding, among others, a fisherman, a tea-water-man, and Mr. Francis Field, a Quaker—the latter while standing on his stoop, at the corner, quietly looking on at the conflict—and consolidating their strength with that of the two parties at the foot of the hill. At the same time, those who remained on the hill attacked some sailors, cutting one of them badly in the head and hand, and stabbing another with a bayonet, so severely "that his life was thought in danger." A boy, also, was cut on the head with a cutlass; and a woman who attempted to protect him was bayoneted.

The inhabitants gallantly defended themselves with such weapons as they could procure; and, for a time, the contest was well sustained; but, under the leadership of Captain Richardson—the same who had defended the Mayor's office—and Mr. Targee, each of whom had procured a halbert, the soldiers were finally compelled to give way, several of them having been disarmed by the inhabitants and severely punished.\*

Serious consequences seemed to be imminent; and the City, was aroused throughout its entire extent. "Many of the Magistrates collected from different parts of the City," for the purpose of quelling the disturbance; and the officers of the Army were also sent for, to assist in the undertaking—a duty which the latter, alone, effected, and, for a time, restored quiet to the City; and, "thus," in the words of an eye-wit-

ness, "ended a riot, which would have been productive of much worse consequences had the citizens been armed."

The spirit of lawlessness, however, was not yet ended. In the evening of the same day, [*Friday, January 19*] two lamplighters, while discharging their duties, were assaulted by the soldiers, and one of them was severely injured; and, on the following day, [*Saturday, January 20*] others, among the inhabitants, were similarly interfered with. About noon, on the latter day, a party of soldiers encountered a party of sailors, "at the head of Chapel-street"—Park-row opposite Beekman-street—and again the disturbances were renewed. The sailors evidently had the best of the affair; and messengers ran to the Barracks, near by, for reinforcements, which appear to have been promptly forthcoming. Again the fury of the contestants seemed to threaten the most serious consequences; and the Mayor and Aldermen of the City, who were sitting in the new Jail, now the Hall of Records, for the purpose of "inquiring into the riots and batteries of Friday," were called out to restore the quiet of the City. An alarm was also given throughout the streets, "that the soldiers had rushed out of the Barracks and were slaughtering the inhabitants, in the Fields"—the present Park—and, with the lesson of the preceding day before them, the inhabitants quickly responded to the summons.

From their nearness to the scene of the conflict, the Magistrates were first on the ground; but their presence had no effect on the soldiers; nor would the latter allow them to send to the Quarters of the Officers, for the purpose of securing their assistance in dispersing the rioters. Soon after, however, "a great body of people were seen coming up the Broadway;" and the soldiers saw them and understood the object of the assemblage, and "went off to their Barracks"—they had learned something during the preceding forty-eight hours; and the influence of sleigh-rungs and clubs, well applied, was seen to be more potent with the arrogant soldiery than the authority of the Magistracy or the requirements of the Articles of War.

There were some other angry demonstrations on the part of the soldiers, during the day, but they resulted in nothing but words and unimportant blows; and, with the setting of the sun, the quiet of the City was completely restored, probably through the interference of those in authority, civil as well as military, by means of which the soldiers were restrained and kept more closely to their Barracks.

The number of those who were injured during these conflicts, soldiers as well as sailors and citizens, is not now known; nor is it clear that any lives were lost, although deaths were reported at the time, and the severity of the

\* One of the muskets which were thus taken from the soldiers, was recently in our possession; and a minute account of its capture—an apprentice-boy, named Michael Smith—may be found in our *Sons of Liberty in New-York*, 112-117. It is still owned by his descendants, in the City of New-York. The bayonet and cutlass which formerly accompanied it, have disappeared within the memory of those who were recently living.

wounds inflicted seems to warrant the belief that fatal consequences were reasonably looked for, and may, in some instances, have ensued.

On the twenty-second of January—two days after the close of the affray—a Merchant of New York, writing to his correspondent in London, thus briefly but clearly described the events of the preceding week and the excitement which prevailed in the City at the date of the writing:

*"Extract of a Letter from New-York, dated  
"Jan. 22.*

"We are all in Confusion in this City; the Soldiers have cut and blowed up Liberty-Pole, and have caused much Trouble between the Inhabitants: On Friday last between Burling Slip and the Fly Market, was an Engagement between the Inhabitants and the Soldiers, where much Blood was split: One Sailor got run through the Body, who since died: One Man got his Skull cut in a most cruel Manner. On Saturday the Hall Bell rang for an Alarm, when was another Battle between the Inhabitants and Soldiers; but the Soldiers met with the Rubbers, the chiefest Part being Sailors with Clubs to revenge the Death of their Brother, which they did with Courage, and made them all run to their Barracks. What will be the End of this God knows!"\*

That this description of the intense excitement which then prevailed was not overdrawn, is well known to every one who is acquainted with the history of that period. Indeed, so deep-seated was the evident determination of the inhabitants to employ force for the defence of their lives and property, from the insolent aggressions of the soldiers, and to return blow for blow, at least, that both the Magistracy and the General in command of the forces, considered it necessary to take immediate steps to pacify them, in order to preserve the Colony from the most serious disorders, and, probably, the Continent from Revolution. Accordingly, the soldiers were ordered to remain in their Barracks, in all cases, whether on or off duty, unless they should be accompanied by a non-commissioned officer, who should be answerable for their conduct while they were thus abroad; and they were thus, at once, prevented from placing their labor in competition with that of the workmen of the City, and from insulting the Towns-men and interfering with them in any way, without competent authority to do so, from their military superiors. This Order was communicated to the inhabitants of the City, by the Mayor, on the same day as that on which the

preceding letter was written, in a neatly printed handbill, from an original of which, belonging to the New York Historical Society, we have made the following exact copy:



"To the Inhabitants of this City,

"**W**HEREAS some unhappy Differences have lately happened between the Inhabitants and the Soldiers: I am authorized to inform the Publick, That to avoid the like in future, Orders are issued by the GENERAL, That no Soldiers are to go out of their Barracks, off Duty, unless under the Command of a Non-commissioned officer, who is to be answerable for the orderly Behaviour of the Soldiers, and take Care that they offer no Insult to the Inhabitants; and this Order will be strictly observed till the Amity and Friendship that should subsist among the King's Subjects, is restored; and in Case the Citizens abuse them, they are to endeavour to discover the Offenders, and report them to a Magistrate, that they may be proceeded against according to Law: Therefore when Soldiers are seen marching about in Numbers, the Inhabitants are not to be alarmed, as it will be in Consequence of the above-mentioned Orders. This Precaution it is hoped, will prevent further Evils, restore Peace, and quiet the Minds of the People; and it is expected, that the Inhabitants, on their Parts, will promote every good Intention to preserve Peace and good Order.

"W. HICKS, Mayor.

"City of New-York  
"Jan. 22, 1770."

No further comment is necessary to show either the cause of this contest between the soldiers and the burghers, its character, or its consequences. This handbill explains all these, and leaves nothing to be disputed. The Inhabitants had demanded relief from the interference, by the soldiers, with their individual rights; and this Proclamation indicated that they had secured it. They had demanded relief from the interference, by the soldiers, with the labor in the City; and this Proclamation indicated that the Garrison was, thereafter, to be employed only on Garrison duty. They had complained that the streets of the City were occupied by armed men, like a conquered town or a fortress; and this Proclamation indicated that only for legitimate purposes, and then in

\* We quote this letter from "The St. James's Chronicle; Or, British Evening-Post, No. 1412, London, From Tuesday, March 13, to Thursday, March 15, 1770."



the presence of an officer who should be accountable for their conduct, should a soldier be seen in the streets of the City. All these steps were taken for the purpose of quieting the disturbed temper of the inhabitants; and the information was accompanied with an appeal to the burghers, in view of these concessions, to preserve the peace and "prevent further Evils."

On the second of February, *The New-York Gazette* contained the following paragraph concerning this affair:

"NEW-YORK, Feb. 2.

"A particular account of some riotous proceedings in this city on Friday the 19th inst. was designed to be inserted in this day's paper [*New-York Gazette*] but we were disappointed in a promise of sending us what was said to be the truth: We are apprehensive, however, that a real true account is difficult to come at, because whatever side relates a story, generally tell it with a bias,—the Printer would be glad to give an impartial one, but since that cannot be acquired, he must leave it to common fame. We are assured, there were several persons wounded on both sides, who are all since in a fair way of recovery.\*

On the twenty-first of February, the Lieutenant-governor of the Colony, Cadwallader Colden, thus communicated the subject to the Home Government. We copy from the Manuscript Letter-book of the Lieutenant-governor, which has been preserved among "The Colden Papers," by the New-York Historical Society. "To The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Earl of Hillsborough, &c.

"New York, 21st February 1770

"No. 9.

"My Lord—

"I have the honour of your Commands No. 35 of the 9th of December, with his Majesty's additional Instruction to me, which shall be punctually obeyed.

\* \* \* \* \*

"My Lord. It is my Duty to inform your Lordship that a violent Party continue their assiduous Endeavours to disturb the Government by working on the Passions of the Populace, and exciting Riots, tho' in every attempt they have hitherto been unsuccessful. The last night have been of fatal Consequence, if not prevented by the prudent Conduct of the Magistrates and Officers of the Army.—An ill humour had been artfully worked up between the Towns-People & Soldiers, which produced several Affrays, and daily, by means of wicked

"Incendaries, became more serious.—At last some Towns People began to Arm, and the Soldiers rush'd from their Barracks to support their fellow Soldiers—Had it not been for the interposition of the Magistrates, and of the most respectable Inhabitants, and of the Officers of the Army, it had become a very dangerous Affair—As it was, only a few Wounds and Bruises were received on both sides—A very respectable number of the principal Citizens publicly met together, & sent 42 of their Number to the Mayor to assure the Magistrates of their assistance in preserving the peace of the Town: and the Officers of the Army were no less assiduous in quieting the Minds of the Soldiers—and in guarding against every accident which might renew any Dispute with the Towns People—Since which the Peace has remained quiet—It is not doubted here that these Disturbances were promoted by the Enemies of Government, in order to raise an indignation against the Assembly (then Setting) for granting Money to the Soldiers, who were represented as ready to cut the throats of the Citizens.

"The Persons who appear on these occasions are of inferior Rank, but it is not doubted they are directed by some Persons of distinction in this Place. It is likewise thought they are encouraged by some Persons of Note in England. They consist chiefly of Dissenters, who are very numerous, especially in the Country, and have a great influence over the Country Members of Assembly.—The most active among them are Independents from New England, or Educated there, and of republican Principles. The Friends of Government are of the Church of England, the Lutherans, and the old Dutch Congregation, with several Presbyterians—From this the reason will appear of some Bills having passed the House of Assembly in favour of the Dissenters, and in prejudice to the few Ministers of the Church of England who have Stipends by a Law of this Province—There was less opposition to them in that House, from the confidence they had that they would not be passed by the Council—they were accordingly rejected there.—I must leave it to your Lordship's judgement, whether these Things deserve his Majesty's attention: and I transmit to the Plantation Board a printed Copy of the Journal of the Assembly, to enable You to form your judgment thereon."

\* \* \* \* \*

It will be observed that the venerable Executive of the Colony attributed the fight to the popular opposition to the Mutiny Act: and that no other cause than those which were Political was suggested as having influenced them.

We have no knowledge of the date of the arrival of this Despatch in London; but, on the

\* As we have not found the number of *The Gazette* which contained this account, we copy it from "*The Boston Chronicle*, No. 169, Boston, From Monday, February 5, "to Thursday, February 8, 1770;" and as we are thus favored with an Eastern contemporaneous recognition of the affair, while we also enjoy the advantage of the information it conveys, we the more cheerfully find a place for it.

thirtieth of March, the following reference to it was published, in London, in *The Gentleman's Magazine*—Volume XL. Page 141 :

“Friday, 30.

“Some important dispatches from America are said to be received. It is reported but not confirmed, that an affair that has lately happened between the Military and the People of New York, will cause some speedy alteration in the arrangement of the forces in that continent. It began by an act of wantonness in the soldiery, in cutting down the Tree of Liberty, for which the people of that country have a great veneration.”

The most complete account of the affair, which we have seen, however, is that which appeared in the *Supplement to the New-York Journal, Or General Advertiser*, No. 1417, New York, Thursday, March 1, 1770; a carefully-prepared copy of which will be found in the supplement to this article.\*

Such was what has been known, locally, as “THE BATTLE OF GOLDEN-HILL. It was, at best, very far from what might properly be called a “Battle :” yet it was quite as much a Battle as were the riots in Boston and Westminster ; and very much more so than the affair at Lexington, where only one party fought and the other, after the fighting commenced, did nothing but run.

When considered as to TIME, there can be no doubt that “The Battle of Golden-hill” preceded the earliest of the other fights, fully six weeks. When considered as to the CHARACTER OF THE ASSAILANTS, one of the belligerents, on Golden-hill, was composed almost entirely of unarmed Colonists and the other entirely of regular Soldiers : Boston presents no clearer record : while the Alamance, Westminster, and Lexington can justly make no such pretension. At Golden-hill, the PRIMARY CAUSE of the affray was purely theoretical ; and that concerned a well-settled political opposition, on the part of the Colonists, to the Army, *per se* : at Boston, the difference was wholly personal in its character—being retaliatory on the part of the Townsmen, for insults offered by the soldiers because of other insults to which one of their own number had been subjected by the Townsmen, when asking for work at a rope-walk ; at the Alamance and Westminster, it was wholly of a local and personal character : at Lexington, when viewed from any stand-point, the Colonists either had no just cause for parading on the village-green or they were very shabby in their peculiar mode of defending it. When considered as to its MOVING CAUSE, the unarmed Colonists on Golden-hill acted only on the defensive, against the unprovoked aggressions of the armed soldiers on their persons, property, and individual rights : in each of the other cases

the soldiers were purely on the defensive, against the riotous aggressions of the Colonists—either positive, against the soldiers in person, as at Boston ; or indirect, against the Law of the Land, which the soldiers or the *posse comitatus* were called upon to sustain, as at the Alamance, and Westminster, and Lexington.

Measured by the standard to which we have brought the other claims, therefore, that in behalf of Golden-hill is superior to any of the others ; and, it seems to us, in view of all the known facts concerning it, that nothing is left which can impair our claim, that the first blood which was shed in the cause of the American Revolution, was that which fell on Golden-hill, on the nineteenth and twentieth of January, 1770.

MORRISANIA, Jan. 1869.

H. B. D.

## ILLUSTRATIVE PAPERS.

### I.

[From *The New-York Journal, or, the General Advertiser*. Numb. 1411, Thursday, January 18, 1770.]

To the PRINTER.

A Printed Paper signed *Brutus*, having been dispersed through the City on Tuesday last, setting forth among other Matters, that the hiring of Soldiers to work in this City is injurious to the poor Inhabitants, and, that there was a Matter of the utmost Importance to the Liberties of the People of this Colony and the Continent then before the Assembly, and desiring all the Friends to Liberty, who inclined to bear Testimony against a literal Compliance with the Billetting Act, to meet at Liberty Pole on Wednesday the 17th Instant, when the whole Matter was to be communicated ; in consequence thereof a large Body of People supposed to be near 2000, assembled at the Time and Place appointed ; when they manifested great Uneasiness at the Conduct of the Soldiers, and supporting them in this Place : and could hardly be restrain'd from proceeding to some Acts of Violence, by considering that the Innocent might suffer with the Guilty. They were the more irritated, by a fresh Insult upon them, repeated the Night before, in destroying the Liberty Pole, which had been attempted several successive Nights.

It is said this riotous Behaviour of the Soldiers, was occasion'd by their hearing that the Inhabitants in general, were against allowing any Money to support them here ; and many People think this very Behaviour, is a Proof of the Impropriety of contributing to support such a Set of People among us : and say, if they behave thus, under the Controul of strict Discipline and good Officers, what have we to apprehend if they should happen to be under bad ones ? What

\* *Illustrative Papers*, III., Pages 23-29, post.

would they be ready to do at the Word of Command?

It is said, most of the People assembled sign'd a Paper, the Contents, of which we have not heard, only one of the Articles was against employing or dealing with Soldiers.

The present Disposition on both sides seems to forebode ill Consequences, unless timely prevented.

A. B.

## II.

[From *The New-York Journal; or, the General Advertiser*, Numb. 1421, Thursday, January 25. 1770.]

From *Mr. PARKER'S GAZETTE*.

When our Assembly granted Two Thousand Pounds, for the Support of the Troops, it was understood that a great Part of the Thousand Pounds immediately to be given for that Purpose, out of the Treasury, was to be appropriated to discharge an Arrearage due to sundry Persons, for Articles that they had furnished. The Discharge of these Debts, was used as an Argument by the Advocates, who were for granting Billetting Money, why such Grant should be made, urging that a great Part of the Money to be given, was already due to some of the Inhabitants. It was therefore very alarming to the Friends of Liberty in this City, to learn, that a Number of Memorials, from Officers and other Persons, had been sent to the Lieut. Governor, and by him to the General Assembly, desiring them to make Provision for the Arrearage and Room-Rent, &c. and what greatly added to their Anxiety was, that if these Demands were paid, as it would be for Debts contracted by and for the Army, it would be a literal Compliance with the Mutiny (otherwise called the Billetting) Act; which requires, That the Articles shall first be furnished, and the Debts accrue, and then the Person or Persons, that had paid for Beer, Vinegar, Bedding, &c. shall apply to the Assembly of the Colony, where such Troops are quartered; who are to make Provision for the Payment of such Sums, "in such Manner as the Public Charges for the Provinces respectively are raised." They being entirely at a Loss to know, what Resolution the House would come to, on the Subject; and as the Matter was very important, they determined on calling the People together, in order to take their Sentiments on it. Accordingly an Haud Bill was sent thro' the City, desiring the Inhabitants to meet at Liberty Pole, on Wednesday the 17th Instant, at 12 o'Clock, where a vast Number of them met, of all Ranks, not less than 3000. The Liberty Pole being cut down the Night before by the Soldiers; the Gentleman that was appointed to address the People, began, by informing them of the Design

of its Erections, and recommended to the Inhabitants in very pathetic Terms, to drop all Party Differences, and unite in supporting their common Liberties; and then proceeded to read the following Resolutions, which were agreed to; and after the other Business was finished, they were signed by the most of the Inhabitants that then met. He then asked them, Whether they would signify their Abhorrence to a Compliance with the Mutiny or Billetting Act? which they did universally, by holding up their Hands, and loud Huzzas. Upon which he proposed to them, to appoint a Committee that should call the People together, as Occasion may require, which they accordingly did.

It is very alarming at this important Crisis, notwithstanding the humane and benevolent Treatment, that the Troops quartered in this City, have received from the Colony, and this City in particular; (altho' we have great Ground to suspect they are not stationed here to protect us) that they should be so ungrateful and insulting to the Citizens, as to make several Attempts to blow up and cut down the Liberty Pole, which has been erected as a Memorial of Freedom. This base Conduct is an incontestible Proof, that they are not only Enemies to the Peace and good Order of this City; but that they manifest a Temper, devoted to destroy the least Monument, raised to shew the laudable Spirit of Liberty, that prevails among the Inhabitants: And as the same diabolical Spirit will naturally dispose them to use their utmost Endeavours to enslave us; they must be considered by all Men, who are actuated by a free Spirit of Liberty, as Enemies, mortal Enemies, to all that is dear and valuable to Englishmen. Impressed by these Considerations, We

RESOLVE. That we will not employ any Soldier, on any Terms whatsoever; but that we will treat them with all that Abhorrence and Contempt which the Enemies of our happy Constitution, deserve. And whereas many of them have repeatedly travelled the Streets of this City, in the Night, with Arms, with which they have attempted to take the Lives of many of the Citizens, and notwithstanding made their Escape, and thereby eluded the Laws, and passed with Impunity: THEREFORE, that the Inhabitants may not for the future be insulted, and put in Peril of their Lives,

RESOLVED, That if any Soldier shall be found in the Night having Arms, (except Centinels and Orderly Serjants) or out of the Barracks after the Roll is called, such as are found even without Arms, and behave in an insulting Manner, shall be treated as Enemies to the Peace of this City: And we do hereby solemnly engage, to and with each other, That we will, to the Utmost of our Power, strictly adhere to the above Resolu-



Resolutions, and if possible bring the Transgressors of them, to condign Punishment.

NEW-YORK, January 17, 1770.

### III.

[From *The Supplement to the New-York Journal, Or General Advertiser*, Numb. 1417. Thursday, March 1, 1770.]

[The following Account not being before published in our Paper, is now inserted by particular Desire.]

#### To the PRINTER

SIR, *New-York, Jan. 31, 1770.*

*I have endeavoured to get the most impartial Account of the Attempts made to cut down the Liberty Pole, and final Accomplishment of it; together with the Riots that have happened in this City, between the Inhabitants and the Soldiers: Please to give them a place in your Paper, for the Information of the Public.*

ON Saturday night the 13th instant, about eight o'clock, a party of soldiers, near forty in number, began to execute a design they had formed to cut down the Liberty Pole: To effect this with the greater safety, they placed centinels in the different roads that lead to it, and the most public places, to discover any number of the inhabitants that should be making towards the pole to obstruct them. In this situation they were discovered saving the spurs, by some persons that were crossing the fields, who went into Mr. Montanye's, and reported it to sundry persons in the house: Whereupon two went out to the work-house fence, in order to be convinced of the truth of the information; from whence they discovered a soldier boring a hole in the pole; they immediately return'd to Mr. Montanye's to alarm the few inhabitants that were there. Captain White was attacked near the house by a soldier, who drew his bayonet on him and threatened to take his life if he alarmed the citizens: But as the former was unarmed, he judg'd it most prudent to endeavour to dissuade him from offering violence to his person, which he was prevail'd on not to do, as Captain White did not act then as if he would alarm the citizens; upon which the soldier returned to his companions at the pole. The people at Mr. Montanye's came out and called out fire, in order to alarm the Inhabitants. Soon after a fire was seen at the Pole, which proved to be a fuse that the soldiers had put in it, in order to communicate the fire to a cavity which they had made in the Pole and filled with powder, with a design to split it. The fuse did not communicate the fire, nor do the execution that was expected, which the people at Mr. Montanye's observing, hissed at the soldiers; and as the former had just called out fire, the latter considered it as

a taunt on their abortive labour. These sons of Mars could not brook the least sign of satisfaction in the citizens, at their heroic attack on a pole's proving unsuccessful: No, they unprovoked, determined on a more heroic action; which was to storm Mr. Montanye's house; and accordingly entered it with drawn swords and bayonets, insulting the company, and beat the Waiter. Not satisfied with this male treatment, they proceeded to destroy everything they could conveniently come at. They broke eighty-four panes of glass, two lamps and two bowls; after which they quitted the house with precipitation, lest any of them should be discovered: Notwithstanding three of them were known, one of which was Corporal Spry. Upon these matters being communicated to the Officer that commanded for the night, at the upper barracks, he ordered a centinel at the pole, as is supposed, to prevent any further attempt being made to level it; but he was soon after removed. It was not long after he was placed there before many of the citizens were alarmed, and went up to the pole, and finding then that there was no apparent danger of any more disturbance, they dispersed. Notwithstanding three of the soldiers were confined for their being concerned in the above riot, their companions did not lose sight of their design to cut down the Liberty-pole; for on the next Monday night they placed centinels of observation in different parts of the fields, and agreed on signals to notify the approach of any persons that might mar the execution of their purpose. This was discovered by Alderman Lott, who reported to the officer, who commanded at the upper Barracks, his having seen a Number of them in the fields, when they ought to have been in their barracks. A number of inhabitants were so incensed at this insulting conduct, that they judg'd it necessary, for that and the other reason contained in the following paper, to publish it.

#### To The PUBLIC.

“WHOMEVER seriously considers the impoverished state of this city, especially of many of the poor Inhabitants of it, must be greatly surprised at the conduct of such as employ the soldiers, when there are a number of the former that want employment to support their distressed families. Every man of sense amongst us knows that the army is not kept here to protect, but to enslave us; and notwithstanding our Assemblies have given vast sums of Money to provide them with such necessities, which many of the good Burgers want.

“These Supplies are paid by a tax on the colony, a third of which is the quota for this city and county. Add to this burthen the heavy duty we pay on sugar, &c. which so greatly



"distresses our trade, and has so impoverished this city, that many of its former inhabitants have removed, and others that remain, are, for want of employ, unable to support themselves, and are thereby become a public charge.

"This might, in a great measure, be prevented, with comfort to their distressed families, and a saying to the community, if the employers of labourers would attend to it with that care and benevolence that a citizen owes to his neighbour, by employing him. Is it not enough that you pay taxes for billeting money to support the soldiers, and a poor tax, to maintain many of their whores and bastards in the Work-house, without giving them the employment of the poor, who you must support if you don't employ them, which adds greatly to swell our poor tax? I hope my fellow citizens will take this matter into consideration, and not countenance a set of men who are enemies to liberty, and at the beck of tyrants to enslave; especially when it will bring on you the just reproaches of the poor. Experience has convinced us, that good usage makes soldiers insolent and ungrateful; all the money that you have hitherto given them, has only taught them to despise and insult you. This is evident in a great number of them attempting last Saturday night to blow up the Liberty Pole; which they had near effected, if some of the inhabitants had not discovered them. They had Time to saw the braces, and bore a hole in the pole, which they filled with powder, and plugged it up, in order to set fire to it; which was discovered by a person at Mr. Montanye's: They in resentment broke seventy-six squares of his windows, entered his house, and stopped him in the passage with swords, and threatened if he stirred, to take his life; which so intimidated the people in the house, that they were induced to go out of the windows. Not satisfied with this atrocious wickedness, they broke two of his lamps, and several bowls; and that they might the better accomlishe their designs, they posted centinels in the roads that lead to Liberty-pole, to prevent their being discovered. This and worse would be the treatment we might expect if there were a greater number of them. It's hoped that this conduct, with the former considerations, will be sufficient to prevent any friend to liberty from employing any of them for the future. There is a matter of the utmost importance to the liberties of the good people of this colony and the continent, now before the Assembly. All the friends to liberty that incline to bear a testimony against a literal compliance with the mutiny act, [otherwise called the Billeting Act] are desired to meet at Liberty-pole, at twelve o'clock, on Wednesday next, which

"will be on the 17th instant, where the whole matter shall be communicated to them.

"BRUTUS.

"*New-York, Jan. 15th, 1770.*"

N.B. Altho' the above paper is dated the 15th, it did not make its appearance before Tuesday the 16th; so that from what has been related it is evident, they intended to cut down the pole the first opportunity, if Brutus had not been published.

About eight o'clock on Tuesday night, three soldiers were discovered at work, about the pole, and sundry persons cloaked, lying down behind a split canoe near it; these were guarded by a number of armed soldiers in an old house not far from it, which has been a temporary barrack for some of them; and on this occasion, from it's vicinity, served as a good watch and guard house to effect their design, without being so much exposed to be discovered by their officers, as they would be if their quarters were at a greater distance from the pole. Soon after they were discovered an explosion was heard at the pole, which proved to be the burning of powder in the manner and for the purpose before mentioned, which split it. Immediately thereafter they retired, expecting that the noise of the explosion would alarm the citizens: The alarm being accordingly given, many of them went up to the fields, and continued in Mr. Montanye's house till about ten o'clock, which for that time prevented the soldiers doing any more to the accomplishment of their design. The citizens that retired from the fields, finding the soldiers were disposed to persist in insulting the inhabitants, drew up the resolutions that have been published, with an intention to propose them to the people that were to meet the next day. The soldiers determined to execute their project, availed themselves of the dead hour of night; and at one o'clock they cut down the pole, sawed and split it in pieces, and carried them to Mr. Montanye's door, where they threw them down, and said let us go to our barracks.

When the citizens convened the next day, for the purpose mentioned in Brutus, many of them exasperated at the pole's being cut down, and seeing the vicinity of the old house above mentioned, to the place where the pole stood; and upon their being informed of the use that had been made of it in cutting down the pole, and many persons having been insulted from time to time, by the inhabitants of it; they were desirous that application should be made to the Corporation, whose property it is, to pull it down. After the questions respecting the business of the day were put, it was judged necessary, in order to appease the people, to ask them whether the committee they were to appoint should make application to the Corporation, to request that the

old house might be pulled down? which they answered in the affirmative, accompanied with loud acclamations. Immediately thereupon a number of the soldiers drew their cutlasses and bayonets, and desired the inhabitants to come and pull it down. This new act of insolence would have been productive of a very terrible affray, if the Magistrates and Officers had not interposed. While the people were collecting in the fields, a number of sailors went along the docks, and turn'd ashore all the soldiers they found at work on board the vessels, and obliged such as were at work in stores, to quit it. The soldiers still bent on farther insults to the citizens; on Friday the 19th, published the following paper, and went in posses through the streets, putting them up at the most public places of the city, and threw some of them into the Mayor's entry.

"God and a Soldier all Men doth adore  
 "In Time of War, and not before;  
 "When the War is over, and all Things righted,  
 "God is forgotten, and the Soldier slighted.

"Whereas an uncommon and riotous disturbance prevails throughout this city, by some of its inhabitants, who stile themselves the S—s of L—y, but rather may more properly be called real enemies to society; and whereas the army, now quartered in New York, are represented in a heinous light, to their officers and others, for having propagated a disturbance in this city, by attempting to destroy their Liberty pole, in the Fields; which being now completed, without the assistance of the army, we have reason to laugh at them, and beg the public only to observe how chagrined these pretended S—s of L—y look as they pass thro' the streets, especially as these great heroes thought their freedom depended on a piece of wood, and who may well be compared to Esau, who sold his birth-right for a mess of pottage. And altho' those shining S—s of L— have boasted of their freedom, surely they have no right to throw an aspersion upon the army since it is out of the power of military discipline, to deprive them of their freedom: However, notwithstanding we are proud to see those elevated genius's reduced to the low degree of having their place of general rendezvous, made (a Gallows Green) a vulgar phrase for a common place of execution, for murderers, robbers, traitors and r—s, to the latter of which we may compare these famous L—B—s, who have nothing to boast of but the flippancy of tongue, altho' in defiance of the laws and good Government of our most gracious sovereign, they openly and r—y assemble in multitudes, to stir up the minds of his Majesty's good subjects to sedition;—they have in their late seditious libel, signed Brutus, expressed the most villanous falshoods against the soldiers: But as ungrateful as

"they are counted, it is well known since their arrival in New-York, they have watched night and day, for the safety and protection of the city and its inhabitants;—who have suffered the rays of the scorching sun, in summer, and the severe colds of freezing snowy nights, in winter, which must be the case, and fifty times worse had there been a war, which we sincerely pray for, in hopes these S—s of L— may feel the effects of it, with famine and destruction pouring on their heads. 'Tis well known by the officers of the 16th regiment, as well as by several others, that the soldiers of the sixteenth, always gained the esteem and good will of the inhabitants, in whatever quarters they lay, and was never counted neither insolent or ungrateful, except in this city. And likewise the Royal regiment of Artillery, who always behaved with gratitude and respect to every one. But the means of making your famous city, which you so much boast of, an impoverished one, is your acting in violation of the laws of the British government; but take heed, lest you repent too late,—for if you boast so mightily of your famous exploits, as you have heretofore done, (witness the late Stamp-act) we may allow you to be all ALEXANDERS, and lie under your feet, to be trodden upon with contempt and disdain; but before we so tamely submit, be assured we will stand in defence of the rights and privileges due to a soldier, and no farther, but we hope, while we have officers of conduct to act for us, they'll do so, as we shall leave it to their discretion, to act impartially for us, in hopes they and every honest heart, will support the soldiers wives and children, and not whores and bastards, as has been so maliciously, falsly, and audaciously inserted in their impertinent libel, addressed to the public; for which, may the shame they meant to brand our names with, stick on theirs.

"Signed by the 16th Regiment of Foot."

Mr. Isaac Sears and Mr. Walter Quackenbos, seeing six or seven soldiers going towards the Fly-market, concluded they were going to it to put up some of the above papers: upon the former's coming to the market, they made up to the soldiers and found them as they had conjectured, pasting up one of the papers. Mr. Sears seized the soldier that was fixing the paper, by the collar, and asked him what business he had to put up libels against the inhabitants? and that he would carry him before the Mayor. Mr. Quackenbos took hold of one that had the Papers on his arms: A soldier standing to the right of Mr. Sears, drew his bayonet; upon which the latter took a ram's horn, and threw it at the former, which struck him on the head, and then the sol-

diers, except the two that were seized, made off, and alarmed others in the barracks. They immediately carried the two to the Mayor and assigned him the reason of their bringing them before him. The Mayor sent for Alderman Desbrosses, to consult on what would be proper to be done in the Matter: In the mean time, a considerable number of people collected opposite to the Mayor's. Shortly after about twenty soldiers, with cutlasses and bayonets, from the lower barracks, made their appearance, coming to the Mayor's thro' the main street. When they came opposite to Mr. Peter Remsen's, he endeavoured to dissuade them from going any further (supposing they were going to the Mayor's) represented to them that they would get into a scrape, but his advice was not taken, owing as he supposes, to one or two of their leaders, who seemed to be intoxicated. The people collected at the Mayor's determined to let them pass by peaceably and unnoted, and opened for them to go thro': Captain Richardson and some of the citizens, judging they intended to take the two soldiers from the Mayor's by force, went to his door to prevent it. When the soldiers came opposite to his house, they halted; many of them drew their swords and bayonets, some say they all drew: But all that were present, agree that many did, and faced about to the door, and demanded the soldiers in custody; some of them attempted to get into the house to rescue them; Capt. Richardson and others at the door prevented them, and desired them to put up their arms, and to go to their Barracks; that the soldiers were before the Mayor, who would do them justice: The soldiers within likewise desired them to go away to their barracks, and leave them to the determination of the Mayor. Upon the soldiers' drawing their arms, many of the inhabitants conceiving themselves in danger, ran to some sleighs that was near, and pulled out some of the rungs. The Mayor and Alderman Desbrosses came out, and ordered the soldiers to their barracks: After some time, they moved up the Fly: The people were apprehensive, that as the soldiers had drawn their swords at the Mayor's house, and thereby contemned the civil authority, and declared war against the inhabitants, it was not safe to let them go thro' the streets alone, lest they might offer violence to some of the citizens: To prevent which they followed them and the two magistrates aforesaid, to the corner of Golden-hill, and in their going, several of the citizens reasoned with them on the folly of their drawing their swords, and endeavoured to persuade them to sheath them, assuring them no mischief was intended them, but without success. They turned up Golden-hill, and about the time they had gained the summit, a considerable number of soldiers joined them: which inspired them to re-

insult the magistrates, and exasperate the inhabitants; which was soon manifested, by their facing about, and one in silk stockings and neat buckskin breeches (who is suspected to have been an officer in disguise) giving the word of command, "soldiers, draw your bayonets and cut your way through them:" the former was immediately obeyed and they called out where are your Sons of Liberty now? and fell on the citizens with great violence, cutting and slashing. This convinced them, that their apprehensions were well founded; for altho' no insult or violence had been offered to the former; yet instead of going peaceably to their barracks, as they were ordered by the magistrates, they in defiance of their authority (Veteran-like) drew their arms to attack men, who, except six or seven that had clubs and sticks, were naked. Those few that had the sticks maintained their ground in the narrow passage in which they stood, and defended their defenceless fellow citizens, for some time, against the furious and unmanly attacks of armed soldiers, until one of them missing his aim, in a stroke made at one of the assailants, lost his stick, which obliged the former to retreat, to look for some instrument of defence; the soldiers pursued him down to the main street; one of them made a stroke, with a cutlass at Mr. Francis Field, one of the people called Quakers, standing in an inoffensive posture in Mr. Field's door, at the corner; and cut him on the right cheek, and if the corner had not broke the stroke, it would have probably killed him. This party that came down to the main street cut a tea-water man driving his cart, and a fisherman's finger; in short they madly attacked every person that they could reach: And their companions on Golden-Hill were more inhuman; for, besides cutting a sailor's head and finger, that was defended himself against them, they stabbed another with a bayonet, going about his business, so badly, that his life was thought in danger. Not satiated with all this cruelty, two of them followed a boy going for sugar, into Mr. Elsworth's house, one of them cut him on the head with a cutlass, and the other made a lung with a bayonet at the woman in the entry, that answered the child. Capt. Richardson was violently attacked by two of the soldiers, with swords, and expected to have been cut to pieces; but was so fortunate as to defend himself with a stick for a considerable time, 'till a halbert was put into his hands, with which he could have killed several of them; but he made no other use of it, than to defend himself, and his naked fellow-citizens.—Mr. John Targe, hearing from his house, the cry of murder, went out unarmed, to see the occasion of it, and when he came in view of the soldiers, three of them pursued him to his house, with their arms drawn, from whence he took a halbert, with



which he defended himself against their attacks (with sticks of wood, which they took from a heap that lay in the street, and threw at his legs, as they could not reach his body with their arms) and obliged them to retire to their companions; in which time their lives were in his power, had he been disposed to have taken them. Several of the soldiers were disarmed by the inhabitants, after which no violence was done to them. From all which, I think it is evident that the inhabitants only acted on the defensive. Capt. Richardson was a witness of all that passed, from the soldiers coming to the Mayor's door, and declares, that if they had not halted and acted as they did on Golden Hill, he verily believes there would not have been any mischief done.

Some time after the commencement of the grand affray on the Golden Hill, a posse of soldiers came from another quarter, opposite to the street that leads down from the hill, and called out to the soldiers on the hill, "to cut their way down, and they would meet them half way." During the action on the hill, a small party of soldiers came along the Fly, by the market, and halted near Mr. Norwood's: Some of the inhabitants gathered round them, when a conversation ensued on the then disturbances. Soon after, the former drew their bayonets; upon which, as the citizens were all unarmed, they cast about to look for stones or some instruments to defend themselves: But the soldiers observing that they could not find any thing, one of them made an attempt to stab Mr. Jn. White, who finding himself in imminent danger, judged it most safe to take flight towards the Mayor's; The soldier pursued him with his drawn bayonet, and made several attempts when he shot Mr. White within his reach to stab him; but in crossing the gutter, the soldier fell, which gave the designed victim an opportunity to escape, or in the opinion of all present, he would certainly have fallen a sacrifice to the unprovoked malevolent and merciless rage of his pursuer. Several of the soldiers that were on the hill were much bruised, and one of them badly cut. Soon after the above attack, many of the magistrates collected from different quarters of the city, and several of the officers being made acquainted with the affray, came to the places of action and dispersed the soldiers. Thus ended a riot, which would have been productive of much worse consequences had the citizens been armed. In the evening the soldiers cut one lamp-lighter on the head, and drew the ladder from under another, while he was lighting the lamps. On Saturday the twentieth, a soldier made an attempt to stab a woman coming from market with a bundle of fish, run his bayonet thro' her cloak & body clothes. About noon, at the Head of Chapel Street an affray began between some sailors and

soldiers: the origin of which I have not been able, with certainty to find out. The sailors assert, that a soldier drew his bayonet on them, upon which they seized him, and put him in custody of a constable, to carry him before a magistrate; which some soldiers seeing, ran to the barracks and brought out a number of others to rescue him, and to beat the sailors.

The soldiers on the other hand, say, that the sailors threw stones at them, and that one of them was obliged to take shelter in a house near the new Presbyterian meeting; so that it's difficult to determine which of them is to be credited. Information was brought of this disturbance to the Mayor and Aldermen in the New Gaol, where they were convened to inquire into the riots and batteries of Friday; and upon their looking out, they saw a body of soldiers going towards the meeting-house: They immediately went out, accompanied with a few citizens, that were then in the hall. The latter in their going to the riot, agreed to be entirely passive, unless the Magistrates ordered them to assist, to try what effect the Magistrates' authority would have on the soldiers. Accordingly they let the Mayor and Aldermen lead the van, and when they came to the north side of the meeting, where about fifteen soldiers had collected, they opened on each side of the road, and drew their bayonets; two sailors that were at the north west corner of the meeting yard, were the particular objects of their resentment, who, with three or four other persons, composed the citizens that were there, one of whom was intoxicated, and gave one of the Aldermen a great deal of trouble in keeping him from the soldiers, who attacked the sailors with great rage, and would have killed them if the citizens had not interposed. One of the sailors (an old man that worked along shore) was cut on the head, who upon inquiry, I found had not been in the beginning of the affray, but came out of his house on hearing it. The Magistrates endeavoured, but in vain, to command the soldiers to their barracks: Upon seeing their authority disregarded and ineffectual, one of the Aldermen desired a citizen to go and call their officers; which the soldiers hearing, swore he should not, and pointed their bayonets at him. The Mayor giving over all hopes of quelling the riot, had moved off from the place of action, in order to bring the officers out; but some of the citizens requested him not to quit the fields, and leave the soldiers with their arms to destroy the inhabitants; upon which he returned; and soon after a great body of people were coming up the Broad-way, which the soldiers seeing, they went off to their barracks. A report being spread through the city, that the soldiers had rushed out of their barracks, and were slaughtering the inhabitants in the Fields, soon brought out a great number of the citizens to the new

gaol. While they were inquiring into the cause of the riot, a number of soldiers, not more than twenty, came up from the lower barracks, and marched thro' a considerable body of the inhabitants collected along the street (to the south of the presbyterian meeting) that leads to the gaol, when they might very easily have avoided them, and taken a rout to the barracks across the Fields, where none of the citizens stood, which would not have endangered or exposed them to a riot, if they were not disposed to it. The people there opened and let them pass; when they got near thro' a great body standing to the southward of the gaol fence, one of the soldiers, in the presence of a very reputable person, snatched a stick from one of the by-standers: Others say that a sword was taken from another; this bro't on a new affray, which lasted about two minutes, cutting and slashing on both sides; when the soldiers finding themselves roughly handled, they made the best of their way to the barracks, and some of the inhabitants pursued them to the gates, and one of them took a bayonet from a soldier. In the scuffle one of the citizens was wounded in the face, and had two of his teeth broke by a stroke, of a bayonet: A soldier received a bad cut on the shoulder. These are the principal wounds that the combatants sustained. Soon after this action ended, the inhabitants dispersed; and in the afternoon a soldier was discovered in the court-room in disguise, who was known to have headed the first riot that happened in the morning: He was brought before the court and committed. Since which several insults have been given by the soldiers to the citizens, the particulars of which I shall not have room to enumerate in this paper. What I had principally in view was to give the public a general idea of the principal facts: in doing which, I do assure them, that I have not said anything upon information but what is the result of many days impartial inquiry, and what I have related from my own knowledge, is free from any conscious partiality. To conclude, it is evident that there has been blood spilt on both sides: I therefore submit to my superiors, whether the reputation of the citizens or of the soldiers can be incontestibly vindicated, and the indubitable information thereof given to the government at home, unless there is a general legal inquiry into the whole of these disturbances. The inhabitants that were active, are desirous that such an examination should be made; and as there are sufficient mediums of proof to begin it, if it is not done, the world will be at no loss to what cause to attribute the neglect of it, and where all this mischief first originated.

AN IMPARTIAL CITIZEN.

## II.—VERRAZZANO.

[The following draft for a Charter-party, with promise of the approbation of FRANCIS I., for a voyage to India, was discovered in the *Bibliothèque Impériale*, and first published, last year, in the original, by M. Pierre Margry, in his work *Les Navigations Françaises du XVIe. au XVIIe. Siècle*. The enterprise contemplated, as may be seen by reference to the volumes of Francisco d'Audrade, *Cronica do Munto alto e muyto podiroso Rey destes Reynos de Portugal Don João a III deste nome*, printed at Lisbon, in 1613, was to form a settlement in Brazil, and was defeated in France, by the Portuguese Minister, Silveira, in whose time, we read, a period of nine years, from 1523, during his continuance at Paris, no other attempt appears to have been made from France, at a voyage of like character.

The author of *Les Navigations* observes that this Document could not have been drawn up earlier than 1524, the year in which Chabot received the office of Admiral and the Government of Burgundy, in recompense of his services in delivering the King from the prisons of Charles V. The date is subsequent to that of the Letter of Verrazzano, 1524, giving account of his discovery of the North-east coast of America: and proves the assertion of some Spanish writers not to have been exact, that his execution took place in that year. B. S.]

We, Philippe Chabot, Baron d'Apremont, Knight of the Ordre de Roi, his Governor and Lieutenant-general of Burgundy, Admiral of France, and of Britany,

Have this day determined, for the good, advantage, and utility of the public affairs of the Kingdom of France, to put on two of our galleons, at present at Havre de Grace, with one ship belonging to Jehan Ango of Dieppe, of seventy tons burden, on thereabouts, to equip, victual, and fit these three vessels, to make the voyage from the Spice-islands to the Indies. To make the aforesaid voyage, we have agreed with the persons hereinafter named, and signed in the manner following, to furnish the said three vessels with goods, victuals, and advance-money for the crew, as shall be requisite and necessary.

And to do this we have concluded and determined with the aforesaid, to advance and employ as large a sum of twenty thousand pounds, Tours Currency, that is to say, for ourself, Admiral, Four thousand pounds, Tours Currency; Master Guillaume Preudhomme, General of Normandy, Two thousand pounds, Tours Currency; Pierre Dispinollis, one thousand pounds, Tours Currency; Jehan Ango, Two thousand pounds, Tours Currency; Jacques Boursier, an equal sum of Two thousand pounds, Tours Currency; Messire Jehan de Varesam, Chief-pilot, a like sum of Two thousand pounds, Tours Currency.

The said parts together amounting to the said sum of 20,000 pounds, Tours Currency,\* to be employed for victualing, merchandise, and advance-money to hire the crew. And we, Admiral and Ango, promise to deliver the said galleons and ship well and properly refitted and accoutred, as befits to make the said voyage, as well as caulking, cables, anchors, duplicate furniture, all cordage, artillery, powder, shot, and all that

\* The sums named in "Tours Currency" do not make Twenty thousand pounds.—TRANSLATOR.



is required by such vessels, to make such a long voyage as this; and to have these galleons and ship ready and prepared to make the said voyage within two months from this day. Also, that we, Admiral and Anglo, will take, on the return from the said voyage, for the freight and freighting of the said galleons and ship, the fourth part of all the merchandise which shall return and shall be brought back by the aforesaid, without any cost.

And for the hire of the said Pilot, Messire Jehan, who has agreed and bound himself to provide two good and competent Pilots to steer the other two vessels, he shall take for his hire and that of his two Pilots, the sixth of all the goods which shall be brought back: the said fourth for freightage, expenses, and disposing of the goods, and the wages of the crew, being previously taken and levied, before taking the said sixth.

And if, in case of accident, any of those galleons or ship should be lost on the said voyage, or that one by any mischance does not sail, and the other two make their voyage, the merchandise which should be brought back, would be divided as above, and the said vessel which might not have been on the said voyage shall share, and the traders each one a mare to the pound, for all goes to the common profit.

And if any booty is taken at sea, from the Moors or other enemies of the Faith and the King, my Lord, the Admiral shall take previously, upon the aforesaid booty, his tenth; and the balance which would accrue from the said booty, shall be divided like the other goods, except some portion of that booty, which shall be given to the crew as shall be advised.

And my aforesaid Admiral shall have Letters-patent from the King expedited, in order to have permission and leave to make the said voyage; and no obstruction shall be made or given to these letters, by any allies, friend, or confederate, of the King, our said lord.

[ON THE BACK.]

For the voyage of Sir<sup>t</sup> Joan.

### III.—EDWARD SAVAGE, THE PORTRAIT PAINTER.

COMMUNICATED BY JOHN WARD DEAN, ESQ.,  
OF BOSTON, MASS.

In several previous numbers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE (I. i. 212, 373; II., 61, 247.) notices of Mr. Savage and his portraits of Washington are given. The following correspondence furnishes some new and interesting particulars:

Mr. Savage died at Princeton, Mass. his native Town, in 1817, at the age of fifty-six. His widow died in Massachusetts, (at Lancaster, or Leominster, I think) at an advanced age, a few years ago. The profile portrait, mentioned in Mr. Montague's letter, was, when he wrote, in the possession of some of Mr. Savage's heirs, residing in the vicinity of Boston. The *Washington Family* was then, and still is, in the Boston Museum, adjoining the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in Tremont-street, Boston. It probably came from the New York Museum, which Mr. Savage established in New York City, but afterwards removed to Boston, where it was merged in the New England Museum, the nucleus of the present Boston Museum.

The first letter is from Mr. Montague, of this City, to the adopted son of General Washington.

"BOSTON, January 31, 1857.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON PARKE CUSTIS, ESQ.,

"DEAR SIR,

"I will offer no apology for addressing you, believing that you will feel as lively an interest in the subject of my enquiry as I do myself.

"I have seen a portrait of General Washington, which Mr. George Savage, now deceased, informed me was painted from life by his father, at Philadelphia, during the presidency of General Washington—the artist residing in that City, at that period. It was painted on wood in profile. From the resemblance to other portraits of the General, it is thought to be a good likeness.

"Mr. Savage also informed me, and I have been informed by others, that his father also painted a picture from life called the *Washington Family*. I have lately seen this painting. It is really a striking picture, and is very well executed; its size being about six feet by ten. It is now in Boston. I saw it a few days since, hanging near some portraits of Copley's. General Washington is represented as sitting at a table—a lad standing beside his chair, his hand resting on a globe. Opposite, is Mrs. Washington with a closed fan in her hand; also a young lady standing beside her. In the back ground is a colored man. The portrait of the General and Mrs. Washington are thought to be good ones. It is supposed the lad in the picture was intended to represent yourself.

"Dear Sir, if it would not be imposing on your time, it would gratify me and many other gentlemen, at whose solicitation I have written this letter, if you would inform me whether you know anything relative to this picture, and if the portraits were painted

+ "Messire" is more nearly equivalent to "Sir," than "Mr."—TRANSLATOR.

"from life. Anything relating to General Washington and his family is of great interest to every American.

"With much respect

"Your ob<sup>d</sup> Servant

"WILLIAM H. MONTAGUE."

The following reply was received from Mr. Custis:

"ARLINGTON HOUSE 24th Feby, '57.

"W. H. MONTAGUE, Esq.,

"MY DE SIR:

"Your letter has been duly recd. The *Washington Family* was painted by Savage in 1792. It is an indifferent performance both as to design and execution. The figure of Mrs. Washington is particularly unlike; and the servant represented is by no means resembling [*sic*] *Billy* the famed Body servant of the Chief, during the whole of the War of the Revolution.

"At the remote time of day of 1792, we had but few artists, and they (saving Trumbull) of limited capacity. It was said in old Times, that Savage made a great hit by the *Washington Family*, having exhibited it in Europe, and twice engraved it, realizing a large profit by the Exhibitions and Engravings. It is now scarcely to be had. There has been since painted by Sully, a beautiful *W. Family*; head of the Chief from *Stuart*, superb, the portrait of Lady Washington good, & the two adopted Children, *Mrs Lewis* & myself, pretty fair. There is a dog that should be left out. The Chief had no dogs, his pet was unmitigated untiring labour.

"Yrs DE SIR Very Truly

"GEORGE W. P. CUSTIS."

#### IV.—THE NORTHMEN IN MAINE.

By JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, Esq., BELFAST, MAINE.

It is a well-established fact that settlements were made on the banks of the Kennebec-river, at so early a period, that no account of their origin exists, except in tradition or obscure narrative. Judge Sullivan, in his *History of Maine*, written in 1796, says that the remains of a blacksmith's forge were discovered at Tecomet Falls, now Waterville, when the troops of the Government went there, in the year 1754, to build Fort Halifax. "There is a point," he continues, "about twenty-seven miles from the head of navigation, on the East bank of the Sebasticook, a branch of the Kennebec, where, within six years now last past, the owner, intended to form a brick-kiln, set his people to dig for clay; when they had removed the soil, they found the remains of an ancient kiln, with mouldered or decayed

"bricks. There was a hemlock-tree upon the place where the kiln had stood, of more than two feet in diameter."\*

A few years since, I received from a reliable old gentleman of this State, an account of some vestiges of these early settlements. He informed me, in substance, that nearly half a century ago, Mr. Francis Fuller, of Winthrop, Maine, stated that during the second or third year after the close of the French War of 1659, he went as a ship-carpenter's apprentice to the Kennebec, to assist in building a vessel for Dr. Silvester Gardiner;† that the place selected for the purpose was "Agry's Point," in what is now the town of Pittston, about three miles below the present City of Gardiner, where a small mill-stream, called the Nahumkeag, makes a confluence with the main river; and that the spot was then covered with large trees. In clearing a space for the shipyard, and in removing the underwood, the bottom of a brick chimney was discovered. Further examination brought to light the remains of thirteen other chimneys. "One," said Mr. Fuller, "I remember in particular. Within its limits grew a tree more than three feet in diameter. We had the curiosity to count the grains or rings of this tree, to ascertain its age, and found that they exceeded six hundred, thereby indicating that it was over six hundred years old. So we concluded a village had existed there, long before Columbus discovered America."

This interesting communication induced me to visit "Agry's Point," for the purpose of examining the locality and of conversing with the aged inhabitants of the vicinity, several of whom corroborated the statements of Mr. Fuller. The owner and occupier of the land stated that he had ploughed up bricks in a range from eight to ten rods long; and that the proprietor of a mill, at the mouth of the Nahumkeag, had directed his attention to an excavation, then visible, where he had seen the remains of a regularly-defined cellar wall. One of the bricks has been preserved. It is of much larger size and of a lighter color than those manufactured in New England. My investigations led to no further discoveries; and, although the evidence of an ancient settlement is of a secondary character, it is sufficient to warrant the conclusion that the Kennebec was inhabited long before its permanent occupation, during the middle of the last century. The Popham Colonists, who passed the winter of 1607-8 within a few miles of Agry's Point, undoubtedly would have mentioned the fact, if any vestiges of inhabitants there then existed.

The question then presents itself, who were

\* Sullivan's *History of Maine*, 171.

† Dr. Gardiner was a principal proprietor of the Plymouth Purchase, which covered a tract of land extending fifty miles on the Kennebec River.

the originators of these settlements? Whence came and whither went the race, of which even the red man has no tradition? Following the theory of Rev. Dr. Palfrey, that "It is in no wise unlikely that eight or nine hundred years ago the Norwegian navigators extended their voyages as far as the American Continent,"\* a single suggestion may be pertinent.

After the supposed discovery of the northern portion of our Continent, by Biarne, an Icelandic voyager, in 994, "Leif, the Fortunate," in 1000, with thirty-five companions, undertook a voyage of exploration for the lands which the former asserted having seen. Passing Newfoundland, to which the name of *Helluland* was given, and Nova Scotia, which they called *Markland*. "they again stood out to sea, with a "North-east wind, and continued sailing for two "days, before they made land again." They then came to an island, which lay to the eastward of the main land, and entered a channel between this island and a promontory projecting in an easterly (and northerly) direction from the main land. They sailed westwardly; and, after two days, they reached an island, and passed westward along its northern side. Afterwards, they went on shore at a place where a river, issuing from a lake, fell into the sea. They brought their ships into the river, and from thence into the lake, where they cast anchor. Here they constructed some temporary log huts; but, afterwards, when they had made up their mind to winter there, they built large houses. A German, who accompanied Leif on this voyage, found wild vines and grapes, which he recognized from having seen similar ones in his own country. Leif gave the name of Vineland from this discovery.†

It does not require much aid from the imagination to identify "the island to the eastward of "the main " as Monhegan; while the river which, "issuing from a lake, fell into the sea," is well represented by the Kennebec, which joins the ocean near that island. Merry-meeting Bay, formed by the confluence of the Kennebec and Androscoggin, corresponds to the lake. Only a few miles above it, the vestiges referred to were found.

If any importance is to be attached to the inscription on Menanas, an island adjoining Monhegan, the supposition is a natural one, that it was made by the Northmen, at the time Leif and his companions visited our coast.

Although "the accounts of the fertile soil and "mild winter are, on any modern hypothesis, "tious or exaggerated,"‡ and although the existence of grapes is inconsistent with our present

climate, it by no means follows that the temperature and products of the degree of latitude mentioned by early voyagers, may not have essentially changed during a period of eight centuries. De Monts, who visited Acadie in 1607, speaks of grapes in several places; and they were in such plenty on the Isle of Orleans, in latitude 47°, that it was called the Island of Bacchus.\* The letter of George Popham to King James I., affirming "That in parts about Sagadahoc there "are nutmegs, mace, and cinnamon, besides pitch, "Brazil wood, cochineal, and ambegris,"† is more irreconcilable than the idea of grapes being found there or on Newfoundland.

These vestiges of remote antiquity, whether indicated by the wonderful tumuli of the Mississippi valley, hoary chronicles of ages long past, or by the more humble ruins on the banks of the Kennebec, have an importance and interest which should secure every possible means for eliciting their origin and purpose.

#### V.—THOMAS JONES, CAPTAIN OF THE DISCOVERY.

BY EDWARD D. NEILL.

Dermer, under the patronage of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in 1619, with a pinnace of five tons, coasted from Kennebec, around Cape Cod, through Long Island Sound, to the James River. The Governor and Council of Virginia informed the Company, in London, of "Mr. Dirmer's discovery "from Cape Charles to Cape Cod, up Delaware "river, and Hudson's-river, being but twenty or "thirty leagues from our plantation, and within "our limits, in which rivers were found divers "ships of Amsterdam and Horn, who yearly had "there a great and rich trade for furs;" and urged them "to undertake so certain and gainful "a voyage."‡

About this period, King James transmitted to the London Company, the following paper, from some Walloons, for their consideration: "We "promise my Lord Ambassador of the Most Serene King of Great Britain to go and inhabit "in Virginia, a land under his Majesty's obedience, as soon as conveniently may be, and "this under the conditions to be carried out in "the articles we have enumerated to the said "Ambassador, and not otherwise, on the faith of "which we have unanimously signed this present, "with our sign manual."§

In allusion to this communication, the Company, in a letter to the Governor of Virginia, dated the twelfth of August, 1621, wrote as follows:

\* Palfrey's *History of New England*, i. 51.

† *America discovered in the Tenth Century*, by Rafn.

‡ Palfrey's *History of New England*, i. 53.

§ Bancroft's *History of the United States*, i. 6.

\* Belknap's *American Biography*, i. 55.

† *Collections of The Maine Historical Society*, v. 360.

‡ MSS. Transactions of Virginia Company.

§ Sainsbury.



"We have received from his Majesty, a petition exhibited unto him, by certain Frenchmen and Walloons, desirous to inhabit in Virginia. They will be sixty families, counting up about three hundred persons. We may expect them next Spring."<sup>\*</sup>

Members of the Company now subscribed nine hundred Pounds for opening the fur-trade of the Delaware and Hudson-rivers: and, in November, the *Discovery*, a ship of sixty tons, Captain Thomas Jones, Master, with twenty persons, was despatched and ordered, upon his arrival at Jamestown, to take on board, the brass cannon that had been recently landed from the ship *Charles*, and there also procure the necessary guides and interpreters.

A few days after the sailing of the *Discovery* from England, another left for Virginia, named the *Bona Nova*, a ship of two hundred tons, John Hudleston, Master, with forty passengers. She bore a letter from the Virginia Company, dated the fifth of December, 1621, directed to the authorities at Jamestown, containing these words: "After our very hearty commendations, writ unto you, very lately, by the *Discovery*, whereof Captain Thomas Jones went Master, we have since received certain advice, that there are newly gone from Amsterdam, for the same trade of furs, and the self-same place, two private pinnaces, the one of 40 tons, the other of 80 tons, with six pieces of cast ordnance double manned, and exceedingly well provided with commodities, whence it will have much import, that the *Discovery* be instantly expected from Virginia, with those necessary supplies of men and provisions that we have entreated you to furnish them with, that they may not come either too weak or too late, or any way unfit for the performance of the business."

The two vessels to which reference is made, were probably those that had been sent out a few weeks before, under the direction of Plancius, the distinguished divine and geographer, and his associates.

The *Discovery* reached Jamestown on the fourteenth of April, 1622; and Captain Hudleston, in the *Bona Nova*, arrived three days later. Hudleston sailed from Virginia, for the fishing banks off Cape Cod, and sent in to the Plymouth Puritans a kind letter, informing them of the dreadful massacre of the whites by the Indians of Virginia, on the twenty-second of March, and urging them to beware of a similar calamity. Governor Winslow subsequently visited his ship and obtained provisions, which the Colonists greatly needed.

Captain Jones, after sailing from Jamestown,

seems to have gone to the Hudson and Delaware-rivers for furs. At a meeting of the Virginia Company, in London, on the seventeenth of July, 1622, "a motion was made in behalf of Captain Thomas Jones, Captain of the *Discovery*, now employed in Virginia for trade and fishing, that he might be admitted a freeman of this Company, in reward of the good service he hath there performed. The Court liked well of the motion, and consented thereto."<sup>\*</sup>

In August, he sailed for England, by way of New Plymouth. Bradford, in his *History of Plymouth Plantation*, says: "Behold now another providence of God, a ship comes into the harbor, one Captain Jones being chief therein. They were set out, by some merchants, to discover all the harbors between this and Virginia, and the shoals of Cape Cod, and to trade along the coast where they could. This ship had store of English beads (which were then good trade) and some knives, but would sell none but at dear rates, and also a good quantity together. Yet they were glad of the occasion, and fair to buy at any rate; they were fair to give after the rate of cents per cents, if not more, and yet pay away coat beaver at 3s. per lb. which in a few years after yielded 20s."

By this means they were fitted again to trade for beaver and other things, and intended to buy what corn they could. But I will here take liberty to make a little digression. There was in the ship a gentleman by name, Mr. John Pory: he had been Secretary in Virginia, and was now going home passenger in this ship."<sup>†</sup>

The *Discovery*, after leaving Plymouth, was unfortunate, if a letter dated the twenty-sixth of July, 1623, in Birch's *Court and Times of James the First* is to be credited. It says: "Our old acquaintance Mr. Pory, is in poor case and in prison at the Terceiras" [one of the Azores] "whither he was driven by contrary winds, from the North coast of Virginia, where he had been upon some discovery, and upon his arrival was arraigned and in danger to be hanged for a pirate."

The next mention we have of Captain Jones is in 1625, when he arrived, about the middle of July, at Jamestown, in a Spanish frigate which he alleged he had taken in the West Indies, under a commission of the States, granted to one Captain Powell, from whose consort ship he had been separated, and was obliged to put into Jamestown to stop leaks and obtain provisions.

He had been in the Gulf for several months; and he brought to Jamestown, a Portuguese pilot perfectly acquainted with the West Indies. Soon after this, Jones died; and the Virginia authori-

\* MSS. letter.

\* MSS. Transactions of the Virginia Company.

† Bradford adds a pleasant letter from Pory.



ties suspected that he did not obtain the Spanish frigate in a lawful manner.

It is supposed he was Captain of the *May Flower*, who landed the Leyden people at Plymouth Rock, and, although enterprising, was not very scrupulous. E. D. N.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

# VI.—DIARY OF REV. JACOB ELIOT.\*

COMMUNICATED BY REV. E. H. GILLET, D.D.

SEP. 24, 1723. Dr. Cutler, Mr. Wetmore, Mr. Johnson ret<sup>d</sup> from England.

JUNE 7, 1724. I preached at Middleborough in a barn.

DEC. 4, 1724. The day for Mr. Bourne's ordination omitted by dissensions.

JUNE 11, 1741. Mr. Williams pr<sup>d</sup> a Lect<sup>r</sup> at Town (Lebanon) to y<sup>e</sup> Negroes, Jer. 5, 4. Jack staid out all night.

JUNE 18, 1741. A false story of my sends persons to Hebron (Mr. Pomeroy's) for Remedy and Comfort, (when they) had their malady and conviction.

JUNE 24, 1741. A Gen<sup>l</sup> muster here, 40 men picked out to be ready at an hour's warn'g to go

\* The Rev. Jacob Eliot was a native of Boston, and belonged to a branch of the family of the great Apostle to the Indians. He speaks of the latter as his uncle; but he must have been his great uncle. Jacob's parents resided at Boston for some time after he entered Harvard College, removing, however, at a subsequent date, to Duxbury. His collegiate course was completed in 1720; and he preached for short periods after this, in quite a large number of places, mentioned in his Diary, settling, however, at Goshen (Society) in Lebanon, Connecticut, in the year 1729. Here he continued till his death, in 1766, or nearly forty years.

His wife was a Miss Robinson, sister of Governor Trombull's wife; and he was very extensively acquainted, not only in Connecticut, but in Eastern Massachusetts. In his early years, he had heard Willard and the Mathers. He was cotemporary with Cooper, Prince, Chauncy, and the Ministers of Boston who welcomed Whitfield and the Tennents; and in his repeated visits to Boston he kept up his acquaintance with them. He speaks frequently of hearing one and another of them preach.

At the time he entered College, he began to keep a Diary; and this he continued almost to the day of his death. He used each year's Almanac, interleaving it in such a manner as to be able to make a note of every day of the month opposite the printed page. The substance of the Diary is notes on the weather, describing the phases of each day throughout the year, but in the spaces above, or below, or on the margin, we have more miscellaneous matters, some of personal, or local, and some few of general interest. The reader will find, perhaps, what Mr. Eliot's hogs weighed; when he sowed his turnips; what he got for horses; who helped him in his work; who dined with him; who supped with him. He will find him sending off one of his negro servants to sell himself to a new master; making mention of hired house-help going off in a "buff" and all in the house glad of it; the killing of a skunk who almost killed him with its stench; the accidents of the day; the election of Representatives; the musters and trainings; and rumors of invasion. But what most of all disturbed Mr. Eliot was the intrusion of the New Lights; and the more noticeable extracts from his journal respecting them.

We must regret that so large parts of Mr. Eliot's Diary have been scattered, if not lost. They should have been preserved more carefully. We give the most important matters that have come under our eye in the examination.

E. H. G.

ag<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Enemy in Case of an Assault in any town.

DEC. 14, 1741. Noah Chappel & Mary Webster set ab<sup>t</sup> 12 w<sup>r</sup> at Night both in a kind of Trance & so remained for near 2 Days & 2 Nights somet<sup>s</sup> ( ) and Scream<sup>s</sup> & Lament<sup>s</sup>—calm & still, with y<sup>e</sup> eyes open seem<sup>s</sup> as if y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>r</sup> writing or reading as they lay together on a bed y<sup>e</sup> kept one spot between 'em pecul<sup>r</sup> to 'em; that if but a hair or mote was dropt y<sup>e</sup> they would instantly take it away tho both blinded. They both pretended to be going to heaven, y<sup>e</sup> Boy a little before, the girl as y<sup>e</sup> each said with<sup>t</sup> know<sup>s</sup> either of 'em w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> other s<sup>d</sup> & y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> had sev<sup>e</sup> conflicts with y<sup>e</sup> Devil & y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> had a vision of X & read in y<sup>e</sup> book of Life in Golden Capitals sev<sup>l</sup> names. Mr. Whitfield's first, y<sup>a</sup> Mr. Wheelocks, Mr. Pomeroy's, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Warren.

JULY 9, 1741. Mr. Williams pr<sup>d</sup> his Lect<sup>r</sup>, Is; 33, 13, 14, a very awakening sermon, a great many groan<sup>g</sup> & cry<sup>g</sup> out.

JULY 8, 1741. Sung Dr. Watt's Psalms twice.

Aug. 23, 1741. One of Mr. Davenport's Armor Bearers here . . . expecting to hear Mr. Wheelock.

OCT. 14, 1741. Ret<sup>d</sup> from y<sup>e</sup> Assoc<sup>n</sup>, had a long Controvy with & ab<sup>t</sup> Itin<sup>is</sup>.

DEC. (1)9, 1741. Read the rep<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Conn<sup>cil</sup> of Guilford.

DEC. 6 (?), 1741. Cap<sup>t</sup> Wattles, J. Webster, Bascom, &c., here—Warm debates.

JAN. 3, 1742. A beggar woman here with an ever<sup>l</sup> Clack; most uncharitable servant that ever I knew speak<sup>s</sup> ill of allm<sup>t</sup> everybody.

MARCH 17, 1742. Josh. Strong exorted at y<sup>e</sup> Meet<sup>g</sup> House.

MARCH 28, 1742. After public worship P. M. a company of young men set to sing<sup>g</sup> to draw the people together to prepare for Exhort<sup>g</sup> &c. I still d<sup>d</sup> 'em & persuaded the peop. to go home. E. M. told me audibly before many that I was an opposer of a work of God & of y<sup>e</sup> kingdom & interest of Jesus X & I knew in my Consc. I was — & that there never was such a Pope in y<sup>e</sup> .—After wards when more Cool he confessed his fault.

AP. 23, 1742. Waterman & others from Colchester here Exhort<sup>g</sup> in open opposition & Defiance &c.

AP. 5, 1742. Jn. Thomas's wife distracted by new Lights.

AP. 5, 1742. A Company from Colchester, young men and Indians, with a number from y<sup>e</sup> Upper End came with a design to h<sup>v</sup> sung, exhort<sup>ed</sup>, &c., but basely disappointed.

(At this juncture he visited Boston, and, stung by New Lightism, it is not strange that he should have gone to Dr. Chauncy for comfort.)

MAY 26, (P. M.) 1742. At Dr. Chauncy's conversation very profitable and edifying.

JUNE 1, 1742. M. Willis Jacob & I went to Mr. Wiswals, Turils (*Turell's*), Greens, Holyokes, Burills.

JUNE 5, 1742. Arrived safe home.

*Remarkables in Time of new Light.*

A Story of a man at the Westward (I think at Branford or Norwalk) that saw a great Light in the Night & had a strong impress<sup>n</sup> on his mind that he was to glorify God by killing his wife in 7<sup>e</sup> morn.g.—of his Arm-pits stiffen upon it & of his runn.g distracted afterw.d.—Of a man at Wallingford running into despair & drown.g himself.—Of a Woman (Ensign Buel's Daughter) running distracted.—of another at ye Crank (*now Columbian*) long remaining so.—Of a Lad at Town (*Lebanon*) remarkably Converted & very suddenly in one night, notoriously ignor<sup>t</sup> & wicked before & imed<sup>t</sup> inspired to pray & Preach like an angel—but soon turned back ag<sup>n</sup> to be as vile and wicked as ever, steal.g an axe at Windham & sell.g it &c.—of Tisdell's Correcting his serv<sup>t</sup> (for lying &c.) & his brother & a maid in the house justifying of him and Condemning ye Master, crying out w<sup>t</sup> a vile thing it was for a Reprobate to Correct a Child of God—w<sup>t</sup> would they come to—of Bristol's steal.g—Flora's getting drunk & Webster's Caesar exhort.g at Smith's & y<sup>n</sup> attempt<sup>s</sup> to lye with an indian woman tell.g her to entice her to comit Lewdn: with him y<sup>t</sup> Hell was not so dreadf. a place as had been describ.g, neither was it so difficult a matter to get to heaven as he had set forth—Webster's son pray.g at y<sup>e</sup> Meeting House on y<sup>e</sup> Sabbath between Meetings for a Company of old Damned Hypocrites without ( ) y<sup>t</sup> had been so for 30 or 40 years—also of his pray<sup>s</sup> at Wadsworth's y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>se</sup> y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>r</sup> not to be converted y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>r</sup> might imed.y sent to Hell—of Burton's pray.g for me at ye Meeting House y<sup>t</sup> I might be converted or removed—also of H. Bliss praying so once or twice & reproach.g me for not pray.g with (sme) children in a Trance w<sup>n</sup> he himself hindred me: of his wish.g y<sup>e</sup> Plague might come and spread in y<sup>e</sup> country: y<sup>t</sup> children of God w<sup>r</sup> safe & it might be the means of converting many—of his not sow.g nor plant.g bec: he expected ye end of ye (.) before harvest—of ye spirit of God in his creat<sup>s</sup> a 1000 times more to him<sup>sn</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Script<sup>s</sup> of his feeling X in him & know'g y<sup>e</sup> Spirit of his feeling X in him.

JULY 4 1742. Dr Hunt<sup>n</sup> & several. Mrs. Collins & Mrs. Brown here very full of y<sup>e</sup> matter on all sides abt N. Lights, Bribe, cheese, Flaps to cover nakedn: &c.

JULY 3, 1742. Brother Rob<sup>n</sup> (*Robinson*) had my slave to Woodstock.

JULY (.) 1742. Mr. Williams dis<sup>d</sup> of preach—but refused in the pulpit to invite Mr. Wheelock.

AUG. 4, 1742. I read Mr. Tenant's Letter, proposed a vote for Liberty to invite ministers to preach as usual but some of jd & so adjourned.

AUG. ( ) 1742. Mr. Munson preached at H. Bliss's contra: to law.

Mr Munson after preach.g at Colchester, pursued by the . . . taken at O . . . sen. got Liberty.

OCT. ( ) 1742. Saw a New Light Trick.

DEC. 29, 1742. I went to town to examine Mr. Pain. &c. but not a Quorum.

DEC. 5. She exhorted as soon as I came. P. M. hardly stopped & at night (*another*) came to my house with Metcalf & Bartlett's wife to read me ( ) prophets & declared y<sup>t</sup> the L<sup>d</sup> had forbid her joining in ( ) with me.

FEB. 20, 1744. I sent for & went to Josh: Coles as a Dying man . . . but only to be admonished, affronted & abused.

MARCH 9. N. Lights here to h<sup>v</sup> a Confer<sup>s</sup> with me, or rather to deal with me for inaptn: to Teach, opening my eyes in pray.g &c. Sev<sup>t</sup> came here to hear the confer<sup>s</sup>—but were disappointed by ye N. Lights desiring a private Confer<sup>s</sup>.

AP. 5, 1744. D<sup>n</sup> Hunt<sup>n</sup>'s son here advanced a new Scripture as found, i. e. for a person hav<sup>g</sup> charity in his own soul before he can h<sup>v</sup> charity for ano<sup>r</sup> viz. charity begins at home w<sup>e</sup> he said was in some of the Epistles.

DEC. 7, 1749. The Society rejected my memorial ungenerously if not unjustly.

1754. Old Mr. Alden and Mr. Sampson from Duxb: here and John Dwight preach<sup>s</sup> abt N. Lights.

JAN. 12, 1754. The old D<sup>n</sup> (*Deacon*) here in one of his vapoury fits & longing for wine, &c.

FEB. 1754. Kate & I had a battle. Very much put to it to Reckon right she supposed. I produced an old Almanac 7 years old.

FEB. 13, 1754. Kate Shields went off in a Huff to the joy of the whole house; but basely Tricked us.

MARCH 18, 1754. Molly Miller here. She made my wife a cloak.

MAY 9, 1754. Govern<sup>r</sup> Wolcott dropped. [Never such an instance in Conn. before.]

ARG. 12, 1754. Had a hard spell to conquer Nero. Did it at last.

NOV. 6, 1754. I prayed at the funeral of H. Brisse and his 3 children, all buried in the same grave; the widow bereft of her husband, her children & her father in one day, an unheard of instance of mortality in this Country.

AP. 4, 1757. A grand meeting at Mr. Hickley's of y<sup>e</sup> Col. & Capt<sup>s</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Regiment about press.g men for Capt Willes.

AP. 12, 1757. Mr. Williams (*minister at Lebanon*) dined here; prayed with my wife—very bad again . . . all the neighbors to see my wife die.

JUNE 18, 1757. Had a drawn battle with Briant. He went off in a hurry.

JULY 26, 1757. Raised the steeple of the meeting house in Town. (*Lebanon.*)

OCT. 1757. Association Lecture. Mr. Mosely prayed, Mr. Ripley (*of Green's Farms*) preached. Devotion & Ripley lodged here.

OCT. 9, 1757. God humbled me before the Congregation in taking away my Memory, y<sup>e</sup> I ca not pronounce the bless<sup>d</sup>. To let me see and know wt an imperfect sinful Creat<sup>r</sup> I am, to show me y<sup>e</sup> I am of like passions & infirmities with others; to hide pride from me. o y<sup>t</sup> it may H<sup>e</sup> that blessed effect on me.

JAN. 33 1764. A meeting to subscribe for a new meet<sup>g</sup> House, 350 £ subscribed.

FEB. 7, 1764. Reverend Mr. Whitefield pr<sup>d</sup> at Norwich for me. L.

FEB. 12 1764. Two of the Rogerenes from N. London came into y<sup>e</sup> Meeting in y<sup>e</sup> last prayer a. m. with their hats on, and sat down in N<sup>r</sup> Buel's pew. After the blessing, one desired liberty to read a paper & that the minister would stay to hear it too, but I went off. y<sup>e</sup> read part of the 20<sup>th</sup> Cap. of Acts to a few, but they drew off soon, and so desisted & troubled us no more.

MARCH 30, 1764. Had a mighty feast on Oysters.

SEP. 8, 1764. Heard of y<sup>e</sup> Sorrowful news of Mr. Ripley's Son's death of y<sup>e</sup> Throat Distemper.

SEP. 12, 1764. Commencement at N. Haven, dull, dull, dull.

## VII.—WORK AND MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN HISTORY.—CONTINUED.

BY GEORGE H. MOORE, LL.D.

### 18.—ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

WITH reference to Higginson's Petition to be paid for his services, as Reporter of the Synod of 1637. [*ante*: pp. 26-27.] we omitted the only notice of it, which we have met with, in our examination of the Records. Among the proceedings under date of the 17th October, 1643,

"Mr. Higgesons petition is thus answered: "Wee can find no record about the matter of this petition, but that the petitioner might have liberty to print it, and make his best of it, wch is the answer now to this petition; "if any p<sup>t</sup>icular p<sup>so</sup>ns dissuaded him from the printing of it, & thereby occasioned his losse, they, and not the Co<sup>t</sup>, are to give him satisfaction." *Mass. Records*, ii. 52.

—We are indebted to the *Antiquarian Notes*, communicated to *The Mullen Messenger*, May 16, 1868, by Mr. D. P. COREY, for an important correction of the copy of Joseph Hill's

Petition, printed in a former article of this series [*Ante*: pp. 85-86,] which he made on comparing it with the original MS. in the Massachusetts Archives. The words supplied were omitted in the copy furnished for our use by a friend, whose accuracy is proverbial. At page 86, line 32, instead of—"with exact "markes of examination," etc., read "with "exact markes of ye severall emendations one "way or other made therein which (after examination & approbation of ye Court) I was "ordered," etc.

### 19.—THE APPEAL OF ENGLISH DISSENTERS TO THEIR NEW-ENGLAND BRETHREN FOR RELIGIOUS TOLERATION, IN 1704.

The following document, with the remarks which precede it, may be found among the *Historical Additions* which Dr. Calamy made to Mr. Baxter's *History of his Life and Times*, continuing that history through the reign of William and Anne, down to the passage of the Bill against occasional conformity, in 1711. It furnishes an interesting item for the history of Toleration and Religious Liberty in America.

"Among the many clamours rais'd about "this Time against the *Dissenters*, one was, "that they did not deserve to have *Liberty* "themselves, because they were enemies to the "Liberty of others. This was started as a Maxim, that they that would be for straitning of "others if they were able, could not reasonably "expect *Liberty* from those that were in Power, "when they differ'd from them. I shall not set "myself to Debate this Maxim, or consider "what might be objected against it: But shall "let the World understand, that the Dissenters "took another Way to Answer it. For they "were apply'd to by some of the Denomination of *Quakers* who complain'd to them, "that in *New England* there were some severe "Laws of a long standing, not repeal'd tho' "not of late rigorously put in Execution "against Persons of their Character, which "they desir'd their kind Interposition to screen "them from, as they would manifest they were "real Friends of *Liberty*, and not for confining "it to themselves. Hereupon the following "Letter was drawn up, and Sign'd by several "of the other Three Denominations of Dissenters, and sent in their common Name to "some Ministers of Reputation in *New England*, "to be communicated to their Brethren,

"*Reverend and dear Brethren,*  
"You may from the enclosed gather the "Occasion of our giving you this trouble. As "for the Application to the Queen therein desir'd, we could by no Means count it agreeable to the Respect we have for our Brethren



"of *New England*, had we tho't it ever so  
 "suitable to our more private Station and  
 "Ministerial Character. We pretend not to  
 "Form a Judgement in the present Case,  
 "which would not be just, without a full  
 "hearing of both Sides; much less would we  
 "presume to dictate Measures to you about it.

"We cannot reasonably suppose, but You as  
 "well as We, are for a Liberty of Conscience  
 "as full as it is here Established and enjoy'd;  
 "since you are not so much as charg'd with  
 "having lately executed those Laws among  
 "you, which might now appear to infringe it,  
 "whatever peculiar Reasons your Ancestors  
 "had for first enacting them.

"We conclude you agree with us, that the  
 "Truth is not to be propagated or maintain'd,  
 "by external Force or Violence, against Er-  
 "rors or Mistakes, but the gentle Methods of  
 "Argument and Perswasion: And we cannot  
 "but judge it disagreeing with the Spirit and  
 "Principles of the Gospel, and an encroach-  
 "ment upon the Divine Prerogative, and the  
 "undoubted Rights of Mankind, to punish  
 "any for their conscientious and peaceable  
 "Dissent from the Establish'd Way of Reli-  
 "gion, whilst they are not justly chargeable  
 "with any Immorality, or what is plainly Des-  
 "tructive of Civil Society.

"Since this is our real Sentiment, and we  
 "are call'd upon to own it, we think our Selves  
 "oblig'd thus to express it, for the avoid-  
 "ing of that odious Imputation of denying to  
 "others what we claim our Selves: And tha  
 "we may not give and handle or colour, for  
 "the undermining your and our common Lib-  
 "erties. We would also do, whatever may be  
 "done with Christian Prudence, to engage the  
 "Affections of those who differ from us; and  
 "at the same Time testify our abhorrence of  
 "the *Popish* pretended *Infallibility*, and  
 "French Persecution.

"We cannot think the Truth to be betray'd,  
 "or any Way Injur'd by the avowing such  
 "Principles, as secure it the Liberty to speak  
 "for itself; and which if universally espous'd,  
 "must open it a Way into all Parts and Places  
 "of the World.

"Therefore upon the whole, we conceive  
 "that the Honour of God, and the Intrest  
 "of our Redeemer engage us to appear for  
 "Liberty of Conscience. And we perswade  
 "our Selves, you will look upon our laying  
 "this Matter so freely before you, as an In-  
 "stance of our Brotherly Affection for you;  
 "Nor is it the wide distance of Place, or any  
 "little difference of Sentiment that may possi-  
 "ble be, which can lessen our Concern for  
 "Members of the same Mystical Body of  
 "Christ.

"We therefore humbly offer it to the Seri-  
 "ous Consideration of yourselves, and by you  
 "to your fellow Labourers in the Ministry, to-  
 "gether with other Christian Brethren, what  
 "farther Assurance may be prudently and fitly  
 "given that in the present Affair you are like  
 "minded with us, and are not to be out done  
 "by any in the Evidence and Exercise of a  
 "truly Christian Charity; and that you will  
 "rather employ your own Intrest for the pro-  
 "curing of some such Liberty as is here ad-  
 "low'd, than that others should be left to try  
 "what their Endeavors can do, which we  
 "would gladly divert them from, in expecta-  
 "tion of what this Letter may produce.

"Finally Brethren, you will not forget that  
 "the Apostle tells us after the mentioning of  
 "Faith Hope and Charity, that the *greatest of*  
 "*these is Charity*; since you are (we doubt  
 "not) guided by that Wisdom from above,  
 "which is not only *Pure* but *Peaceable, Gentle*  
 "*and Easy to be intreated, full of Mercy and*  
 "*good Fruits, without Partiality, and without*  
 "*Hypocrisy, &c.*

We have never met with any copy of the  
 application by the Quakers, referred to and en-  
 closed in the preceding document. It would  
 seem to be certain that the "severe laws" had  
 not been repealed in 1704—and we do not  
 know that they ever were formally repealed.

## 20.—AN INCLINATION TO EPISCOPAL GOVERN- MENT IN NEW ENGLAND, IN 1662.

When Richard Baxter was made one of the  
 King's Chaplains at the Restoration, he was ap-  
 pealed to by the Governor of Massachusetts,  
 with the consent and by order of the General  
 Court, and by some of the leading divines of that  
 Colony, to intercede for them and further their  
 applications to the King for the continuance of  
 their charter-privileges. In connection with his  
 reference to these letters, a curious piece of the  
 secret history of the time is brought into view.  
 We do not remember, anywhere, in the various  
 histories of Massachusetts, any reference to the  
 facts or the documents to illustrate so remarkable  
 a reaction in that religious community, at that  
 early period.

Writing on this subject and concerning the let-  
 ters from Massachusetts, Baxter says:

"That you may better understand these Let-  
 "ters, and many other such Passages, you must  
 "know that the great reason why myself and  
 "some of my Brethren were made the King's  
 "Chaplains (in Title) was, that the People might  
 "think that such Men as we were favoured and  
 "advanced, and consequently that all that were  
 "like us should be favoured, and so might think

"their Condition happy. And though we ourselves made no doubt but that this was the use that was to be made of us, and that afterward we should be silenced with the rest, in time, yet we thought that it was not meet to deny their Offer. The People at *London*, who were near, judged as we did, and were not much deceived: But those in the Country that were further off, understood not how things went above. But especially those in *France* and in *New-England*, who were yet more remote, were far more deceived by these Appearances, and the more ready to bless us in our present State, and almost wish it were their own: Inasmuch that there grew on a sudden in *New-England* a great Inclination to Episcopal Government; for many of them saw the Inconveniences of Separations, and how much their way did tend to Divisions, and they read my Books, and what I said against both the Souldiers and Schismatics in *England*; and they thought that the Church-Government here would have been such as we were pleased with; so that these and many other Motives made them begin to think of a Conformity: Till at last Mr. *Norton*, with one Mr. *Broadstreet*, a Magistrate, came over and saw how things went, and those in *New-England* heard at last how we were all silenced and cast out: And then they began to remember again, that there is something besides Schism to be feared, and that there lyeth as perilous an Extreme on the other side. But they have in their Synod\* past some such moderating conclusions about Baptism and constant Synods, as have ended most of the differences between them and the moderate Presbyterians."

Another passage from Baxter lends greater significance to the foregoing—bringing home to individuals the inclination to Conformity and Episcopal Government, and showing more clearly the reasons and experience which had produced it. Writing against the Independents or Separatists, he said:

"Their churches have among them no probable way of Concord; but they are as a heap of Sand, that upon every Commotion fall in pieces. The Experience of it in *Holland* broke them to nothing: And it so affected the Sober in *New-England* that in 1660 or 1661" [*It was in 1662.*] "Mr. *Ash*† and I were fain to dissuade Mr. *Norton* and Mr. *Broadstreet*, whom they sent hither as Commissioners, from inclining to

"our *English* Episcopacy (foretelling them what was doing and we have seen) so deeply were they afraid of being deceived by that People's incurable Separation from their ablest Pastors, whenever any earnest erroneous Teachers would seduce them. Their Building wanteth Cement."

Again, in the same document, he says:

"Even in *New-England*, not only Mr. *Wilson*, Mr. *Norton*, and such other single Independent Ministers, lived and died in lamented Separation, and warning the land against it as their danger, but their Synods have been at much trouble thereby, and left their Healing Determinations and Testimony against that Dividing Spirit and Way."

In another place, he refers to

"Divers other such Irregularities, and dividing opinions: Many of which the moderation of the *New-England* Synod hath of late corrected and disowned: and so done very much to heal these Breaches."

Baxter, in his last days professed himself "as zealous a lover of the New England Churches as any man, according to Mr. *Noyes's*, Mr. *Norton's* and Mr. *Mitchel's*, and the Synod's model."—*Letter to Increase Mather, August 3, 1691.*

These extracts need little comment. After Cotton's death, Norton's commanding abilities were fully recognized in Massachusetts, and he was unquestionably the leading minister of the Colony. *Palfrey*, ii. 463. He went to England with Bradstreet in 1662—the representatives of a community which Mr. *Palfrey* characterizes as "the most compact and solid array of Puritanism [*then*] in existence."

Who will restore for us the Records which may reveal the real history of that period? and the trials, the struggles, the disappointments of the best and ablest of those Puritans, who, weary of "incurable Separation," inclined to Conformity?

#### VIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE MOB ASSEMBLED AT EXETER, N. H., IN SEPTEMBER, 1786.

BY AN EYE-WITNESS.\*

The Legislature and Supreme Court of New Hampshire were both in session, the one in a Meeting-house, and the other in the Court-house, on opposite sides of the main street, in Exeter. At about three o'clock in the afternoon, a body of men

\* The Synod to which Baxter refers here was the Synod of 1662, which recommended the half-way covenant, and endorsed the doctrine of the consociation of churches.

† Simon Ash, an ancient, leading, able minister, whose eminent Holiness and Simplicity made him loved and honored by all. He had been the Earl of Manchester's Chaplain in the Wars; and had concurred with him to bring in the King. He died in 1662. Baxter gives an admirable character of his friend in his *Life*.

\* The following statement was written by a Gentleman of intelligence and credit, an Inhabitant of Exeter, and present on the occasion which he describes. It has never yet appeared in print; and as it is undoubtedly a faithful narration of one of the serious popular disturbances which succeeded the establishment of our Independence, it is thought that it may interest the readers of the Magazine.

marched into the Town and down the street, of whom about one hundred and twenty carried fire-arms; while about an equal number on horse-back, and having no weapons but whips and canes, brought up the rear. They halted for a few minutes, a little short of the Court-house, and then, with trailed arms, marched directly by it and over the "great Bridge," turning every one aside who obstructed their passage; then returned, and encircled the Court-house, under the erroneous idea that the Legislature was sitting there. But presently, discovering their mistake, they surrounded the Meeting-house, and loading their pieces with powder and ball, demanded of the Legislature that they should authorize an emission of paper-money, and make it a tender in all cases for debts and taxes; declaring that none of the members should leave the house, until their demands were complied with.

It having been generally understood, in the early part of the day, that a demonstration of this kind was on foot, a vast number of persons had assembled in the Town, some of whom sympathized with the mob, and others were opposed to them.

Some gentlemen attempted to point out to the assemblage the impropriety of their conduct, which only made them more insolent; and they still insisted that the Legislature should not be liberated until an Act for creating a paper-currency should be passed. Various methods were taken, to induce them to withdraw from their position about the Meeting-house: President Sullivan and others addressed them; but all to no purpose: they continued at their posts until nearly dusk in the evening.

A plan was then suggested to alarm them, which was put in successful execution. A drummer was employed to beat to arms, in another quarter of the town; at the same time the law-abiding citizens loudly huzza'd "for Government," while others cried—"For God's sake 'don't let the Artillery come!" Upon this, that part of the assemblage which was disinclined to violent measures, moved off in the direction of the drummer. The mob, apprehending an immediate assault, made a precipitate retreat out of the village, and took up their quarters for the night, at a point about a mile distant from the Court-house.

The Legislature at once quitted the Meeting-house, but returning, soon, passed a Vote declaring the State to be in rebellion; and President Sullivan at once issued Orders for calling out the militia. A Company of Volunteers was immediately enrolled in the Town, under the command of Captain Nicholas Gilman; and, at an early hour the next morning, many leading citizens from Portsmouth, and other neighboring Towns, made their appearance, together with a suffic-

ient body of militia to justify an attack upon the insurgents.

President Sullivan put himself at the head of the force, and marched directly to the rendezvous of the mob, who were formed to receive them. They kept their position until the State troops approached within about forty rods, and then incessantly dispersed, being briskly pursued by Companies of horse and foot. Several were taken prisoners, (in which General Joseph Cilley took a conspicuous part,) and were committed to jail. Others, of the ringleaders, who escaped, were followed to their homes in various Towns, and arrested; and the whole were in due time arraigned in the Supreme Court; but upon their pleading Guilty, and making very humble acknowledgements, they were eventually discharged.

#### IX.—ORISKANY.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.\*

The Campaign of 1777, in the British Colonies of North America, is worthy of far more consideration than it has yet received, either from Historians or Military Critics. The conception of such a plan as that of converging to a central point, by land and sea, Armies to act simultaneously upon a given point in the centre of a comparative wilderness, had something grand in itself. That it failed does not detract in the slightest degree from the grandeur of the conception, since the superiority of the plan, decisive if successful, failed through the inferiority of the agent, not through the fault of the originating mind. Not one of Napoleon's combined operations can approach it in magnitude, when the means of transportation and of supply at the disposal of its author and executors are taken into consideration. Even the Crimean War, "dragged its slow length along," with every advantage of Steamboats, Rail-roads, and all the vast developments of Science, in every branch of the war-service, as well as in the arts of Peace, which could be rendered auxiliary to the service of War. It was not until the Slaveholder's Rebellion had passed through its first phase of comparative inaction, that the progress of a Century revealed itself in its full proportions; and time and space seemed to be annihilated in the precision of combined movements, whose bases were thousands of miles distant. The Austro-Prussian "Seven Weeks War" was the next step in advance;

\* We are sure our readers will be pleased to learn that the able pen of General de Peyster will be employed, hereafter, from time to time, for their benefit.

As a military critic, General de Peyster is widely known throughout the country; and we hope to receive from him, in season for our February number, a *critique* on the *Battle of King's Mountain*. EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.



and the next collision between Nations will doubtless produce miracles of accomplished facts, from whose very contemplation the directing minds of 1777 would have shrunk, as from the vainest maunderings of insanity.

As far as transportation and military movements were concerned, not taking into account weapons, warfare, in 1777, was little in advance of that of the times of the Greeks and Romans. The conquering march of the Egyptian Sesostris, Northward, from the upper Nile to the Danube; that of Alexander the Great, Eastward, from the Ægean to the Indus; that of the Roman Legions from Italy into the remotest regions of Parthia, were achievements worthy to rank with the expedition of Napoleon, from Paris to Moscow; but the only combined movements worthy to be classed with that projected by Burgoyne was that of the Russian Generals, whose closing in together, from the North, South, and East, nearly caught and crushed Napoleon, in 1812, at the Beresina. A similar idea was conceived for the destruction of Frederick the Great, in 1745: but he broke one jaw of the nippers at Katholisch-Hemmesdorf (23 November, 1745,) and knocked out the rivet at Kesseldorf (15 December, 1745), just as Schuyler broke one blade of the shears which were closing to sever the Eastern Colonies from the Middle and Southern, at Oriskany, or Fort Schuyler,—or Fort Stanwix, as the public will persist in terming it, although Fort Schuyler is its correct title—and Stark broke off the point of the other, at Hoosic, misnamed Bennington; the whole instrument going to wreck, immediately after, at Saratoga. The celebrated tactical writer, von Bulow, the predecessor of Jomini, and, in many respects, especially in originality of thought, the superior of the Swiss, has left some very remarkable observations on the Campaign of 1777, in his two articles on the *Free States of North America*, written, or rather published, in 1797, and in his *Spirit of the New System of War*, which appeared at a later date.

The remarks recorded by him were founded on observations made in America, during or at the close of the Revolutionary War. His plan was to capture and occupy the principal Atlantic seaports, from which flying columns were to be sent out to distract the attention of the Americans and to attract their troops to the defence of menaced vital points. Then, basing his subsequent operations on this preliminary plan, he sketched out a Campaign which was almost identical with that conceived by Burgoyne. The English General, however, undertook to accomplish his purpose without taking the previous steps prescribed by von Bulow; and his failure was ascribed by the German practical strategist, to the Fabian policy of Schuyler, the engineering ability of Kosciuszko,

and the activity, bravery, and capacity of Arnold—all three applying, with sagacity, the patriotic efforts of the Militia of New York, who stuck to their colors and acted the soldier, unlike so many of the New England citizen-soldiers, who called against Schuyler and did not fight.

When the reader considers that Burgoyne's primary base was in England, separated over three thousand miles of tempestuous ocean from his secondary base, Quebec; that his next base was Montreal, attainable only by overcoming one hundred and eighty miles of rapid river communication, in primitive vessels; and that between Montreal, the starting place of his march, and Albany, his objective, lay two hundred and fifty miles of wilderness, it must be conceded that he was a bold man, with such distances, difficulties, and dangers before him, to be overcome, to calculate upon an ultimate success which was not only dependent upon his own triumphant advance, Southwards, and upon that of Sir Henry Clinton being able to force his way, Northward, one hundred and fifty miles, up the Hudson River, fortified and militarily occupied at the most dangerous points between New York and Albany; but, also, upon the probability of Brigadier-general, or Colonel, Barry St. Leger marching Eastward, unmolested, about two hundred miles, from Oswego, on Lake Ontario, and working in at the appointed time, at Albany.

Burgoyne failed for various reasons, traceable to causes all due to his own errors of judgment and incomprehension of the value of Time, which enabled the resolute Schuyler, assisted by the experienced Kosciuszko, to accumulate obstacles in the way of the English Commander. The forced delays, occasioned by Schuyler's engineering, rendered Burgoyne's own original delay fatal to the latter. Had Burgoyne, the General, on the spot, acted on the advice of George III., the Sovereign, in England, and followed the route of Lake George, all Schuyler's labors on the line of Woodcreek would have been in vain. But Burgoyne "took the bull by the horns;" and thus the New York Commander, by his Fabian policy, placed Burgoyne, already in check, at Skenesborough, now Whitehall; and, at the same time, by his Marcellus-like promptness, checkmated St. Leger at Fort Stanwix—St. Leger already bewildered by the blow delivered by Herkimer, at Oriskany.

As Oriskany was the turning point, as to the date of this Campaign; as it was the bloodiest conflict of the War of the Revolution, at the North; as the majority of the combatants on the British side, and their immediate Commanders, were New York Loyalists; and as their opponents were New York Militia; this engagement ought to possess the greatest interest for New Yorkers.

Having endeavored to sketch out, rapidly, a sort of introduction to our narrative of this obsti-

nate and sanguinary conflict, the reader is now invited to the consideration of many incidents worthy of note,—Military, Historical, and Personal.

There is scarcely a circumstance in History which does not admit of an exact parallel, either in its direct political influences or its political influences through military result. Those whose effects exercise a general influence of a marked character, come within the category of *decisive*. This is certainly the case when an event, political or military, has a marked bearing on the future of a Nation or of a cause. Such was, indeed, ORISKANY. It was very much to the British cause, in the Northern Colonies, what the Convention of Tauraggin, or Toudogen, (31<sup>st</sup> December, 1812,) was to the power of Napoleon. When d'York entered into his famous agreement with Diebitsch, it was not the defection of a few thousand half-frozen Prussian soldiers which threw the French Empire back behind the Vistula, the Oder, and, finally, the Elbe: but it was the crumbling of a small stone at the base of the arch, which, if it did not destroy, threatened the integrity of, the whole structure, and rendered its restoration necessary, *ab initio*. This view of the case, alone, even if it did not present other peculiar characteristics, would render Oriskany a remarkable Battle.

Oriskany, however, is worthy of attention in several other respects. It was a contest between the inhabitants of Central New York, in arms for their Rights, and trained warriors fighting for dynastic prerogatives. It was a contest between Militia and Regulars, the latter backed by savages who had established their pre-eminence as "braves,"—the Five Nations of Indians,—in a conquering career of ages; a career which had rendered their name redoubtable, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf. Those who directed and led their barbarous valor were men who united to the virtues of the red-man, the astuteness and discipline of the pale-face—mental qualities which had neutralized the physical superiority of the best of the Indian Tribes, from the day that the Hollanders advanced, Northward, from Manhattan; the Puritans, Westward, from Plymouth; the Frenchman, Southward, from Quebec. It was a fight between Republicans and Royalists, as much "native to the manner born" as the Roundheads and Cavaliers were, who encountered on the fields of the Mother Country.

If ever principle conquered in arms, and Progress and the Rights of Man prevailed through blood, it was in the woods and on the shores of the Oriskany. In those dark green forests, and by that swarthy stream, feudalism and the prerogative of birth-right received a fatal blow, as far as they concerned the Empire State, subjected, as that State had been, more than any other Colony, to

the traditional privileges and influences of the Past. The settlement of New England, as a whole, was founded on comparatively popular or Republican ideas. It was not so with New York. In the "Patroons" and "Lords of the Manor," in the "Rights of the Lords of the Soil," and leases, with feudal privileges, for terms, to endure as long as the grass grew and water ran, the aristocracy of the old Country thought to renew its lease in the New World.

Nor could leaders have been chosen, on either side, who were better exponents of the principles for which they fought. Herkimer, or Herckeimer, or Harkeimer—by whichever name he is known—a man in the prime of his years, between forty-six and fifty, was a son of the soil, a tiller of it, who had amassed an honest independence, by labor and frugality. He was the son of an immigrant and owed everything to industry and natural common-sense. He had some, but still very little, experience in military matters; that little nothing more than the every-day experience of frontier life. His talents for command were the natural instincts of a Soldier, born not bred; and his discreet counsel, *before* the Battle, his able depositions *in* the Battle, his resolute conduct *after* the Battle, proved that he was worthy the high place which he held in the opinion of his District; that he was worthy to lead a greater host on a grander field—as worthy, indeed, to set a Battle in array near the Utica of the West, as the great old Roman, who confronted the power of the World-conqueror, in the Utica of the East—as well as worthy of the better fate of dying through the death-stroke of the foe, reading his Bible, than of falling by his own hands, meditating on the dream of a Grecian philosopher. Finally, Herkimer was worthy of the monument which Congress, in the first emotion of gratitude, decreed—a memorial never erected.

In a like degree, Sir John Johnson was a type of the class which sought to rule the Colony by principles now obsolete. An aristocrat by birth: by marriage and by position, he belonged to the "Ring" which had controlled the Colony of New York, ever since the "blood-red Cross" of England had supplanted the tri-color of Holland. In every branch of the service, his connexions, through his wife, exercised the highest control. His father, an Irish immigrant, the client of an English Admiral of note, had risen to a Baronetcy and a sway as great, within its limits, as even a representative of Royalty could desire. If his subjects were savages, those savages were the noblest of the Continent: if his domain was limited, nature had so disposed it that it served as a check on the encroachments of a power, the rival of the Crown which had made him a knight-baronet and entrusted to him its Superintendency of Indian affairs.

Sir John Johnson is presented as the British leader at Oriskany, because family traditions and conviction make the writer believe that he was indeed so. The troops who did the hardest fighting on the British side, were his dependents, whom he had organized into a Battalion known as the "Queen's Loyal Americans," or "John-son Royal Greens." Their immediate Commander was his young brother-in-law, Stephen Watts, of New York, a grand-son of the celebrated Lieutenant-governor Colden, who had so long administered the affairs of the Colony: he was, also, a son of a prominent member of the Council, who was destined, if the Crown was successful, to succeed in the same high post; and he was the nephew of that distinguished James De Lancey, whose biography, from the time when he attained man's estate down to the very hour of his death, was, emphatically, the history of the Colony of New York. Both these British Commanders, first and second, had but little more military experience than Herkimer; but, in some respects, they had enjoyed better opportunities for learning and exercising the duties of command. Their social position had invested them with natural gifts, most valuable to an officer: just as the Southern leaders in the late Slaveholder's Rebellion, through like causes, were enabled to sway the masses so entirely in their own interest, that it passed into a proverb that, as far as regarded the South, the great American conflict was "the rich man's War and the poor man's Fight." This was just as true of Oriskany as of any conflict between the firing on Fort Sumter, in 1861, and the surrender of Lee and of Johnson, in 1865.

In the introductory remarks, the reader's attention was called to the routes of the three columns which were converging upon Albany—that from the North, under Burgoyne; that from the South, under Clinton; that from the West, under St. Leger. Exactly the same obstacle which Ticonderoga should have presented to Burgoyne, and Fort Montgomery and the other works, in the Highlands, to Clinton, Fort Stanwix, afterwards Fort Schuyler, on or near the site of the modern City of Rome, on the portage from Wood-creek, emptying into Ontario, and the Mohawk, did offer to St. Leger. The defence of this post should crown with the laurel and the palm, the memory and the tomb of Gansevoort, because, while Ticonderoga was abandoned, and Forts Montgomery and Clinton, and all the defences of the Hudson were captured, Fort Stanwix alone defied the power of the invader, who was compelled to besiege it in form. Whether it could have held out, or whether it must have eventually yielded, was not left, however, to the solution of its brave Commander, Gansevoort, his resolute subordinates, and the sturdy garrison. Impressed with the necessity of

relieving a post on whose preservation depended the safety of Central New York, if not of Albany itself, Herkimer, with a promptitude which is one of the truest characteristics of generalship, gathered together the four Regiments or Battalions of Militia which constituted his Brigade, about eight hundred men in all, and pushed on, as rapidly as the wilderness would permit, to succor Colonel Gansevoort. At the same time he dispatched messengers to that officer, announcing his approach and inviting his co-operation by a sortie. Almost as soon as Herkimer moved, St. Leger detached Sir John Johnson with a force not far from as powerful as that commanded by Herkimer, comprising a detachment of Regulars, perhaps picked shots, drafted from his Hesse-Hanau sharpshooters, and from his own "Johnson Greens," together with his bravest Indians under their renowned chief, Brant, or Thayendanege, to set an ambush for the advancing Republicans, and, if possible, as he hoped, annihilate them by a simultaneous attack in front, flank, and rear.

The country presented ample opportunities for such a stratagem: and its advantages were not neglected. The ambush was set about two miles West of the Oriskany—about six miles from Fort Stanwix—where a primitive corduroy road was the sole method of traversing a swampy hollow, or ravine, drained by a little affluent of that stream. This road was completely commanded by heights on either hand, covered with dense woods, in which Sir John Johnson stationed his marksmen, both whites and savage. It was as handsome a trap as that which Hermann or Arminius set for the Legions of Verrus in the Teutoburger Forest, eighteen centuries previous,—an ambush which determined the fate of Roman progress into the free German land, just as the issue of Oriskany, reversing the case, checked the progress of the British into the free German flat-lands of the Mohawk.

With the true instincts of a soldier and the shrewd common-sense of a frontier-man, Herkimer suspected that he would be bushwhacked in this very locality. His column was impeded by a large baggage-train; and he resolved to advance slowly, feeling his way, before he ventured into any such defile.

Unfortunately, among his subordinates were men puffed up with the conceit of Militia rank, who met his generous declarations, that "he felt himself invested with a supervision like that of a Father over a family;" that "on the preservation of his little band, hung the safety of the whole Mohawk-valley"; that "on the lives of the men whom he conducted, depended the happiness, the welfare, and the very existence, not of so many individuals, but of as many families." With threats and insults, with stigmas—the hardest to be borne by a brave man—of "Cow-



"ard" and of "Traitor." he was compelled to yield to the clamors of ignorance and presumption. Herkimer, accordingly, ordered the march to be resumed, but added the prophetic warning, that those who had been the loudest in attributing his wisdom to cowardice, would be the first to fly, coward-like, themselves, when the moment of action and peril arrived.

His words were, indeed, prophetic. The tangled underbrush of the primeval forest prevented any accurate reconnaissance of the route. Advancing by a flank, along the narrow corduroy road, like Braddock towards Fort Duquesne, the Republican column plunged into a pit of slaughter. Nothing saved a remnant, but the impatience of the savages eager to commence the work of death. With the first murderous volley, Herkimer's predictions were verified. Colonel Fischer, or Viseher, who, actuated with a discretion he had condemned in his superior, had commanded the rear of the column, and been the loudest in taunting Herkimer with cowardice, was the first to set the example of flight. Still, although he and his men were not inextricably involved in the defile, and fled almost with the first shot, his command suffered greater proportionate loss than those who had to purchase safety with the resistance of desperation. Nor did Cox and Paris, Fischer's associates, in arrogance and braggadocio, fare better. The former fell by the first fire; and Paris, a member of the Legislature and an insubordinate volunteer, was likewise slain.

Early in the action, Herkimer had his leg shattered by a bullet. The same shot killed his horse and proved fatal to the General himself, eleven days afterwards, (17th August, 1777.) Propped against the saddle, the hero pulled out his tinder-box, struck a light, lit his pipe, and continued to command as calmly as if still uninjured, in the saddle. Observing that the Indians, as soon as one of his men had discharged his firelock, rushed in, and tomahawked and scalped the Militia-man, before he could reload, Herkimer provided against the recurrence, by posting his men in pairs, so that one might always have a shot in reserve while his comrade was recharging his rifle.

Von Hardegg, the distinguished German military Historian and Critic, admits that the true tactics of skirmishing had its origin in our first War for Independence, having been brought back to Europe, in 1776—1783, and introduced among the light-troops, there, by officers who had served and witnessed its efficacy, in America. Doubtless, in Herkimer's impromptu disposition of his marksman in little circles depending on a central grand circle, military Critics may discern some of the

changes, claimed or termed as later improvements in Light-infantry dispositions; and in the pairs, the germ or original idea of the Triplets; and then the Quadriglia of the Italian (*Piedmontese*) Bersaglieri (*Riflemen*) and Fours of the *Chasseurs d'Orleans*, afterwards *de Vincennes*,—styled "Comrades of Combat"—the unit of formation in the new Rifle or Tiruilleur (*skirmishers*) organizations, everywhere. This is a question really worthy of investigation; for the majority of the improvements in different branches of the Military Art, in Artillery and Infantry certainly, can be traced back, through the practical innovations, to American inventors and soldiers.

But to return to the events of the Battle. At the crisis of the day, when a dropping or drizzling rain of death was covering the narrow field with dead and wounded, the crash and horror of the Battle were suspended by the fierce tumult of a thunder-storm of tropical violence, as fierce as that which broke upon the battle-field of Chantilly, on the first of September, 1862, converting the afternoon into night, amidst whose churm another Republican hero, Kearny, passed like Herkimer, from earthly fame to eternal glory, offering up his great life for the Rights of Man and for Freedom. A down-pour of rain which, according to tradition, was almost unequalled, compelled a pause between the contestants.

As the sun burst forth again, a new enemy showed himself upon the field, in the disciplined blaze of "The Johnson Greens." As at Almansa, in Spain, in 1707, the hostility of ordinary warfare was aggravated into something appalling in its fury, born of personal antagonism and mutual deadly wrongs. To the desultory, but deadly, fire of a hot skirmish, succeeded a withering volley, then a charge, then a grapple and a mutual slaughter, to be traced by knots and pairs of dead, with hands clenched in each other's hair, and hunting-knives interchangeably sheathed in the bosoms of former friends and neighbors.

As at the first Bull-run, portions of both Armies fled the field. The physical victory was with the British: the moral triumph with the Americans, who lost two hundred slain outright, and half their original number in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

General Herkimer was carried off, to die at home, in consequence of the shocking manner in which his shattered limb was taken off and from secondary hemorrhage. Major Watts, left upon the field for dead, was found, three days afterwards, under the bridge of Oriskany, whither he had crawled to slake the feverish thirst engendered by three wounds, the most dangerous, like that of Herkimer, in the leg. Transported

back to Montreal, he suffered amputation; and, a cripple for life, his military career likewise ended at Oriskany.

Such is a brief synopsis of a Battle, which, fought ten days previous to that at Bennington, (16 August, 1777,) determined the fate of Burgoyne's Campaign. Contemplated in the light of its casualties, it holds the first rank among the conflicts of our Revolution. In the bright gleam of its results, it shines as the first success of our republican Armies at the North. In the grandeur of the valor, as displayed there, by the Revolutionary Sires, it is a splendid monument of republican untrained soldiery. It ended British reliance on savage co-operation in the field. Never again were the Five Nations brought to face, *in battle*, the yeomanry of New York.

On the same day, Colonel Willett, of New York City, made a sortie from Fort Stanwix and spoiled St. Leger's Camp. That night, the first imitation of "the Stars and Stripes," decreed eight weeks previously, (14th June, 1777,) by Congress, as the Federal ensign, was displayed on the walls of the Fort, triumphantly, over four or five captured British standards.

Then came the news of Arnold's hot-foot march to the relief of the beleaguered garrison. Schuyler, the victim of injustice, was well aware of the importance of the post; and, although he could ill spare a single man, he had dispatched from eight hundred to one thousand men to save it, if, still, it could be saved; to redeem it, if it had already been lost. Already calumniated as a Traitor, because he could be truly brave, and save his country at the risk of his own individual reputation, his resolution to detach Arnold from an Army already too feeble to face Burgoyne in the field, raised a new storm of indignation against a patriot as true as Washington; as a General, second to none who wore the Blue and Buff.

The night before Learned or Arnold started, that glorious type of an American officer and gentleman was heard pacing his room, with feelings lacerated by the imputation of Treason, for what he knew was a master-stroke of military policy. "By God! I will do it. Let them call me Traitor if they will. By God! Arnold shall go." Arnold marched; and on receiving the news of his approach, St. Leger broke up the siege of Fort Stanwix, abandoned his Artillery, and fled.

Thus, not on the shore of the Wolloomscoick, an affluent of the Hudson; nor amid the Green Mountains of Vermont; nor along the Hudson itself, but on the swampy margin of an affluent of the Mohawk, in Central New York, was Burgoyne's grand plan of operations checked, frustrated, and ended. There, was the Battle of

Oriskany fought; and, although it was apparently a side issue, and, under ordinary circumstances, a side-issue scarcely worthy of particular notice, it turned out to be, as an eloquent German historian has declared, one of those Battles, which, considered in the light of the science of carrying on a War, as understood at the present day, in its consequences, becomes elevated to the rank of the most important or decisive of the American Revolution. Nor can this article close without a more literal translation of Fredrick Kapp's own forcible expressions. "The combat on the Oriskany and the defence of Fort Stanwix," he says, "must stand together in History. They were the first important triumphs of the republican arms at the North; and they were, in reality, the harbingers or precursors of Burgoyne's surrender. Considered as an occurrence, by itself, and not in its intimate connections with contemporaneous and dependent events, the combat of Oriskany was unimportant, especially when the number of the antagonistic forces is taken into consideration. Considered, however, in the light of the science of War of this era, or in the sense of the present method of carrying on a War, it could only claim, at the very most, a transitory mention in the newspapers, as a trifling engagement; but, nevertheless, when the consequences which resulted from it are taken into consideration, it classes itself among the most important or decisive Battles of the Revolutionary War."

In *Summa*: if Burgoyne's Campaign had succeeded, estimating the results according to the only rule which men can apply, to wit, *experience*, it would have settled the question of the Revolution at the North; and, as it is a notorious fact that the fate of the Southern Colonies was entirely dependant on that of the Northern of the confederated Thirteen, the moment the Eastern and Middle (embryo) States were severed, the loyal elements in the latter were sufficiently strong and influential, if backed by an auxiliary force, to have crushed any farther uprising against the Crown.

When the critic considers that, even as in an opera, certainly in an overture, there is always a key-note which seems to typify or express the spirit of the music—a key-note on which all the rest is dependent—even so in a War, in a Campaign, in a Battle, there is always an idea, a Battle, a manœuvre, upon which everything turns. For instance, the key-note at Gettysburg was the preservation of the Round Tops; at Chattanooga, the seizure of the Wahatchie Valley. In the Campaign of 1777, the key-note to which every other responded—the pivot on which everything hung—was the combination of events which occurred between old Fort Schuyler, now

Utica, and new Fort Schuyler, or Stanwix, now Rome, whose expression was that death-grapple in which,

"Though neither force could Triumph claim,  
"In War's dread, dazzling, desperate game,  
"Enkindled there, the smould'ring flame  
"Of Freedom blazed, to make thy name  
"All glorious, Oriskany."

NEW YORK CITY.

J. W. DE P.

# X.—REV. SAMUEL WHITING'S HARVARD ORATION, IN 1649.

By HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

Cotton Mather tells us that the Rev. Samuel Whiting, Pastor of the church at Lynn, Mass., 1636-1679, "was wonderfully happy in his meek, his composed, his peaceable disposition. . . . His very countenance had an amiable smile continually sweetening of it; and his face herein was but the true image of his mind. . . . For his learning, he was many ways well accomplished, . . . and he was elegant in Latin, whereof among other demonstrations, he gave one in an oration at one of our commencements." *Magnolia*, B. 3, Pt. 2, Ch. 28.

This Oration, which was printed in a tract of sixteen pages (small 8vo.), deserves a place among the curiosities of American literature. The libraries of the Massachusetts and the Connecticut Historical Societies have, each, a copy of it; and I know of but one other copy. It was delivered on the thirty-first of July, 1649. The title, at the head of the first page,—for there is no title-page proper,—is as follows:

## "Oration

"*Quam Comitij Cantabrigiensiſibus Americanis*  
"Peroravit reverendissimus D. D. Samuel Whiting  
"Pastor Linnensis; in aula scilicet Harvardina,  
"Pridie Calendæ Septilæ,  
"Anno, M.DC.XL.IX."

Before this Oration was delivered, news had reached New England, of the execution of Charles I., of the creation by the Parliament of a supreme Council of State, and, probably, of Cromwell's appointment to the command of the Army to be sent into Ireland, to suppress rebellion there, relieve the Irish Protestants, and reduce the island to submission to the authority of Parliament.

The orator contrasts the peace and prosperity enjoyed in New England, with the sad condition of the mother country, rent by civil war:

"Deus Pacis dulcissimam istam pacem nobis  
"elargitus est. Deus Exercitum in Anglia  
"ſic) tanquam Leo rugit. *Tinea* fuit aliquan-  
"do temporibus nostris: sed nunc *Leona* lace-

"rat, laniat, disceipit, devorat, diruit, dilapi-  
"dat, destruit omnia, minatur dira."

There was no raging lioness, "threatening dire things," in Massachusetts, but some "little foxes" had found their way even to that wilderness vineyard, and might do mischief to the tender grapes. Mr. Whiting prayed that the College might be blessed in diffusing the light of the Gospel,—

"ad tenebras erroris, hereseos, inſcitia, pravi-  
"tatis, diſcutiendas: ut omnes . . . ex *Ana-*  
"*baptistarum, Familistarum, Antinomistarum,*  
"*Antipsalmistarum* lacunis sordidis eripiantur."

But the most curious portion of the Oration is that which implores vengeance on the Roman-Catholic Irish rebels. We may not doubt Mather's assurance that the orator's "countenance had an amiable smile continually sweetening it," but surely the smile must have appeared a queer accompaniment to imprecations thundered forth with a force and fervor hardly equalled by the curses of Erulfus.

The Lord is reminded of his threats of vengeance on evil-doers, and of the promises which he had given to his chosen people:

"Recordare quid olim jurasti in *Amalekum* . .  
". . . Scimus autem Te non posse mentiri,  
"multo minus pejerare. Stringe igitur gladium  
"adversus omnes *Amalekitas*; arcum tuum tende  
"adversos sicarios & sanguinolentos *Hibernicos*,  
"illos mactatores. Jaculare contra ipsos, ne par-  
"cas sagittis tuis. Laqueum tende ipsis omnibus,  
"ut capiantur. Cadant juvenes eorum in plateis,  
"in agris illis sanguinum; et omnes bellatores  
"excindantur. Gladius irruat in *O-Nelos*, illos  
"autores, fautores, opifices, artifices, principes  
"istius crudelissimæ Laniæ. Gladius irruat in  
"*O-Rorkos* illos commilitones ejusdem facinoris  
"et nequitie. Gladius irruat in *Mac-Guivorum*,  
"et *Mac-Mahomorum* decollatorum posteros et  
"superstites truculentos. Gladius irruat in omnes  
"*Antrimmos, Taffos, Montrossios, Monrouss*; et  
"in omnes latrones, balatrones, nebulones, per-  
"duellos, sicarios, conspiratos, conglutinatos Pro-  
"ditores. . . . Preat *Roma*, spiritualis illa  
"*Sodoma* et *Egyptus*, mystica illa magna *Babyl-*  
"*on*, cerussata, fucata, purpurata, deaurata illa  
"meretrix. . . . Cadat bestia illa, et col-  
"lum frangat in æternum. Ruant *Cardinales*  
"cum omnibus cardinalibus eorum (non virtuti-  
"bus, sed) stupris et nefariis vitis. Ruant *Archi-*  
"*episcopi* cum obesis alvis et beneficiis;"—

And so on down, through the inferior orders of priesthood, with a special "ruant" for each.

This tract is without imprint, but there is no reason to doubt that it was printed by Marmaduke Johnson or Samuel Green, at Cambridge, except the fact that it is much better printed than anything else which I have seen from that press before 1670. Mr. Whiting's *Discourse on the Last Judg-*



ment was printed (at Cambridge) in 1664; his *Meditations upon Genesis* xviii, 23-33, in 1666. The Oration, as I conjecture, came from the same press some time between 1660 and 1665. One typographical peculiarity which it exhibits is the introduction in the text of several words in handsome Greek type; and a three-line quotation in *Hebrew* characters appears on the last page. These characters appear to have been printed from a typemetal block, and not from movable types.

J. H. T.

HARTFORD, CONN.

## XI.—MR. BANCROFT AND COLONEL REED.

The *New York Tribune* of the second of January, contains a letter from a correspondent in Berlin, in which we find the following very interesting paragraphs:

BERLIN, Dec. 17.— \* \* \* \* \*

At odd intervals in the last ten months, I have been engaged in examining the Prussian archives between 1776 and 1783, and have found very much of interest to American Revolutionary history, including accounts of John Adams at the Hague. I have found many letters of Frederick the Great, of very eccentric execution, chirographically and orthographically, which are of considerable historical value. Among the curious passages that have come to my knowledge, one is of especial importance at this moment, for it throws considerable light upon a portion of the Bancroft-Reed controversy. Those who interested themselves in that matter will remember that Mr. Bancroft cited, in the Ninth Volume of his *History*, an extract from the Diary of the Hessian Colonel Donop, which, under date of Dec. 21, 1776, says: 'Der Oberst Reed, der neulich eine Protection erhalten, seye dem Gen. Mifflin entgegen gekommen, und habe demselben declarirt dass er nicht gesonnen sey weiteres zu dienen, warouf ihm Mifflin sehr hart begegnet und ihn sogar einen dem Rascal geheissen habe.' Mr. Bancroft translated this, 'Col. Reed, who lately received a Protection, is said to have gone up to Gen. Mifflin and declared to him that he was not disposed to serve any longer, upon which Mifflin met him very harshly, and even called him a damned rascal,'—claiming that the clause, 'der neulich eine Protection erhalten,' was descriptive, and inserted on the part of the writer, and was not a part of the narrative he was repeating. In this view, he was supported by Mr. Kapp, of New York, a well-known German scholar. I have secured a copy of the Report of Col. Donop, dated at Bordentown, Dec. 21, 1776, to his superior officer, Major-Gen. Grant, at Brunswick, and this is now before me. The report is in very

bad French: the following extract is exact, the italics only being mine:

"Ce qui est bien sûr, c'est que le même pres midi Gen. Mifflin est avancé avec un corps Rebelle sur la route de Moorstown jusqu'au Pont de trois miles éloignées de Montholly, mais qu'il n'a rien enterpris que de ruiner entièrement ce pont après qu'il est retourné à Moorstown. Le Col. Reed, qui dernièrement a reçu une protection à rencontre\* le Gen. Mifflin auprès de ce Pont, et lui a déclaré qu'il avoit quitté le parti Rebelle sur quoi Mifflin l'a traité très durement, le nommant à dam Raskel, et aparamment il l'a emmené comme prisonnier avec lui, puisque depuis on ne l'a plus vu à Blackhorse. L'homme qui m'a rapporté cela avoit été envoie par moi pour chercher des nouvelles de l'ennemi, et il a entendu lui même cette conversation."

From this it will appear that not only does Donop state, on his own authority, that Reed had received a Protection, but he further relates, circumstantially, a conversation between Reed and Mifflin, which one of his own scouts overheard near the bridge, three miles distant from Mount Holly—not a rumor that could not be traced to any trustworthy source."

It will be remembered by our readers that BERLIN, where this letter is said to have been written, is the seat of the American Legation to Prussia; and that the head of that Legation is Mr. Bancroft, one of the principals in the celebrated discussion—"the Bancroft-Reed controversy"—which is referred to therein, with so much precision.

The respectability of the establishment whose "own Correspondent" was the author of this letter, forbids a doubt concerning its genuineness; and it is evident, either that it was written by Mr. Bancroft or that, in the language of one of his most intelligent personal friends, "Mr. Bancroft inspired it."

With these remarks before us, concerning the character and origin of this letter, let us look at its contents.

The extract from the German, which is quoted above, without reference to either Mr. Bancroft or Mr. Kapp, can be honestly translated only in words like these: "Colonel Reed, who lately received a Protection,† is said to have gone forward to meet General Mifflin, and declared to him that he did not intend to serve any longer, whereupon Mifflin treated him very harshly and, it is also said, that he even called him "a damned rascal."‡

\* Probably intended for "a rencontre."

† We have the authority of one of the most widely-known and accomplished of our German fellow-citizens for saying that the structure of the German, in the original of this sentence, is such that it may be considered, with equal propriety, as indicating that Colonel Donop did not person-

The extract from the French, on which this entry was based and which now appears for the first time, can be honestly translated only in words like these:—"What is very certain is, that, "the same afternoon, General Mifflin advanced "with a rebel corps, on the Moorestown road, to "the bridge, three miles distant from Mount "Holly, but attempted nothing except the total "destruction of that bridge, after which he returned to Moorestown. Colonel Reed, who has "recently received a Protection, met General "Mifflin, *near this bridge*, and declared to him "that he had abandoned the rebel side, on which "Mifflin treated him very harshly, calling him a "damned rascal, and, apparently, carried him off "with him as a prisoner, inasmuch as he has not "since been seen at Blackhorse. *The man who "brought me this intelligence, had been sent out "by me to get tidings as to the enemy, and he "himself heard this conversation.*"

At the period to which reference is made in this letter, [December 21, 1776,] as is generally known, the Royal troops were pushing South-westward, toward Philadelphia, where was the seat of the Continental Congress; while, at the same time, the Americans were either falling back, on Philadelphia, or, by cautious movements to the North-eastward, were attempting to hold the triumphant columns of the enemy in check, for a few hours, as he proudly swept forward toward what was then the capital of the yet incomplete confederacy.

Mount Holly, the county-seat of Burlington-county, had fallen into the hands of the advance-guard of the victorious enemy; and only eighteen miles of a splendid roadway—the great road leading from Philadelphia to Amboy and New York,—laid between the head of his columns and the object of his movement. Immediately in the rear of that position, *and within his lines*, seven miles distant, was "THE BLACK HORSE"—a noted locality of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter—on his right and rear, eleven miles distant, was Bordentown, where were the Head-quarters of the Germans who were then occupying West Jersey, nearly as far as Philadelphia; and, also on its right, about ten miles distant, and ten miles below the Head-quarters, at Bordentown, was Burlington, opposite to which, on the other side of the Delaware, was Bristol, the seat of large detachments of the refugee Army of the United States.

Besides these particular localities, a knowledge of all of which is important in order to correctly

ally know that "the Colonel Reed," referred to by him, had "received a Protection;" and that it may be considered as indicating that he depended, for this as well as for other parts of the entry, on reports received from others. We are not insensible of the fact that this view has been controverted by Mr. Bancroft; but we repeat it on this competent authority.

understand this letter from Berlin, there are some persons who are referred to by its author, either properly or improperly.

There is, for instance, COLONEL DONOP, who commanded the German advance-guard of the British Army. He had overrun nearly the whole of West Jersey; and his German mercenaries had carried terror throughout that country, as far as Mount Holly and, it is said, in front of Mount Holly, on the Moorestown-road, as far as a certain bridge which was burned, if this letter speaks truly, by a body of Americans, commanded by the Quarter-master-general of the Continental Army, Brigadier-general Thomas Mifflin. He was quartered at Bordentown; and, on the twenty-first of December, 1776, he entered in his *Diary* and reported to his Prince, certain matters which had taken place, or which he was told had taken place, either on that date, or within a few hours previous, within two or three hours ride of the spot where he wrote.

Then there is a man who "had been sent out "by" [*Colonel Donop*] "to get tidings as to the "enemy," as the Americans were called by the Colonel—in other words, A SPY. Inasmuch as one of the Hessians, whom the Colonel commanded, would have been ill-adapted to such an undertaking, in the presence of as intelligent an American as General Mifflin, there is little doubt that this Spy was one of those loyal Jerseymen of whom General Washington wrote, in his letter to his brother;\* and that will be more apparent when it shall be seen that, if this Berlin letter is true, the Spy actually thrust himself into the presence of General Mifflin, near where the bridge had been, before it was burned; that he listened to an important conversation between the General and another person, and witnessed the arrest of the latter because of his alleged defection from the cause of his countrymen; and that he was permitted to leave the General's presence, without interruption, and to return to the Colonel who had "sent" him, with an ample supply of that peculiar class of *material* which Mr. Bancroft has delighted to employ in the construction of what, singularly enough, he has seriously styled "History."

There is, also, a COLONEL REED, who was *described*, by the Colonel, as having "recently received a Protection" from the Hessian scourge, or from some one who was in the same service. He

\* \* \* \* "between you and me, I think our affairs are in a very bad condition; not so much from the apprehension "of General Howe's army, as from the defection of New-York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania.

"In short, the conduct of the Jerseys has been most infamous. Instead of turning out to defend their country, "and affording aid to our Army, they are making their missions as fast as they can."—General Washington to John Augustine Washington, "TRENTON FALLS, 18 December, 1776."

See also the General's letter to Governor Trumbull "TRENTON FALLS, 12 December, 1776."

was thus described, undoubtedly, to distinguish the particular "Colonel Reed" who was thus referred to, in the Colonel's Diary and Report, from some other "Colonel Reed" who was not entitled, by treachery, to that distinction,—what other reason for describing him at all, could there have been, if there was not, at that time, some other "Colonel Reed," of a different kind, in that particular region?

If this Berlin letter speaks truly, this "Colonel Reed," who had recently received a protection,\* had been in the habit of visiting, very frequently, even if he did not live in, the vicinity of "Black Horse," which was ten miles within the Hessian lines; and, the same Berlin letter being also the witness, he accompanied Colonel Donop's Spy, when the latter visited General Mifflin, in order "to get tidings as to the" Americans; and he was carried away, a prisoner, by General Mifflin, whose confidence was thus sought to be abused by him, in behalf of his country's enemies.

Last, but not the least important of these persons, is GENERAL THOMAS MIFFLIN, the Quarter-master-general of the Armies of the United States, and, on or about the twenty-first of December, 1776, if this Berlin letter may be believed, the commander of a body of American troops, in front of Philadelphia, which was gallantly holding in check, at Mount Holly, the victorious columns of the Royal Army.

In "the Reed-Bancroft controversy," referred to with such precision by the intelligent correspondent of *The Tribune*, in the letter from Berlin, Mr. Bancroft made great use of the narrative of Colonel Donop, as far as it is exhibited in the *Diary*; and his reading of that paper may be thus briefly stated:

Colonel Donop, in his Quarters at Bordentown, was personally acquainted with the patent fact that a certain "Colonel Reed" had "received a Protection," either from himself, or from some one who had reported that fact to him and satisfied him as to the entire correctness of the avowment; THEREFORE, Colonel Joseph Reed, the Adjutant-general of the Continental Army, who had been detailed by General Washington, on special duty, had thus abandoned the American cause and become a Loyalist!

In the letter of the Berlin Correspondent of *The Tribune*, which we have copied at the head of this article, the author of that communication and the distinguished gentleman who was unquestionably at his elbow—if, indeed, in this matter, the latter was not the real correspondent—has considerably extended the narrative and, as it stands, it may be thus presented:

Colonel Donop [who had overrun West Jersey, and received the submission of nearly all the inhabitants,] had employed [one of those submissive Jerseymen as] a Spy; and sent him out

"to get tidings as to" the Americans, a body of whom, under General Thomas Mifflin, [the Quarter-master-general of the Army of the United States,] on or about the twenty-first of December, 1776, was at Moorestown, [in front of Mount Holly,] and had burned a bridge which was only three miles from the latter place. That Spy [reported to the Colonel] that he had obtained access to the presence of General Mifflin, while the latter was yet "near this bridge," [three miles from Mount Holly,] and, among other "tidings" "as to the enemy," which he brought back and reported to his Hessian master was, that that particular "Colonel Reed" [whom the Colonel had personally known as a renegade to the republican cause,]\* was seen by this Spy, in the General's presence, reporting to the latter the fact of his inability to co-operate with him, any longer, in behalf of the confederacy; that General Mifflin, in reply to the information thus communicated by that particular "Colonel Reed who had received the Protection," treated him with great harshness, calling him "a damned rascal;" and that, "inasmuch as [the Colonel] had not been seen since, at Black-horse," General Mifflin had probably "carried him off with him as a prisoner."

Whether this Berlin correspondent of *The New York Tribune* is a full-fledged diplomat or the mere shadow of one who is such—in short, whether he is plain "Joe" or more ornamental "Ge-orge,"—we know not; but, whichever he may be, the innuendo which he conveys, or seeks to convey, is, that not only was the particular "Colonel Reed, who had received a Protection" from the Hessians, the identical "Colonel [Joseph] Reed," who was then acting as the duly commissioned Adjutant-general of the Continental Army; but, that he actually reported his own defection to the Quarter-master-general, unto whom he was personally known; that the latter treated him "very harshly," calling him a damned "rascal," and carrying him away, as "a prisoner," to Moorestown!

As this is the kind of "History" which has been honored with fortune, and fame, and influence, to its writer; we propose to inquire just what kind of "History" it is which is thus most profitable and most useful to the writer of it—as the world now goes.

FIRST: as to Colonel Donop and the Hessians. On the fourteenth of December, the Hessians occupied Black-horse; but they were not yet at either Mount Holly, or Burlington†—the transac-

\* Colonel Donop refers to this "Colonel Reed" as having "received a Protection," not from a report received by him, but as a matter within his own personal knowledge. It was a positive avowment: not a recorded rumor.

† Colonel Cadwalder to General Washington, "BRISTOL," 15 December, 1776.—FOOTE'S *American Archives*, V. III., 1230.



tions of which Colonel Donop wrote, therefore, must have occurred, if they occurred at all, between the date of Colonel Cadwalader's letter and that of Colonel Donop's Report—December 15–21, 1776.

SECOND: as to General Mifflin's movements, between the fifteenth and the twenty-first of December, 1776. On the ninth of December, 1776, he was at "Mr. Berkeley's Summer Seat," with General Washington.\* On the tenth of December, he was "directed," by the Congress, "to repair immediately to the neighboring Counties," [of Pennsylvania] "and, by all the means in his power, rouse and bring them in, to the defence of Philadelphia"; and of such "great importance to the general good and safety" was this "progress thro' the several Counties of the State of Pennsylvania" conceived to be, that the Assembly of that State was "requested to appoint a Committee of their body to make the said tour with General Mifflin, in order to assist him in this good and necessary work."† On the twelfth of December, he was in Philadelphia; and in a conference with General Putnam and the Congress, he advised the flight of the latter from Philadelphia,‡—advice which, on the same day, was followed, with such disastrous results, on the spirits of the Americans. On the thirteenth of December, in company with Committees of the Assembly and Council of Safety, he set out for the rural districts, in conformity with the Resolution of the Congress.§ He was referred to, by General Washington, as "in the different Counties," on the fifteenth of December.¶ On the eighteenth of December, he was at Reading, attending to the important duties which had devolved upon him.\* On the twenty-first—the day of the date of Colonel Donop's *Diary and Report*—he was at Lancaster, for the purpose of addressing the Militia on the necessity which existed for their services.\*\* On

\* General Washington to the President of Congress, "MR. BERKELEY'S SUMMER SEAT, 8 December, 1776, *Postscript*, December 9th"—SPARKS, iv, 208.

† *Journal of the Congress*, Tuesday, December 10, 1776—Edit. Phila. 1800, ii, 463.

‡ *Journal of the Congress*, Thursday, December 12, 1776—Edit. Phila., 1800, ii, 467.

§ See, also, General Putnam to General Washington, "PHILADELPHIA, 12 December, 1776"—FORGE'S *American Archives*, v, iii, 1180.

¶ Compare General Putnam's letter to General Washington, "PHILADELPHIA, 12 December, 1776"—FORGE'S *American Archives*, v, iii, 1180, with The Council of Safety's letter to the General, "PHILADELPHIA, December 13, 1776."—*Ibid.*, 1199.

¶ Letter to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania, "HEAD-QUARTERS, BUCKS COUNTY, 15 December 1776"—SPARKS, iv, 223.

\* George Ross to the Committee at Lancaster, "READING, 18th. December, 1776"—FORGE'S *American Archives*, v, iii, 1272.

\*\* Compare George Ross's letter to the Committee at Lancaster, "READING, 18th. December, 1776"—FORGE'S *American Archives*, v, iii, 1272—with John Habley's letter to the Council of Safety, "LANCASTER, Dec'r 21st. 1776"—*Pennsylvania Archives*, v, 128.

the twenty-eight of December, in the evening, having discharged the duty to which he had been called by the Congress, General Mifflin returned to the Camp, at Bristol, opposite Burlington.\*

How little truth there was in the Spy's report to Colonel Donop, concerning General Mifflin's performances in *New Jersey*—whether as a bridge burner or as a Provost Marshal—will be perfectly apparent.

THIRD: as to the actual Commander of the American troops, in front of Mount Holly, December 15–21, 1776. On the fourteenth of December, 1776, Colonel Samuel Griffen, Assistant-adjutant-general of the United States, was "appointed Adjutant-general to the troops in and about the City" of Philadelphia.† On the seventeenth of December, he crossed the Delaware, with "about eight hundred men," to oppose the enemy who was then in the vicinity of Moorestown and Haddonfield.‡ On the twenty-fourth of December, it is evident, from General Washington's letter to him, that he still commanded within the Jerseys.§

To say nothing of the entire absence of reliable evidence—or of any evidence beyond the evidently false report of an acknowledged Spy—concerning the defection of anybody, least of all that of the Adjutant-general of the Armies; it was not in the nature of things for the Adjutant-general to report his own defection to his own Deputy; to submit to the indignity thus offered by the latter; or to allow himself to be arrested and carried away a prisoner by him.

FOURTH: as to the known movements of that "Colonel Reed" to whom Mr. Bancroft referred—the Adjutant-general of the United States—between the fourteenth and the twenty-first of December, 1776. On the twelfth of December, he was evidently in Pennsylvania, zealously providing for the defence of that State from the expected invasion by the Royal Army. His letter, descriptive of his proposed measures, indicates the warmest interest and the greatest energy in behalf of his country.¶ In that letter, he stated his intention to return to Head-quarters, on the return of a scout which he had sent into the Jerseys, unless the General should order him not to do so. Although we have not found any other correspondence between the Commander-in-chief and the absent Adjutant-general, until the twenty-second

\* General Mifflin to General Washington, "BRISTOL, Saturday evening, 8 o'clock, 23 December, 1776"—SPARKS, i, 314.

† General Orders, "HEAD-QUARTERS, PHILADELPHIA, December 14, 1776"—FORGE'S *American Archives*, v, iii, 1214.

‡ Robert Morris to the President of Congress, "PHILADELPHIA, December 17th, 1776"—FORGE'S *American Archives*, v, iii, 1254.

§ Letter dated "CAMP ABOVE TRENTON FALLS, 24 December, 1776"—FORGE'S *American Archives*, v, iii, 1403.

¶ Letter to General Washington, "December 12, 1776"—FORGE'S *American Archives*, v, iii, 1181.

of December, it is evident that the latter was at Burlington, on the twentieth of December, and on that day sent a flag of truce to Colonel Donop, concerning the neutrality of the inhabitants of that town,\*—a measure which would have been entirely unnecessary had he been, already, a favorer of the Royal cause, and bound to it by the known treachery to his own country which Mr. Bancroft has attributed to him. But, as if to place the matter beyond a doubt, on the twenty-fifth of December, four days after Colonel Reed's alleged defection, Colonel Donop sent a flag to Burlington, with a reply to his letter,†—a still greater inconsistency, in view of the alleged complicity of the Adjutant-general with the German Royalist; and entirely disproving, it seems to us, every suspicion that Reed and Donop were, or had been, between the date of Reed's letter and Donop's reply (*December 20 and 25*) acting in harmony, against the American cause. Again, on the twenty-second of December, while his letter to Colonel Donop was yet unanswered, he reported to the General, from Bristol, the movements of a Spy whom the latter had ordered him to send over into the Jerseys, as far as Amboy, for the purpose of observing the movements of the enemy. The details of the movements of that Spy, as well as of those of Colonel Griffin and of others, in New Jersey, who were under his control, clearly indicate that the Adjutant-general had been at Bristol several days previous to the twenty-second; that a correspondence had been kept up, between himself and the General; that Colonel Griffin not only had no knowledge of any defection in him, but had depended on him for supplies and reinforcements; and that, therefore, no such defection really existed. On the following day, [*December 23d*,]—two days after the date of the entries in Colonel Donop's Report and *Diary*, of the Adjutant-general's alleged defection and consequent arrest—General Washington communicated to him, at Bristol, by letter, the secret of his intended attack on the Hessians, at Trenton, on the night of the approaching Christmas; and, at the same time, the cautious Commander-in-chief enjoined on the same Adjutant-general, in the same letter, "for Heaven's sake, [*to*] keep this to yourself, as the discovery of it may prove fatal to me;" and ordered him, also, to "prepare and, in conjunction with Griffin, attack as many of their posts as you possibly can with a prospect of success; the more we can attack at the same instant, the more confusion we shall spread, and the greater good will result from it."§

\* Bancroft's *Joseph Reed*, 33, referring to the MS. *Diary* of Colonel Donop.

† Colonel Donop's MS. *Diary*.

‡ Colonel Reed to General Washington, "Bristol, December 22, 1776,"—*Reed's Life of Reed*, i, 271.

§ General Washington to Colonel Joseph Reed, or Colonel John Cadwalader, at Bristol, dated, "CAMBRIDGE, Trenton Place, 23 December, 1776."—*STARKS*, iv, 241.

The gravest accusation which we have ever seen, against the capability and integrity of General Washington is that which Mr. Bancroft has thus issued, in his insinuation that, within twenty-four miles of his Head-quarters, his Adjutant-general, who had been detailed on special duty, could openly confess his own defection from the American cause, refuse to serve longer in its behalf, and be arrested therefor, by the local Commander; and yet, three days after, and within twelve miles of Head-quarters, the same Adjutant-general was entrusted, by him, with the vital secret of a projected movement on the Hessians whom that officer had thus so lately joined; ordered to join the very local Commander who, three days before, had thus received his confession and arrested him; and, directed, with that Commander, to beat up the posts of his own new-made friends, in order to assist their worst enemy, in his last, desperate struggle for revolutionary vitality! The insinuation is too monstrous to be entertained by any honest man; and we know of only one, professing to be a well-read student of American History and possessing the advantages which Mr. Bancroft possessed when he wrote this slander, who would have dared to broach such an idea, much less to defend it, subsequently, over his own signature.

It is not our business, nor do we propose, to extricate the truth from the slough into which the distinguished Ambassador to Prussia has hurled her; but we have on our own shelves, in our humble country home,—and we have the best reason for believing that Mr. Bancroft possessed, also, when he thus forgot that he professed to be writing as "a Historian," and became, instead, a libeller of Colonel JOSEPH REED and a worse than libeller of General Washington—the most positive and unequivocal evidence that, at the period of which Colonel Donop wrote, there were in the vicinity of his Head-quarters, in New Jersey, not less than two other "Colonels Reed," whose names and records have come down to us with little less certainty than those of the other "Colonel Reed," who was then in Pennsylvania and holding the commission of Adjutant-general of the Army. We say that we have the best reason for believing that Mr. Bancroft possessed ample testimony on this subject; and we have reason, also, for the belief that it was indicated to him, directly, by one of the best-informed of our historical students, that Colonel Donop made the entry in his *Diary* in that particular form, to distinguish the particular "Colonel Reed" to whom he referred in that entry, from some other "Colonel Reed" to whom he did not then refer; yet we have failed to find the least intimation, in any part of Mr. Bancroft's writings, that any other "Colonel Reed" than the Adjutant-general might have been thus referred to, by either the Spy or Colonel

*Donop; or that to any other person than that officer might possibly have belonged, more properly, the shame which he has attempted to fasten on Joseph Reed.*

We do not pretend to say, either—indeed, we have most excellent authority for saying the contrary—that, even if either of the Colonels Reed had “received a Protection” from Colonel Donop, Mr. Bancroft would have been justified in charging him with necessary defection to the cause of his country;\* and we do say, without hesitation, in the same connection, that if the personal integrity of any one is to be impeached, because of the issue of the particular “Protection” which is at issue between Mr. Bancroft and the world, if any such “Protection” was really issued, it should be that of Colonel Donop, who *issued* it, rather than that of “the Colonel Reed,” who “*received*” it. Indeed, if Mr. Bancroft’s theory is the correct one, the Safeguard which Major Andre “received” from General Arnold should have subjected the former to the detestation of England, as an implied Traitor to *her* cause; and the Safeguards which were, sometime, placed by our officers to protect Arlington and the White House from “the bummers” of our Armies, should have subjected General Lee, who owned those estates, for the same reason, to the suspicion of disaffection to the Confederate States whom he then served.

Our readers will now understand us as insisting,

FIRST: That Mr. Bancroft evidently suppressed known facts in order to, more certainly, fasten on Joseph Reed, what, had he told “the whole truth,” would have evidently belonged to another person, if indeed it belonged to any one.

SECOND: That Mr. Bancroft evidently suppressed known facts, which, had they been stated, would have indicated, that “the Colonel Reed” to whom Colonel Donop referred, if any such “Colonel Reed” really existed, must be selected from at least three distinct persons; and that the particular person of the three, who would then be most likely, from all the evidence in the case, be thus selected would not be the Adjutant-general of the Army, *who was not then in New Jersey*, but one of the remaining two “Colonels Reed,” *both of whom were then in New Jersey*, and not incapable of enjoying such favor from a public enemy.

THIRD: That Mr. Bancroft evidently suppressed known facts and substituted, instead, mean antag-

onistic insinuations, in order to convey to the general, uninformed readers of his *History*, an impression that the mere receipt of a Safeguard, “or Protection,” from a public enemy, affords sufficient evidence of the actual defection from the cause of his country, of him who “receives” it—insinuations which are evidently as unfounded in fact as were the equally evident falsehoods which the Tory Spy of New Jersey carried, as a return for his blood-money, to Colonel Donop.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

II. B. D.

## XII.—THE KINGS OF SCARBOROUGH AND NEW-YORK.

From the car-window, as you cross the great marsh in Scarborough, about midway between Portland and Saco, may be seen the homely and comfortable house in which the lawyer and statesman, Rufus King, was born. It is at Dunstan Landing, about two miles from the sea, as the creek winds, admitting small craft of six or eight feet draught. Here, a century ago, the father, Richard King, was master of a thriving trade of which rum and timber or lumber were the staples. He was the man of the neighborhood; and his well-educated children rose to eminence. Possessed of a clear mind, a knowledge of common legal forms, and writing a good hand, his services were in demand; and so Mr. King drifted into a sort of legal practice and was both trader and conveyancer.

Tradition points out a mound, not far from the old post-road at Dunstan, perhaps a mile from “the Landing,” as the place where Richard King was buried; but no stone, monument, ruin, hillock, or any means of verification could be found, till on inquiry at the corner-house, Dr. Milliken’s, they brought out a deed which at once settled the question.

The conveyance is from William King, of Bath, and his wife, Ann N. King, May 4th, 1836, to John Donnell of Scarborough, of “a certain lot of land in the town of Scarborough, and County of Cumberland, containing about sixty acres, be the same more or less, and being the same tract of land which was set off to me as a part of my proportion of my father’s estate. Reserving the mound or hill, on the premises, containing about one acre, on which there is a tomb containing the remains of my father and mother, with the unquestionable right, on the part of the descendants of the family, to pass to and from said mound and tomb, from the county-road, as often as they consider it proper to do so and to make use of the same.”

The spot is a place of considerable natural beauty, appropriate to the sacred purpose to which Richard King devoted it, and invites from his descendants, some decent memorial and

\* We have excellent authority for saying that the mere receipt of a Safeguard, or “Protection,” for person or property, from a public enemy, is, in no wise, to be taken as conclusive evidence of defection, in any degree, on the part of the recipient, from the cause of his country.

Safeguards are issued at the pleasure of the Commander, either with or without a promise of assistance or an oath of allegiance; and they are very often issued, in an enemy’s country, to prominent residents therein, for the purpose of conciliating the inhabitants of that vicinity and other temporary purposes.



that reasonable care, which right feeling, ordinary culture, and laudable custom give to departed worth. The place is utterly waste and neglected, and its use faded from popular memory, as if the family itself were virtually among the things that were. A picture of the old house is in one of the volumes of *The Maine Historical Collections*.

J. W. T.

BOSTON, MASS.

### XIII.—THE PARKS STORY AGAIN.

A LETTER FROM MR. DE COSTA.

MR. EDITOR: In the brief examination of the story relating to Daniel Parks, which appeared in your columns, in February last, I studiously avoided the use of names, not seeking to provoke controversy, but being simply concerned to demonstrate the truth, without respect to persons. Yet, since Judge Hay seems desirous of becoming known in this connection, and has thought it proper to make an attack upon the points demonstrated, I will not decline the invitation, so broadly given, to express my opinion upon the subject of this communication.

In regard to the communication itself, it can only be viewed as the crude expression of an offended local pride. It presents neither facts nor arguments, and cannot endure even an approach to criticism. In pointing out its weakness, I fear that I may reflect on the reader's intelligence; nevertheless, I will venture a few remarks.

In his endeavor to escape from the embarrassing position to which he, so needlessly, has brought himself, Judge Hay says: "I never supposed he [Parks] - - whether independently or in conjunction with Bernard Romans, encountered much (if any) opposition," in capturing Fort George. Now, on this point, it is proper to add, that Judge Hay did not know of the connection of Bernard Romans with the capture of Fort George, until a short time ago. Nor does the remark agree with former declarations. In the *Glen's Falls Messenger*, (December 20, 1867,) he is quoted as showing that the alleged massacre of a portion of the Parks family was an act designed to offset the capture of Fort George by Daniel Parks. Does this look as if he then viewed the occupation of the Fort, as the trifling service which we now know it must have been? With his own relation on record, is it not idle to say that he is not responsible for any exaggerated account?

In the course of his confused communication, which puts the date of the capture of Fort George in 1776, instead of 1775, he says that "Daniel Parks certainly co-operated

"in Ethan Allen's project;" but he fails to tell us *what* project, as well as to give us any proof of his assertion. Such a studied neglect of authorities is hardly what we have a right to look for, in a Historical Magazine. He then adds, that Parks "commanded a garrison—he the 'same more or less,'—at Fort George, when, by 'torries, under the guidance of Fergusson, a publican and sinner," etc., etc.; but for all this he gives no authority, though insinuating, at the same time, by quotation marks, that he has in his possession some military contemporaneous documents which support his assertion.

Referring to Parks, Judge Hay continues to say, that his "sufferings" are not to be ridiculed, "although he mustered but sixteen men, and, 'contrary to approved custom in these degenerate days, charged for expenses, thirty shillings 'only.'" This fairly shows how much such a line of argument is entitled to consideration; for how does he know that Parks mustered sixteen men? How does he know that Parks charged thirty shillings for expenses? In this, he simply catches at an idea suggested by my own reference to the fact, that Bernard Romans charged this sum for the services of sixteen men. Nevertheless, as a drowning man catches at a straw, the historiographer of Daniel Parks appropriates this piece of imagination to brace up his cause. But he must remember, we want something more than imagination. Moreover, the sixteen men mustered by Romans, instead of Parks, were not employed in the capture of the Fort, which was destitute of a garrison. We learn their use from a letter by Colonel Benedict Arnold, (Fors's *American Archives*, IV. ii. 585.) where he says, under date of the fourteenth of May "I am, with the assistance of Mr. Bernard Romans, making preparations at Fort George, for transporting to Albany, those cannon that will be serviceable for our Army at Cambridge." Now, it cannot be shown that Daniel Parks was employed even in this capacity. Judge Hay, is, therefore, in fact, trifling with the whole subject.

In regard to Fort Gage, which, according to the story, was captured by Parks with Fort George, he tells us that it was "an intrenched outpost or encampment for Amherst's soldiers; it having been, during Montcalm's siege of Fort William Henry, a French station." Yet he does not produce a line of testimony in proof, nor even tell us who built the earthwork.

He next adds, that I show "more zeal than knowledge," in saying that Fort Gage "never possessed a garrison nor a gun." And he then goes on to prove that it possessed *both* garrison and guns, by the fact that it stood in a commanding situation and, in 1813, was surrounded by a trench and "a rotted stockade." This is certainly a novel way of getting over the diffi-

culty. Because it had a trench and a stockade, therefore, it had a garrison and guns; and he might go on and add, with the same propriety, that, because it had a garrison and guns, it must have been captured, in 1775, by Daniel Parks.

Of the redoubt in question, called Fort George, Judge Hay cannot even tell us when it was finished. He may *infer* that it was finished from his *own* unfounded remark, that Amherst fortified at *both* ends of the lake, "thoroughly and expensively." That Amherst was at sufficient expence, both of time and money, is very evident; but how "thoroughly" he did his work, let Burgoyne testify in his report. If Judge Hay takes a little trouble, he will find that Fort George, the most complete of Amherst's fortifications, was *never* finished nor, indeed, hardly commenced. General Schuyler photographed it as follows: "The Fort was *part* of an unfinished *bas-tion* of an *intended* fortification; - - - capable "of containing between thirty and fifty men; "without ditch, without well, without cistern, "without any picket to prevent an enemy from "running over the wall." This was the fort—the *only* fort—that Amherst built here, when he so "thoroughly" fortified. And because Amherst so "thoroughly" fortified, Judge Hay concludes that Fort Gage was finished and furnished with a garrison and guns. This may appear conclusive to him, but it will hardly answer for the readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, who will judge for themselves, of the comparative degree of "zeal" and "knowledge" displayed by the different writers.

In closing, Judge Hay informs me that I am also in error, in saying that Fort George was abandoned in 1767, or eight years before it was taken in charge by Romans, in 1775. To prove this, he shows that it was occupied, when?—in 1780. Because, he argues, it was occupied by a garrison in 1780, it *could not* have been tenantless in 1767, nor in 1775, when, as Judge Hay imagines, it was captured by Daniel Parks. Because, again, having a garrison in a time of *war*, it must *of necessity*, have one in time of *peace*. Such is the evidence he offers the readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

The fact of the capture of Fort George, by Carleton, in October of 1780, is of course well known. The writer gave a detailed account of it, several months ago, in his monograph of Lake George; yet Judge Hay, delicately accusing him of "more zeal than knowledge," gratuitously volunteers this piece of information as something new; triumphantly declaring, at the close, that *this* fact was not learned by him, at "the village Inn."

In conclusion, if Judge Hay possesses any degree of the historical spirit, and if the collection of evidence is not unworthy of a

legal mind, I would now improve the opportunity to request him, in the next number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, to demonstrate, among other points sadly in need of proof, (1) that Daniel Parks served in the Army of the Revolution; (2) how long he served; (3) where he served; (4) when he held the command of Fort George; (5) how long he held the command; (6) by what authority he held the command; and (7) when was he mustered out of service.

B. F. DE COSTA.

STUYVESANT PARK, NEW YORK CITY.

#### XIV.—A NOTE ON SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

A LETTER FROM MR. MOORE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

In a volume of *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, published in 1866, I called attention to the fact that "in the first and last and only direct and formal attempt to abolish slavery in Massachusetts, the popular branch of the Legislature of that State laid the Bill for that purpose on the table, with a direction that application be made to Congress on the subject thereof." The Bill had been introduced in the year 1777, in consequence of a Petition of several Massachusetts negro slaves praying for the passage of an Act whereby they might be "restored to the enjoyment of that freedom which is the natural right of all men, and their children (who were born in this land of liberty), may not be held as slaves after they arrive at the age of twenty-one years."

The second reading of the Bill elicited a debate, which resulted in an Order that it should lie on the table, and that application should be made to Congress on the subject thereof. A Committee was appointed to prepare a letter to Congress, which they did, and their Report was read on a subsequent day and "ordered to lie." I have never been able to discover any trace of further action, either upon the Report or the Bill itself.

But, since the publication of my book, I have discovered the draft of the letter to Congress, which is of sufficient interest to deserve publication, although it failed to secure the approbation of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1777:

[From 197 Massachusetts Archives: 125.]

[Endorsed] "LETTER TO CONGRESS RESPECTING  
"FREEING YE NEGROES."

"TO THE HON<sup>BLE</sup> AMERICAN CONGRESS NOW SIT-  
"TING AT PHILADELPHIA:

"May it please your Honours: The House of  
"Representatives of the State of Massachusetts  
"Bay, Beg leave to Represent to your Honours

"that they have now under their consideration the Justice & propriety of abolishing Slavery in this State & liberating the Negroes held in Servitude here. This question has at different times, for many years past, been a subject of debate in former Houses, *without any decision on the main principle*. And although they have generally appeared as Individuals convinced of the rectitude of the measure, nothing further has been done than to have a Bill before them which, after some debate, from various circumstantial obstacles & Embarrassments, has subsided. The last House resumed this question in consequence of a Petition from a number of Africans, and ordered a Bill to be brought in, which, after one reading, was referred over to this House, & is now before us and has been considered in a first and second reading. Convinced of the justice of the measure we are restrained from passing it only from an apprehension that our Brethren in the other Colonies should conceive there was an impropriety in our determining on a question which may in its nature and operation be of extensive influence, without previously consulting your Honours. We therefore have ordered the Bill to lay & ask the attention of your honours to this matter, that if consistent with the Union and harmony of the United States, we may follow the dictates of our own understandings & feelings, at the same time assuring your Honours that we have such a sacred regard to the Union and harmony of the United States, as to conceive ourselves under obligations to suspend what were we unconnected we should suppose Justice to Individuals & refrain from every measure that should have a tendency to injure that Union which is the Basis and foundation of our defence and happiness."

The document adds little to the history of the matter given in my book; but it furnishes an emphatic confirmation of the position, that in all the legislative attempts to abolish slavery in Massachusetts, before 1777, there had been no "*decision on the main principle*."

GEORGE H. MOORE.

NEW YORK, Jan. 25, 1869.

#### XV.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. HIST. MAG.]

ORGANIZING ON A RUN!—VALUE OF MINUTES!—A curious circumstance happened in the year 1790, in the town of Sunderland, Vermont. A lot of land had been given by somebody for

the benefit of the first settled Minister in the Town. Two Churches had been formed in different parts of the Town, and the Reverend Chauncy Lee, of Salisbury, Connecticut, and the Reverend Jacob Sherwin, of Hebron, Connecticut, had been invited to become their first Pastors. In order to allow its candidate to lay claim to the land, each Church hurried up as much as possible; and the same day and same hour were appointed for both Ordinations. The court had a hard time afterwards in settling it which had the best claim to the lot; but, after a great comparison of clocks and watches, it was finally judicially decided that the Reverend Mr. Sherwin was settled *about two minutes first*; upon which he took the land.

THE DEATH OF ADAMS AND JEFFERSON.—Having been much interested in the history of the Chauncy Place Church, I cannot forbear relating a single incident connected with it.

In the Summer of 1826, an Eulogy was delivered there upon the death of Adams and Jefferson; and John Quincy Adams, then President of the United States, was present upon the occasion. The writer, in his youthful eagerness to see the President, stationed himself at the opposite side of the street, not having made up his mind whether to attend the services in the house or not, and awaited the coming man. Suddenly he found himself moving toward the house, and in the gallery, without the least effort of his own. The Eulogy was delivered by Samuel L. Knapp, Esquire, who, perhaps, at that time, stood as near Daniel Webster, as an orator and writer, as any man in New England. It was at the invitation of the City, and was a very able production, afterwards printed in pamphlet form.

Mr. Knapp was a fine writer, and his publisher once told me that he never knew a man who wrote with so great rapidity and accuracy. I attended the funeral of his widow, in this city, last summer; and he has a brother residing in Walpole, New Hampshire, at an advanced age. The national observance of the event was a few weeks later, held in Faneuil Hall; and Daniel Webster was the orator of the day. H. K.

*Boston Transcript.*

EXTENSIVE RUINS IN ARIZONA, it is reported, have been discovered recently by a party of surveyors engaged in exploring the country for railroad purposes. The ruins extend for miles along the Little Colorado River. Some of the walls of buildings are yet in their places, and stand six or eight feet high. The streets may be traced for miles. The old irrigating canals and ditches are yet in a fair state of preservation, and may be traced for miles also. The ground is strewn with broken crockeryware. The party



found some nearly whole vessels of curious form. The ware seems to be of a different quality, and finer than that found at most of the ruins in Arizona. Many of the walls of the buildings were built of hewn stone, and put up in a workman-like manner. To all appearances, here once stood a city of many thousand inhabitants. On the East bank are the ruins of a large structure, or castle, covering several acres of ground. Some of the walls are yet standing to the height of twenty or thirty feet.—*N. Y. World.*

INDIAN RELICS IN MASSACHUSETTS.—In grading the ridge just East of the Holyoke Depot, for building-lots, the workmen of Bowers & Washer opened an Indian burying-ground, on Friday; and since that time skeletons and relics have been found more or less every day; and the mine shows as yet no signs of exhaustion. In all about twenty skeletons have been unearthed, but none of them are entirely complete, and many crumble to pieces on exposure to the air. Some of the bones are those of infants, and some of large and full-grown men. The bodies had been buried in a sitting posture, with the knees drawn up against the breast, and encased in a paste of peculiar red clay or ochre, so that frequently the place where a body had been deposited was clearly defined, although it had entirely disappeared, bones and all. One skeleton, however, was found stretched at full length; and, from the great size of the frame and the unusual position, it evidently had belonged to some chief, famous warrior, or medicine-man. The soil in which these remains are found is composed entirely of fine sand, deposited there at some remote age, by the Connecticut, which flows close by. As it is free from alkalies, the corpses buried in it would remain without decomposition for a long time; and the bones be preserved intact during a very extended period.

This, and the fact that it is known that no Indian settlement has existed at Holyoke for some two hundred years, gives to the bones and relics a very respectable antiquity.

Buried with these skeletons were found a great many Indian utensils, ornaments, and weapons. The most noticeable of these were the flint arrow-heads, copper spear-points, copper heads made in the form of triangular prisms, a largish hollowed out of soapstone, with handles at the sides, and much blackened on the bottom by use in the fire, pipes of the same stone, skilfully and curiously wrought, tomahawks of flint, vermilion war-paint, and generous strings of wampum. The habit of the aborigines is to bury with their dead all their personal effects, in order that they may have them in the spirit-land, and thus it happens that these various articles are found with their bones. The pipes dug up had been buried

full of tobacco, ready to be puffed by their owners' ghostly lips in the celestial hunting-ground. As copper is not found in any considerable quantity in this section of the country, it is plain that these Indians must have bartered for their beads and spear-heads, with the tribes of Canada or the far West, where that metal was plenty, and where, also, the science was known of tempering it to the hardness of steel.—*Springfield Republican.*

## XVI.—NOTES.

### RAILROADS IN CAROLINA.

[South Carolina appears, from the following, to have been the pioneer in introducing passenger railways, locomotives, and four wheeled trucks.—*EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.*]

#### SPARKLING CATAWABA SPRINGS.

CATEMBA Co., N. C. Aug. 31. 1868.

The following slip cut from *The Morning Star*, published at Wilmington, North Carolina, on the twenty-first of August, 1868, presents a claim for South Carolina for pioneering, in this country, the most important of all internal improvements, which, if true, deserves to be recorded in a more permanent place than the columns of a newspaper; and I ask for its place in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, with the hope that it will elicit the confirmation or refutation to which it is entitled:

T. H. WYNN.

“The Charlestown and Hamburg Railroad, in South Carolina, it is asserted, was the first passenger railway constructed in the United States. “It was commenced in the Spring of 1829; and six “miles were completed in that year. Governor “Scott, in his Message to the Legislature of South “Carolina, mentions it as a noteworthy fact that “before the use of locomotives was established in “Great Britain or they were known in the United “States, the Directors of this road determined— “under the advice of their Engineer (Mr. Horatio “Allen) to make them exclusively the motive “power. The same gentleman, in the winter of “1829, made the drawings of the first American “steam locomotive, called the ‘Best Friend,’ “which was planned by Mr. E. L. Miller, of “Charleston. It is further asserted that upon “the Charleston and Hamburg road there was “introduced, in 1831—for the first time on any “railroad in the world—the important arrangement of two four-wheeled trucks for locomotives and long passenger-cars.

### WILL OF KOŚCISZKO.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE *University Magazine*.—The enclosed paper is a copy of the will of Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, which, for nearly

half a century, has been lying buried and forgotten in the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court of Albemarle. It was admitted to record on the twelfth day of May, 1819. I was then Deputy Clerk; and the Order of Court (admitting it to record) and the endorsements are in my handwriting—the scenes and facts connected with this transaction, are vividly impressed upon my memory. The Circuit Court of Albemarle—Judge Archibald Stuart, (father of Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart) presiding—was then in session. An illustrious man—then, as at all times, the observed of all observers, walked into Court. The Judge, on perceiving that Thomas Jefferson, stately and erect, was standing before him, bowed and invited him to take a seat on the Bench. To this Mr. Jefferson replied:—“As soon as your Honor shall have leisure to attend to me, I have a matter of business which I wish to present to the Court.” Immediately, by consent of the parties concerned, further proceeding on the matter then before the Court were suspended, till Mr. Jefferson could be heard. He took from his pocket a paper which he said was the Will of his friend, Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko. That the Will was written entirely in the handwriting of the Testator. He was well acquainted with his handwriting and could testify on oath to the facts which he stated. The usual oath was then administered by the Clerk; the necessary interrogatories formally put; affirmatively answered; and the Will, by order of Court, admitted to record.

Mr. Jefferson then stated that, at his advanced age, it was not in his power to undertake the burthen of the execution of the Will; and thereupon declined to qualify as Executor.

The services of Kosciuszko to the American cause, in our Revolutionary struggle, his subsequent career in endeavoring to give freedom and independence to his own country, his final overthrow at Maciejowice, and the prophetic lament which he uttered when falling from his horse, covered with wounds: “*Finis Polonia*,” are facts well known to history; but nothing exhibits, more graphically or beautifully, the character of the man, than the short and simple paper which I send you—disinterestedness, universal philanthropy, and a heart bursting with desire for liberty, freedom and happiness to all mankind are pictured as in a mirror. Well did the poet say, “And Freedom shrieked when Kosciuszko fell.”

WM. WERTENBAKER.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA,

June 19th, 1863.

#### [THE WILL]

“I Thaddeus Kosciuszko being just in my departure from America do hereby declare and di-

rect that should I make no other testamentary disposition of my property in the United States, I hereby authorize my friend Thomas Jefferson to employ the whole thereof in purchasing Negroes from among his own or any others and giving them liberty in my name, in giving them an education in trades or otherwise and in having them instructed for their new condition in the duties of morality which may make them good neighbors, good fathers or mothers, husbands or wives, and in their duties as citizens teaching them to be defenders of their liberty and country and of the good order of Society and in whatsoever may make them happy and useful, and I make the said Thomas Jefferson my executor of this.

T. KOSCIUSZKO.

“5th day of May, 1798.

“At a Circuit Court held for Albemarle County, the 12th day of May, 1819.

“This Instrument of writing, purporting to be the last Will and Testament of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, deceased, was produced into Court and satisfactory proof produced of its being entirely written by the said Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the same is ordered to be recorded, and thereupon, Thomas Jefferson the executor therein named, refused to take upon himself the burthen of the execution of the said will.

“Teste,

“JOHN CARR, C. C.”

#### LETTER FROM REV. SAMUEL BUELL.

*A Copy of a Letter from the Rev. Mr. Buell, of East Hampton, on Long Island, to the Rev. Mr. Barber, of Groton, in Connecticut.*

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER!

Grace, mercy and peace, by all in heaven and all in earth, that love Zion's prosperity; everlasting praise to the everlasting GOD, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, that in infinite mercy the eternal Heavens are bowed, and Jehovah himself is come down by way of divine influence upon, and in the hearts of people in *East Hampton*, with amazing power and glory, exceeding all I ever before saw, and all I have read or heard of, since the primitive times of Christianity. For many as well as themselves, to come as it were out of hell into heaven! Husbands and wives, parents and their children, hopefully new-born. All the town seems bowed before this work of amazing power and glory, and scarce a single instance of a person out of Christ, above eight years of age, (and several under;) but are with solicitude inquiring, “What they should do to be saved!” Most all our young people, as well as others, many of them eight, ten and twelve years of age, are now hopefully converted.

Among others we have a JEW, that I have reason to think is now a true believer in the Messiah, whom he always despised, till within a few days. The dispensations of God are amazing, which I can't now relate. The power of Scripture truth upon the heart, under a work of the law, and the application of the Gospel thereupon, in this work, is amazing! Some of our Justices and great men in town, that as they now own, never before liked religion, in the power of it, how before this work which has seized their hearts. One of them says in distress of soul, "This is all the work of God! Oh that I may share in another, though I fear there is no mercy for me any more than for devils; yet if I was now now to die, I would leave my testimony (this is the work of God!)" Another with tears rolling down: "Heaven is now come down in *East Hampton!*" They are in most distress of soul, for an interest in Christ. All the town seems bowed as it were like one man; never did you or I see the first commandment, so sanctified as now in this town: Hundreds are now in distress of soul for a Savior, complaining of hard hearts and blind minds. I can only tell you by some hints, what has been, and what is before us; I know not yet at present: It looks as if God was on his way, to cause us all to know him from the greatest to the least; yet 'tis to be feared some will remain as marshes in miry places: When the vessels are full, the oil will be stayed. If any besides yourself should read or hear these lines, doubtless some at least, if not all, will be shocked, and wonder, as they well may, and the wonder would grow upon them to a seven-fold degree, were they to see and hear what I have for a week past: But I assure you, my dear Brother, if I know any thing about a work of God's grace, in the heart of man, from God's word, from and by God's ministers, and pious authors; from the experience of the dear people of God; and from my experience of the power of religion in my own soul, blessed be God, for about thirty years, I can't but declare, to the glory of God, so far as I can judge from all these things, that the work of God now in *East Hampton*, is far the most God-like, Christ-like, excellent and glorious, that ever I knew. If any one can call this work a delusion as to the essentials of it, I am fully persuaded, they can do more than devils can do: But personally considered, this gives me no concern; the work is in the hands of God, and there let it be forever! You know, my dear Sir, I have been studying the prophetic concerning the latter-Day-Glory, for a number of years past, and was about to speak to the public from the press, not as timing events hopefully near, as I was designing to shew by a treatise upon Daniel's four monarchies, St. John's Revelation, and correspondent prophecies; but this

work lays by at present: for there is now work enough in *East Hampton*, for many ministers. I hope some glimmerings of the New Jerusalem is breaking forth here. In my study, and other rooms, I hear the cries of sinners for mercy; by some young people the singing of Psalms and Hymns; and by children that have come as it were out of Hell's horrors! These words frequently repeated, "King Jesus reigns, God's own almighty Son!" In short, for I can't be particular, people in general here seem to think the time is come, they must make or break for the world eternal! All our young people that are yet Christless, see the world empty; and seem resolved never more to have comfort or rest, unless they can find it in the Lord Christ. How these extraordinary appearances will terminate, is not for me to say; at present I can only tell what has been: and as I know now for an hour, I have all the satisfaction I want without pretending to know the heart, that a large number of my dear people, of late are new-born; and with Christ's old disciples, are bowed for glory. I make no pretences to a prophetic spirit; but I can't think this work will end here: And I may venture to say, if this work of God should spread, and be diffused over New England, as I pray God it may, I believe that much more of God and Christ, of the marvellous operations of the Holy Spirit, and of man's heart, and of heaven and hell, will there be known, than was ever known before! incomparably more, if God should come down upon the hearts of people in general as here it will be in his own time, which is always the best time. In the mean while, I hope God's ministers, such as love the coming of our Lord, and his kingdom, will be found in the spirit of Elias; and appear full of the Holy Ghost. May God help his own dear children to be incessant as well as fervent, for a day of such power and glory! 'Tis amazing, when viewed aright, that the thought is no more afflicting; namely, that we live in a day in which thousands are going down to hell around us, for want of the divine influence from on high! But I must add; doubtless you will want to know how it has been with my own soul, during this season. I have no disposition to multiply words; I shall only say, giving all the glory to God: My spiritual exercise, divine manifestations, supports, comfort and assistance, have borne some proportion to this extraordinary day. I know I want heavenly wisdom, the zeal of a seraphim, the purity of a saint in glory. May God uphold me, or I cannot serve him. Pray hard for me and mine, my dear brother, and give all the glory to the sacred Trinity; the whole and entire glory: For thus must it, and may it be with each of our souls everlastingly, and by all in Heaven! And this we now feel to be Heaven



begun, even while we are more truly, me thinks, than St. Paul, the chief of sinners.—I add not, unless that I am yours,

In our sweet Lord Jesus !

May 17, 1764.

SAMUEL BUELL.

THE LINCOLN FAMILY OF MASSACHUSETTS.—The recent death of ex-Governor Lincoln has brought to mind some interesting facts about the remarkable family of his father, of which he was the last survivor. Levi Lincoln, Senior, was born about the middle of the last century, and died in 1820. He had been a member of Congress, Attorney-General of the United States, Acting Secretary of State under Mr. Jefferson, and Lieutenant-governor and acting Governor of Massachusetts. His wife was a woman of distinguished character and talent; and at her funeral she was followed to the grave by two sons who were Governors of Maine and Massachusetts; two other sons, members, one of the Senate and the other of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts. She had two daughters only, one of whom married the Hon. Rejoice Newton, a State Senator and distinguished lawyer; the other the Hon. L. M. Parker, also a State Senator and Surveyor of the Port of Boston. Such a family, embracing so much talent and worth, may truly be considered nature's nobility. R.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

#### XVII.—QUERIES.

RARA AVIS IN TERRIS.—In the month of May, 1867, I was informed by some children playing in the yard that there was an owl up in one of the shade-trees, about thirty feet from the house. I ran in the house, got my rifle, and seeing the bird, shot at it for an owl; but, as it had a much smaller body than an ordinary owl, I missed it, and only hit the top of the left wing. It immediately fell to the ground and I captured it without much difficulty. Its face had a great deal of the human about it. Its eyes were soft and black; and looked more like "windows of the soul" than the eyes of a bird. The face was perfectly white, with a ring or collar of mixed feathers around it. Its feathers were all of the finest quality, and principally of a purple and brown color. Its beak and claws were those of an owl, but its eyes were much smaller, and its body was also smaller than an owl's. It was taken in Sugar Creek, on a plantation known as the Caldwell Place, about two and a half miles East of Charlotte, North Carolina. It was taken to that city and exhibited to thousands of persons; and all united in calling it a most remarkable-looking bird. A photograph of it was sent to Barnum;

HIST. MAG. VOL. V. 8

and he said he had had birds of the same kind in his aviary several years ago, but that they had escaped; and the conclusion was that this was a descendant of his birds. We do not know how much of this was a *trick* of Barnum's to claim and secure the bird. After its capture, on being brought near the house, and seeing *dogs*, it became violently excited, and made a noise very much resembling the squealing of a pig. It was never known to make this noise except when a dog came within its sight. It lived on small birds and fresh meat of all kinds; and I suppose it was finally killed by eating a piece of salt beef. It ate the beef in the morning and died in the evening of the same day, after having several convulsions. It was in my possession about six months, as it died late in the Fall of 1867.

H. A. HUNTER.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, June 10, 1868.

The above description was prepared at my request. I send the photograph for your inspection, and that of any naturalist in your vicinity.

Yours, &c.,

E. F. ROCKWELL.

NEW JERSEY INDIANS.—Is there any account of the Indians living on the Hackensack within thirty miles of New York? To what tribe did they belong, and what were their habits?

C. M.

NEWPORT IN THE REVOLUTION.—"NEWPORT, November 6. Early last Saturday morning one Coggeshall, being somewhat drunk or crazy, went on the long wharf, and turned up his backside towards the bomb brig in this harbor, using some insulting words; upon which the brig fired two four-pound shot at him; one of which went through the roof of Mr. Hammond's store on the said wharf, and lodged in Mr. Samuel Johnston's distill house, at the N. E. part of the Cove, within the long wharf. The man was soon after taken up and sent out of town.—*The New York Journal: or the General Advertiser*, Thursday, November 23, 1775.

Can any of the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE give any other particulars concerning this attack on Newport than those furnished in the above extract? I find no allusion whatever to it, elsewhere.

W. K.

NEW YORK CITY.

THE DISPUTED AUTHORSHIP of the poem entitled "Tear down the flaunting lie" has been discussed, I am told, in some of the papers of the day, in New York, but I cannot find them. Will not some of your readers tell me either just where



"—first given to it in *Salmagundi*—a humorous work, by Washington Irving, William Irving, and James K. Paulding,—because the inhabitants were such "viscagers."—*Walster's Dictionary*—Ed., 1866. Page 1364. X.

#### THE RARE BIRD. *II. M.*, II. v 56

MR. H. B. DAWSON.

DEAR SIR. The photograph of an owl sent you by Prof. E. F. Rockwell, of Davidson College, North Carolina, and left with me for identification, was evidently taken from a specimen of the American Barn Owl, *Ostrix pratincola*, BONAP. This species is rare here, but becomes more abundant as you proceed South. It is secluded in its habits, and more strictly nocturnal than most others of the family; consequently, is seldom noticed during the day. It frequents barns and suitable places in churches; it renders good service to the farmer, in its destruction of rats and mice.

For a full account of its habits, see Wilson, Audubon, and Nuttall.

YOURS TRULY,

(GEO. N. LAWRENCE.

JOHN WALWORTH. *II. M.*, New Series, III. 247. In publishing a Commission of Chancellor Walworth's grandfather, John Walworth, as a Corner, in 1744, your correspondent might have added that, except John Walworth, the Chancellor's brother, was Major of the Sixth United States Infantry, in 1812; was at the side of General Pike, at the taking of Little York, Toronto, and wounded by the same explosion that killed the General; and was complimented for his gallantry with which he led the Grenadier Company of his Regiment into action, at a critical moment in that fight. He was, for many years, Register of the Court of Chancery; and died in his City, some thirty years ago. He was, like his father and grandfather, a gallant soldier; and as many can testify who knew him, an accomplished gentleman. He married a daughter of Judge William Bailey, of Philadelphia, a sister of Admiral Theodorus Bailey, who led the attack on New Orleans.

M.

NEW YORK CITY.

HISTORY AND LAW. I have often thought that the ordinary rules of evidence, when applied to matters of History, are sadly at fault. Can your readers tell me exactly how, I can legally prove that such a man as George Washington ever, *in person*, commanded an army, anywhere. NEW YORK CITY. W.

#### XIX.—BOOKS.

##### 1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either directed to HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y., or to Messrs. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.

##### A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Reminiscences of an Old New Yorker*. By the late William A. Duer, LL.D., President of Columbia College, etc. New York: Printed for W. L. Andrews, 1867. Quarto, pp. 102. For private circulation.

In the summer of 1847, a series of twelve articles, under this title, from the pen of President Duer, appeared in the *American Mail*, a newspaper published in the City of New York, under the editorial control of the late Park Benjamin. They were autobiographical in their character, and described, as one of its title imported, the recollections of "an old New Yorker," concerning "old New York," and his fellow "old New Yorkers," from the closing year of the War of the Revolution, until a comparatively recent date. Thus, the City was described, as it appeared on the return of the refugees, in 1783, from their exile; and the early church and the early theater of New York, the Tammany Society and the first Congress, the "snout-nosed, peck-pitted, sandy-legged, fussy, good-natured little" Garlimer Baker and President Washington, the old City-hall and the Kolk, the inauguration of the first President and the great Federal procession, parsons and doctors, lawyers and actors, merchants and mechanics, all found places in the chatter, but exceedingly interesting, collection. There were, undoubtedly, some errors in the statements; but the articles were intended to be nothing more than the unstudied recollections of an old man; and the errors which they contained were overlooked, therefore, even by the most fastidious.

In the elegant volume which is before us, we have a sumptuous reprint of this series of articles. They have been thus reproduced, at the expense of a spirited young merchant of New York, for private distribution among a few of his personal friends; and as his edition was only thirty-five copies, some of his merely book-collecting friends will necessarily be left out in the cold.

We have no knowledge of the Editor of the work, if it has had one; yet we cannot help regretting that there has not been made a brief Introduction to the volume; and illustrative Notes, also, might have been added, both for the correction of the errors into which the author fell and for the further illustration of the several subjects on which he treated—for the good Index he has our grateful acknowledge-



ments. We make these remarks in no merely fault-finding spirit, but as expressive of our sincere regret; and we are sure that Mr. Andrews will join us in regretting the omission referred to.

As a specimen of typography it is among the most beautiful of the season; and the veteran printer—the Aldus of Albany—may well be proud of it.

2.—*Glimpses of the Spirit-land. Addresses, Sonnets, and other Poems.* By Samuel H. Lloyd. Printed for Private Distribution. New-York: 1867. Duodecimo and Octavo, pp. 151.

Volumes of verses do not very often entice us, yet we sometimes pick up a volume of this class which we do not care to lay down hastily.

The volumes before us, for which we are indebted to their author, belong to that class which particularly pleases us, since they relate to subjects which we understand and which appeal to nothing but the better feelings and associations of our manhood.

Mr. Lloyd seems to have once been a resident of California, when he was separated from his family; and many of the pieces in these volumes were written while he was on the Pacific Coast. He is now actively engaged in business, in New York, where less of the poetry of life is visible and more of the harrying realities. Whether he continues to amuse himself in like manner, since his return to the Atlantic States, we are not informed; but it seems to us that such a muse as his should not remain wholly unemployed.

As we said, we are pleased with these verses. They relate to no far-fetched nor questionable subject; but the departure of a Pastor, an overhanging weed from a neighbor's cave-trough, Jenny Lind, temperance, the death of his Pastor, the home of his childhood, his wife, his brother, Greenwood, and other every-day matters of similar character, have furnished the texts on which they have been constructed. They are not disfigured, also, with any sentiments of questionable tendency; and we have not found, lurking among the many flowers which are found therein, any of those mischievous teachings which we notice so often, like another serpent in Eden, in the writings of others, which, sooner or later, must impair the integrity of those who either write or continue to read them.

In short, although we do not pretend to any particular ability as a judge of good poetry, we know exactly what pleases us; and we are free to say, that we have seldom seen a collection which has more completely satisfied us, either in the selection of subjects or in the manner of treating them.

It will be seen that the work has been printed in two sizes—the largest ornamented with a photograph of the author—and that they were printed only for private distribution among his personal friends.

The edition numbered three hundred copies; and as a specimen of typography it is highly creditable to Messrs. Gray & Green who printed it.

3.—*A Memoir of Sir Edmund Andros, Knt., Governor of New England, New York and Virginia, &c., &c.* With a Portrait. By William H. Whitmore. A. M. Reprinted from the "Andros Tracts," published by the Prince Society of Boston, N. E. Boston: 1868. Quarto, large and small, pp. xlix. For private distribution.

In this very neatly printed tract, Mr. Whitmore has reproduced, in separate form, his Memoir of Sir Edmund Andros, which precedes the Tracts which have been reproduced by "The 'Prince Club,' of Boston.

As Mr. Whitmore seldom touches anything to which he does not add value and historical importance, we have not been disappointed on the perusal of this, his last effort. The biography is agreeably presented to his readers, generally; but the student is particularly interested in the Genealogical tree, from the Herald's College, which is now printed, complete, for the first time, and by the portrait of Sir Edmund, from the original painting, belonging to the family, which, also, has now been, the first time, introduced to the public.

We are not informed of the number of copies which Mr. Whitmore printed; but we suppose it was very small.

4.—*Scenes in the Isle of Mount Desert, Coast of Maine.* By B. F. DeCosta. New York, 1868. Small quarto, pp. 138.

During the past Summer, our friend and contributor, Rev. B. F. DeCosta, rusticated on the island of Mount Desert; and being an active man, and one who *cannot* sit still, he kept his eyes and ears open; and this volume is the first-fruit of his adventures on that gigantic rock.

After describing the general beauties of the romantic coast of Maine, Mr. DeCosta glances at its history, in which the Northmen, John Cabot, Verrezzano, Gosnold, Pring, De Monte, Weymouth, the Popham Colony, the Dutch, Hudson, and the Jesuits, are successively presented to the reader. He then describes the approach to the Island and, generally, the Island itself. After this, comes the "doing" of the Island, *en detail*; in which this distinguished member of what he aptly styles "the new school of History, which "is devoted to the elucidation of Truth, without "any reference to its cost," boldly overhauls the History as well as the Topography of Mount De-

sert, and gives the former a shaking. Thus Mr. Baneroft is taken to task for his ignorance of the *Jesuit Relations*; the claim in behalf of the Popham Colony is quietly and decently sustained; a topographical blunder of Champlain is corrected; and the shallowness of "History," as it is generally written, is most unmercifully, but most justly, castigated.

Every point of the Island which possesses particular interest, is successively described; and as the work is illustrated with ten gems of photography, illustrative of as many parts of the description, it is an exceedingly interesting and valuable little "local;" while the very agreeable style which the Author has employed in its composition, makes it as entertaining to the casual reader as it is valuable to the historical student.

It was printed, originally, for private circulation: but a portion of the edition was subsequently offered for sale, by Mr. A. D. F. Randolph, of New York.

The edition numbered a hundred and twenty copies.

5.—*A Report on the Pre-historic Man and his Associates*, made to the American Antiquarian Society. Read at its semi-annual meeting, April 29th, 1868, by John Russell Bartlett. Worcester: 1868. Octavo, pp. 31. For private circulation.

Mr. Bartlett was one of the Society's Delegates to the International Archaeological Congress, held at Antwerp, in August, 1867; and this Report embraces, FIRST, a brief account of the doings of that distinguished body, and of other similar gatherings in Europe, concerning the pre-historic race; and, SECOND, a *resumé* of the result of those gatherings, as illustrative of the lacustrine or lake dwellings of Switzerland, the tumuli and shell mounds of Denmark, the bone caves of Western Europe, and the works of man found in the "drift."

From these remarkable discoveries, the learned men in Europe are starting on lines of investigation concerning the drift of humanity, westward, from Asia, race after race, successively, like the waves of the ocean; and the manners and relative intelligence of those successive peoples, the peculiar animals which they employed or consumed, the tools they used, their occupations—as fishermen, hunters, or farmers—the ages in which they lived, etc., are portrayed from the relics of by-gone ages, with a degree of precision and apparent accuracy which is truly astonishing.

Thus, the bones of the wild-hog and stag, which were found among the remains, indicated from their relative size and numbers, not only the principal articles of animal food of the inhabitants of that particular spot, in that particular age, but, also, the relative size of those

animals when compared with those of the present day. Only one species of dog—the pointer—seems to have lived among the lacustrine tribes; and the modern brown cow of Switzerland seems to be the descendant of the cow of "the stone age," in that country. Domestic fowls were unknown to the lacustrine fishermen—they had no Thanksgiving day, "we guess."—and the skull found thereabouts evidently belonged to a legitimate ancestor of the modern Swiss. Stone implements were there, also, but none of bronze or iron; although bronze and iron were used, at a very early day, in regions not very remote from those Swiss fishermen; and the absence of some, and the presence of other, evidences in the Danish tumuli, indicate that that people, also, were fishermen rather than agriculturists.

The subject discussed in this Report, is an exceedingly interesting, although it is yet comparatively a new, one; and we wish that its learned author would present a more complete analysis of it, for the information of those who are not so favorably situated as himself, to learn of the subject.

The tract is handsomely printed; and the edition numbers only fifty copies, numbered and signed. It was designed exclusively for private circulation among the personal friends of its author.

6.—*Address at the family meeting of the descendants of John Tuthill, one of the original settlers of Southold, N. Y., held at New Bedford, L. I., August 28, 1867*, by Hon. William H. Tuthill, of Tipton, Iowa. Boston: David Clapp & Son, 1868. Octavo, pp. 23. For private circulation.

This *Address* was originally printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, for July, 1868; and it is reproduced in this form for private distribution by its Author.

The Tuthills are numerous and wide-spread. They are said to have been of the O'Tooles, a noted Irish family of Wicklow and Kildare; although there were Totyls in Wales, Tothills in Devonshire, Totehills in Yorkshire, and Tuthills in Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, at an early day.

The Devonshire branch seems to have been seated at Exeter; and the offices which were filled from it were both honorable and profitable. Among the Welsh of the name, were Richard Tothille, the printer, whose wife was a daughter of Grafton, the antiquary; and Jeremiah Tothill of New York. Of the Tuthills of Yorkshire and Cambridgeshire little is known: but of those of Norfolk—not *Norfolkshire*, as Judge Tuthill writes it—we have a pretty full account.

There seems to have been five of the name on the ship *Planter*, which sailed from London for Boston, in April, 1635; and three others were among the first settlers of New England. Of

these, Richard lived and died in Boston; and his son, John, also resided there. John, of Ipswich, died in Ireland, in 1656. William, of New Haven,—known as Tuttle—was one of the founders of that Colony; and John, of Dover, New Hampshire, was one of the founders of that Town. Henry, of Hingham, Mass. was an early settler there; and John, of Southold, L. I., was one of the founders of that Town, under the authority of the Colony of New Haven. The last of these was the ancestor of the Tuthills of Long Island, whose family gathering was favored with this *Address*.

The Author, a New Yorker by birth, is an active business-man of Iowa; and it is refreshing that he has found time and inclination, amid the whirl of a Western business, to engage in the labor of turning over the musty records of by-gone ages, to ascertain from whom he has descended and whose name he is transmitting along the stream of time.

The *Address* is such an one as such a man might be expected to prepare for such an occasion—it was pertinent and not an unnecessary word was expended for mere effect or unnecessary ornament. It was, in short, appropriate, carefully-prepared, and well-written; and the family might well be proud of such an annalist.

The volume is not a very handsome one; although the printers seem to have had a good opportunity to have made it more agreeable to the eye than they have done.

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7.—*The Decisive Conflicts of the late Civil War, or Slaveholder's Rebellion. Battles Morally, Territorially, and Militarily Decisive.* No. 1. The Maryland Campaign of September, 1862, the Battles of the South Mountain and of Antietam. By J. Watts de Peyster. New York: 1867. Octavo, pp. 76. For private circulation.

The volume seems to be the initial number of a series of separate reviews of "the decisive conflicts" of the recent struggle; but we have no knowledge of the extent of the proposed work nor of the time when it is proposed to publish the remaining portions of it.

The writer is widely known as a gentleman of fortune who has employed himself in a close study of the military history of Europe, and who has sent out, from time to time, when the spirit has moved him, a considerable number of tracts, chiefly concerning military affairs, which have commanded the attention of scholars and the respect of soldiers and those who are proficient in the military art, wherever they have gone. He has his feelings, as all authors have; and if he is sometimes a little too much disposed to display himself and his knowledge, he is not alone in that bad habit, also. He is not the most methodical writer of our acquaintance; nor is he always the most authentic when dealing

with *American History*, in which however, he is less informed than in European; but his honesty is unquestionable, and his sturdy defence of the Truth, or what he conceives to be the Truth, is worthy of all praise. As a student of the science of war he is deservedly distinguished; and as a critic of military matters, we know of no one, all things considered—his faults as well as his abilities—who is more entitled to the respect of the world.

In the volume before us, we have a fair representation of the peculiarities of this intelligent writer—his clear, systematic, well-sustained knowledge of the science of war, in its varied and most important branches; and his pedantry, or what looks like pedantry, displayed in the profusion of his historical illustrations, and his want of judgment in the arrangement of his ideas. We could wish, also, that some of his parenthetical sentences, which, sometimes, over-load his pages and withdraw his reader's attention from the current of his main argument, could have been omitted. Yet, notwithstanding all these drawbacks, the tract before us will undoubtedly command the earnest attention of every thoughtful student of the history of the War; and earn for its Author that respect to which he is justly entitled.

This volume is "printed as manuscript," exclusively for private circulation among the personal and professional friends of its Author; and the edition numbered only three hundred copies.

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8.—*Fitz-Greene Halleck. A Memorial.* By Frederic S. Cozzens. Read before the New York Historical Society January 6, 1868. New York: 1868. Octavo, pp. 32. For private circulation.

Our readers need not be told that Fitz-Greene Halleck is dead; and the greater number of them undoubtedly know, also, that, agreeably to a long-standing custom in the New York Historical Society, on the death of one of its members, that distinguished body honored itself by bestowing honors on his memory.

In that praiseworthy duty, with excellent taste and good judgment, Halleck's friend, Cozzens, was chosen as the spokesman of the Society; and the volume before us is the record of that exceedingly interesting memorial service.

The Address of Mr. Cozzens, which occupies the greater part of this volume is, of course, biographical; but it is, also, critical in its character. Like all that its Author writes, is exceedingly well done; and, his intimate personal acquaintance with Mr. Halleck enabled Mr. Cozzens to intermingle, with his other material, various anecdotes which have served to add to the attractions of this elegant memorial.

The volume was privately-printed for Mr. Moore, the Librarian of the Society; and is very



neatly executed—two portraits of Halleck, Luman's and Elliot's, gracing its pages. The edition numbered about one hundred copies; and it was circulated, privately, among the personal friends of its Author and Printer.

9.—*A discourse delivered in the First Congregational Church in Northampton, Mass., on the 26th of July, 1868, the Sabbath immediately succeeding the funeral of the Rev. William Allen, D.D.* By William B. Sprague, D.D., Minister of the Second Presbyterian Congregation, Albany. With an Appendix, containing notices of the funeral services, &c. Published by request of the bereaved family. Albany. 1868. Octavo, pp. 35. For private circulation.

Doctor Allen was born at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, on the second of January, 1784; graduated at Harvard, in 1802; taught school in Brookline; was licensed to preach, in 1804; was Assistant-librarian and Regent of Harvard College, from 1805 until 1810; became Pastor of the First Church in Pittsfield, in 1810; was married, in 1813, to Maria M., daughter of President Wheelock; elected President of Dartmouth College, in 1816; President of Bowdoin College, in 1820; was married, a second time, in 1831, to Miss Sarah Johnson Breed, of Norwich, Connecticut; in 1839, he retired to private life; and, on the sixteenth of July, 1868, he died.

He was widely known as the author of the *American Biographical and Historical Dictionary*; and several other works from his pen are among the trophies of American historical and theological literature.

The memorial sermon, which is before us, was preached by another lover of American history, who is also a working Pastor and a learned Divine. Having opened his discourse with an elaborate discussion of the promised "long life" and a "sight of the salvation of God," which are held out to the man who trusts in God. Doctor Sprague glanced briefly at the career of the deceased; and closed with a careful and elaborate analysis of his personal, professional, authorial, and Christian character; the whole forming a well-considered and exceedingly appropriate testimonial of the venerable biographer.

The tract is the handy-work of Van Benthuysen of Albany; and was printed for the private use of the family of the deceased.

10.—*A List of the Proprietors and Governors of Pennsylvania.* By John H. Campbell. Philadelphia: 1868. Small quarto, pp. 3. For private circulation.

This is simply a list of the Governors of Pennsylvania, commencing with Peter Minuit, in 1624, and ending with John W. Geary, in 1867, with the dates of the commencement and end of their respective terms of office. Those under the "Proprietary Government" bear on the margin, the names and eras of the several Proprietors of the Colony and Government of the State.

It is a very little thing, yet it is an exceedingly useful one to the student of Pennsylvania History; and Mr. Campbell is certainly entitled to the hearty thanks of every such student.

We do not speak certainly, but we suppose it is one of those, so called, "privately-printed books," which are sometimes thrown out by gentlemen of leisure and fortune, for their own amusement and the gratification of their friends. It appears to belong to that class, if we may judge from the character of the typography.

11.—*The Decisive Conflicts of the late Civil War, or Slave holders' Rebellion. Battles Morally, Territorially, and Militarily Decisive. No. 3. The Pennsylvania-Maryland Campaign of June-July, 1863. The Battles of Oak (or Seminary) Ridge, Gettysburg, and before, at, and after Gettysburg, and at Williamsport. June 25th to July 14th, 1863.* By J. Watts de Peyster. Three hundred copies printed as Manuscript. New York: 1867. Octavo, pp. 163. For private circulation.

We have already noticed the preceding number (No. 1) of this series; and we refer the reader to that article for our views on the general subject. Of this particular issue of the series—the second being yet unissued—we propose to speak briefly.

It opens with General Hooker's surrender of the command of the Army of the Potomac, in June, 1863; and describes the condition of the Army, at that time; the peculiar situation of General Hooker, in his unhappy relations with the General-in-chief, Halleck, and his views of the wants of the moment; notices the movements of the enemy, in his dilatory progress; contrasts the two armies; and then lifts the veil from "The field of Gettysburg." In his narrative of Gettysburg, the site is described, *very minutely*; and its military features are carefully noted and clearly set forth. The relative positions of the antagonistic armies are also described, with great precision, in connection with this description of the ground; and having thus prepared the reader by spreading before him a map of the country, the Author introduces, one after another, those whom he intends to present as the successive heroes of Gettysburg.

Buford and his cavalry come first, on his parallel movement from Shepardstown, by way of Middleton and the Monterey Pass, Fountain Dale and Emmetsburg; and the action on Oak-ridge and its vast importance are described—"it is no more than justice," the Author says, "to claim that the North owes to the soldierly instincts, energy, and tenacity of John Buford, the possession of Gettysburg and the fortunate issue of the decisive conflict." The honors of the day belong, undoubtedly, to Buford; but Reynolds, also, merited, and has received at our Author's hands, the honorable recognition which belongs to him; and, by way of interlude, "the site of the Reynolds Monument" is carefully and ju-

diciously considered, in a separate Chapter. The Battle of Gettysburg, proper, comes next; and three Chapters, entitled "Reflections on Gettysburg," portray the events on that well-fought field and their effect on the future of the Union. Then comes Williamsport; and, closing the work, are three Supplements.

The reader will learn from this synopsis what are the features of this notable work; but its importance to the student cannot be fully known except by a careful examination of every page. There are doubtless errors in it; but what work of such a character is without errors? It exhibits, also, the Author's peculiar faults; but, if we cannot amend them we must endure them for the sake of the good which is mingled with them; and we can endure them with less impatience, too, because we have faith in the integrity and growing good sense of the Author, and believe that these faults will gradually disappear from his writings, as others, not less objectionable, have already disappeared.

12.—*Banquet in honor of His Excellency Anson Burlingame and his associates of the Chinese Embassy, by the citizens of New York, on Tuesday, June 23, 1868.* New York: 1868. Octavo, pp. 65. For private circulation.

We have been favored by our friend, Hon. Elliot C. Cowditi with a copy of this pamphlet.

We must say that our faith has not been very earnest concerning this Chinese Embassy; and, even now, we are not able to see exactly where either its social or its commercial importance has come in. It is a matter in which, however, we have no especial interest, and concerning which we can very well afford to pay no especial attention.

The Banquet, however, as a mere Banquet, was a notable event at Delmonico's; and, with the Governor and Lieutenant-governor of the State, the Mayor of the City, divers Ambassadors of higher and of lower rank, Generals and Admirals, Editors and Parsons, to say nothing of the solid men of New York who were the hosts on the occasion, at the tables, it could be nothing else than an occasion of marked importance in both the culinary and the commercial—possibly in the political—departments of the City of New York.

Besides, speeches were delivered; and the Governor told his hearers, concerning this Embassy, that "no event in modern diplomacy or intercourse has equal significance or promises so much of benefit to the human race;" and Mr. Burlingame indicated that it was "a movement made in the interests of all mankind."

Mr. Burlingame talked of the East and of Alexander, of the West and of himself; he talked, too, of China, of justice, of humanity, of "fair play"—strange admixtures—and he talked of trade, and steam-ships, and "the almighty dol-

lar." Mr. Evarts told of China and Plymouth-rock, of "wild cats" and women's rights, and various other "glittering generalities." Mayor Hoffman, was jocose, as usual, over *old* China and *new* New York. He gave, also, a little good advice to the maligners of New York; and he lashed somebody, when he told of the decay of our Commerce, the absence of our ships, and the rapid transfer of our carrying trade to foreign countries. James O. Putnam of Buffalo, hailed Mr. Burlingame as another "High Priest of the new era, who, with the golden ring of Peace, had wedded the time-hallowed civilization of the East to the fresher and more elastic civilization of the West," etc.; and Mr. Dodge talked of business, as a business-man should talk. Professor Hitchcock attended to Civilization; Mr. Field to International Law; Judge Daly to Maritime Commerce; Judge Pierpont to Labor; Mr. Greeley to the Press; and Mr. Ruggles to Metallic Currency—and then the Banquet ended.

The pamphlet is a handsome one; and as a record of a prominent event it is important in every collection. It was printed for private circulation only.

#### B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

13.—*Collections of the New York Historical Society, for the year 1868.* Publication Fund Series. New York: Printed for the Society. 1868, Octavo, pp. xx, 453. For the shareholders, only.

Several years since, the Society established a Fund for the publication "of its Transactions and Collections in American History." It was composed of scrip shares, at Twenty-five Dollars each; and, for every such share, the holder was made entitled to either a yearly volume of not less than five hundred octavo pages or interest on his investment, at Five per cent of its par value.

The project "dragged its slow length along," year after year, without presenting any visible result, either in the form of Five per cent or octavo volume, until, within a few days, this volume was issued as its first-fruit.

The typography is very neat; but we are sorry that a heavier paper was not used, which would have made a heavier book.

In its literary character, it is one of the most important volumes, as *materials for history*, which the press has produced for many a day. Opening with a continuation of the *Political Annals* of George Chalmers; it presents, secondly, a series of letters on Smith's *History of New York*; and, lastly, a mass of papers concerning that mystery of New York politics, the Leisler Administration. The greater part of these are now first printed; and the care with which they have been presented is in such marked contrast with that employed in an other direction,

hereinafter to be noticed, that we must needs make a special note of it.

As we have reason to expect a more thorough notice of this volume, from one of the most competent of living historians, we forbear making any further remarks concerning it.

14.—*Songs of the College of the City of New York*. Published by the Class of '68. New York: Walter Gibson. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 56. For the use of the Class.

In this collection there will be found, of course, many songs which are old acquaintances of those who never recited in the College of the City of New York; but there are, also, some which belong to this particular institution.

Of the songs, *per se*, inasmuch as they are like all others of their class, we do not feel called upon to pass any opinion; but we are free to say that they have been handsomely printed and very neatly bound, and that "the Class of '68" is entitled to credit for its good taste as book-makers.

We believe the volume was printed for the private use of the members of the Class of that year.

15.—*Tenth Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, for the year 1867-8*. In two parts. New York: John W. Amerman. 1868. Octavo, pp. xvi, 104, 154, 121. For the members of the Chamber.

The Reports of this "ancient and honorable" Corporation are among the most valuable of the serials which are issued from the press of New York. They are practical and minute; and as they deal in facts and figures, illustrating the great commercial questions of the day, they are always important.

The volume before us contains reports of the proceedings of the Chamber; of its banquet to Mr. Low; and of Committees on a return to specie payments, on the obstructions and encroachments in the harbor of New York, on the Centennial Celebration of the Chamber's establishment, on Rates of Freight on Railroads, and on the Northern Pacific Railroad. It has also a full report of the Centennial Celebration; minor reports on the Trade in Sugar, Molasses, Coffee, Petroleum, Naval Stores, Hides, Cotton, Leather, Dry Goods, Tobacco, Wines and Liquors, Wool, etc.; and a mass of Statistics of Trade and Finance, which have been collected only with great labor.

The great value of the work will be seen from this brief description of it.

16.—*The Church Charity Foundation of Brooklyn, N. Y.* Cambridge: Riverside Press. 1868. Octavo, pp. 38.

A most beautifully-printed tract descriptive of as beautifully-designed an institution, for "the relief, shelter, support, and maintenance of

"*Indigent Aged Persons*," of all creeds, nations, and tongues.

The institution is an honor to the city in which it has been constructed; and we earnestly hope that it may be imitated in other cities throughout the country.

"*Aged and Indigent*:" how many of such, sometimes reduced from affluence, more frequently from a competency, are seen in every month of our journey? Who, among our readers, does not shudder when he thinks of them? Whose hand will be the next, to smooth the downhill road of such helpless ones, and to render their few remaining days more hopeful?

17.—*Sixty-second Anniversary Celebration of the New England Society in the City of New York, at Delmonico's, Dec. 23, 1867*. *Sine loco, sine anno*. Octavo, pp. 88. For the members of the Society.

This Society was organized in 1805; and is composed of natives of New England or the sons of such; and it meets, on "Forefather's Day," to glorify their "section" and to renew their pledges of "sectional" fraternity. Its vested fund amounted to twenty-three thousand, seven hundred dollars; and its charity, in 1868, was two thousand and seventy-five dollars, granted to two hundred and five persons.

The speeches, after the dinner, were like many other such speeches—they were *show* speeches, handsomely arranged for displaying the speakers' best points, but not always either honestly prepared, honestly told, or honestly listened to.

We cannot conceive that any man, whether a layman or a clergyman, a lawyer or a merchant, can rise in his place, any where, and recite as true what in his heart he knows to be untrue, either in fact or in his mode of "putting it," without forfeiting his title to the respect of every decent man and woman; and we find no excuse whatever for such conduct, in the fact that these untruths are told *after dinner*, when the wine has displaced the good sense, or for the glorification of some one who had no title, in fact, to such a glorification, nor any other.

Besides, every father of New England was not a "Pilgrim," nor is every New Englander a descendant of those who landed in Plymouth; yet none other than those are referred to by these show orators, and none other seems entitled to any consideration at their hands. Gorges and his party at Sagadahoc; the Puritans of the Bay; and the settlers at New Haven are entitled to some recognition, one would suppose, even if poor Roger Williams was not.

Franklin, we are told, was "the most illustrious son ever born to the Pilgrims;" Miles Standish and General Grant are said to have fought "on the same line, in defence of the same liberty, the same justice, and the same peace."



We are told, also, of Eliot's "school for the red-men"; and that, were he now living, he would "be found in Alabama, and Texas, and South Carolina, with his *schoolroom* still wide open, and "the same old Bible and Primer still in his hand," but teaching the black man," who would not be able to understand a single word which is in either of those works—what more need be said to illustrate the peculiar disregard of the Truth which is seen in these speeches, unless it be the solemn avowal, by a clergyman of the party, that Anthony Wayne was an *Irishman*?

18.—*The de Peyster Collection. Catalogue of books in the library of the New York Historical Society, presented by John Watts de Peyster, Part I. January, 1868. New York: 1868. Octavo, pp. 24. For the use of the members of the Society.*

General de Peyster having presented a large number of books to the New York Historical Society, that body has printed a special Catalogue of them; and as this donation is frequently added to, the Catalogue is arranged in parts, each perfect in itself but forming an uniform series.

The collection which is described in this Catalogue is very miscellaneous in its character and has very little connection with American History; yet such books sometimes become important, and, therefore, are necessary evils. We must be permitted to say, however, that we conceive there are many things in the custody of the New York Historical Society which are very much more deserving a printed Catalogue than this "de Peyster Collection."

The pamphlet is a neat one, uniformly printed with the general Catalogue of the Society's Library.

19.—*Catalogue of the Museum and Gallery of Art of the New York Historical Society. 1868. New York: Printed for the Society. 1868. Octavo, pp. viii, 72., 63. Price 50 cts.*

A new edition of the Society's Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection, the Picture Gallery, the Lenox Collection of Nineveh Sculptures, and the Crawford Marbles. The first of these, the Abbott Collection, contains eleven hundred and eighteen items; the Picture Gallery contains four hundred and ninety-six paintings and forty-five pieces of sculpture; the Lenox Collection, thirteen slabs; and the Crawford Marbles, five pieces.

The Abbott Collection of Egyptian Antiquities is acknowledged to be the best, in small articles, in the world; the Picture-gallery, which includes the noted Bryan Collection, is the best, which is readily accessible to the public, in the United States. The Catalogue before us fully describes all the contents of both these Galleries, and is exceedingly useful to visitors passing through them; and it will be equally interesting to the members, generally.

20.—*Historical Collections of the Essex Institute. Vol. viii, No. 4. December, 1866. Salem: Essex Institute Press. February, 1868. Small quarto, pp. 75. \$3. per annum.*

We have so often been discouraged because of our own arrears in publication that the receipt of this work really made us feel in better humor with ourself and the world, since we are only *six months* in arrears, while our Eastern friend is *twenty-five*. But it makes little difference, since the matter is just as much in season at one time as at another; and whether in 1866 or 1868, it is just as valuable and just as welcome.

This work is more local in its character than otherwise; yet it is peculiarly interesting to every one who has any regard for the Past. It is edited with ability, and printed with good taste; and it should find a place on the library-table of every son of Essex.

21.—*Address at the re-dedication of the Fourth Meeting-house of the First Church in Salem, Mass. December 8. 1867. By Charles W. Upham. Published by order of the Standing Committee of the Society. Salem: Gazette office. 1868. Octavo, pp. 74.*

The venerable First Church at Salem, historically considered, is one of the chief ecclesiastical bodies in America. It is one of the oldest: it was, in the earliest days, and has continued to be, peculiarly *Independent*, whether considered in its system of Government or its conduct of its affairs: its Pastors have been taken from the most remarkable men of their day. Francis Higginson and Samuel Skelton. Roger Williams and Hugh Peters, Edward Norris and John Higginson, Nicholas Noyes and George Curwin, were among those whose ministrations to this Church have been most widely known.

Of the Meeting-houses in which this Church has assembled for worship, the *first*—"an unfinished building, of one story"—was occupied from 1629 until 1634. A *new* one was created in 1634, and enlarged in 1639. A *third* one was built in 1670; the *fourth* in 1718; the *fifth* in 1826—the re-dedication of the last was the occasion which led to the delivery of this Address.

In the hands of Charles W. Upham this re-dedication of the Meeting-house of the *oldest church organized in America*, must have been a grateful duty; and the Church could not have selected one who could have more acceptably discharged that duty. His *Address* is the work of a student of History who was acquainted with the responsibilities which rested upon him; whose courage rendered the task a welcome one; whose experience in historical research enabled him to discharge the duty as few others could have discharged it. It is one of the best productions of its class; and it will be a very welcome "local" to every one whose taste runs in that direction.

Typographically considered, it is creditable to the task and skill of the workmen who executed it.

22.—*In Memoriam, Isaac Barton.* Introductory Lecture to the Class of the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania. Delivered at the opening of the Nineteenth Annual Session, Oct. 15, 1868, by Rachel L. Bodley, M. L. A., Professor of Chemistry and Toxicology. Phila.: 1868, Octavo, pp. 20.

Isaac Barton, the subject of this Memoir, was a Friend; a native of New Jersey; an honored merchant of Philadelphia; a bachelor; and an active laborer in all good works.

He was an active member of the Prison Society of Philadelphia, of the Women's Medical College, of the Women's Hospital, of the Rosine Institution, of the School of Design for Women, etc.; and because the improvement of the condition of woman was peculiarly his care, it seemed appropriate that his eulogy should be entrusted to a woman.

Mrs. Bodley, in the tract before us, has discharged the duty which devolved upon her with marked delicacy and good judgment. There is nothing in it which appears to have been overdone; but, on the contrary, the reader is introduced to the tidy, delicate little Friend; informed of the leading features of his character; and left to draw his own general conclusions.

Such eulogies reflect as much credit on their authors as on their subjects.

23.—*Historical Address delivered at the twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Reformed Church of Yonkers, N. Y., on the twenty-third of April, 1868.* By David Cole, D.D., Pastor of the Church. Published by the Consistory. 1868, Octavo, pp. 103.

It appears from this volume that the Rev. Victor M. Hulbert, now of the White Plains, first broke ground in the Reformed Dutch field, at Yonkers, on Sunday, the twenty-first of August, 1842; that a mission was organized, with Mr. Hulbert as a supply, at a yearly salary of four hundred and fifty dollars—two hundred and fifty of which were to come from the neighboring hamlet of Greenville; that Mr. Hulbert continued to supply this outpost, *as a supply*, until the twelfth of November, 1845; that on the twenty-third of April, 1848, a Church was organized and recognized by the Classis of New York—twenty-nine members forming the nucleus of what is now one of the strongest Churches in our County, that a meeting-house was erected, in 1844-5; that in September, 1845, a Pastor, Mr. Hulbert, was called; that, after having gathered a hundred and sixteen into the Church, on the eighteenth of April, 1848, he retired from the Pastorate, and was succeeded, on the eighth of October, 1848, by Domine Demund, at a salary of six hundred dollars; that, after having gathered twenty-one members into the Church, on the sixteenth of April, 1850, he also retired, and was succeeded, on the twelfth of February, 1851, by Rev. Dwight M. Seward; that, on the twenty-sixth of April, 1852, Mr. Seward also retired after having added

seventeen members; that Mr. Seward withdrew with him some forty-seven of the members who were not *Dutch*, had not desired to be *Dutch*, and and who preferred, to be Presbyterians, and nothing else; that, shattered by internal distractions occasioned by admixture of adverse elements—the *Dutch* and the *Presbyterian*—which could not quietly walk together, even in Church fellowship, the Church turned to its first earthly friend, a veritable Dutchman from Rutgers, and recalled Mr. Hulbert, who, on the twenty-first of October, 1852, resumed his labor of love among these worried ones; that, *Dutch* or no *Dutch*, the meeting-house soon became too small for those who crowded into it, and was soon enlarged; that until the twenty-first of September, 1863, Mr. Hulbert continued to lead these purified Dutchmen in their devotions, gathering some one hundred and seventy-seven members, and leaving on the *Register*, a hundred and forty-eight; that when our old friends, John J. Clapp, C. Halsey Mitchell, and other notable Presbyterians of the White Plains, in order to get rid of an obnoxious Pastor, Mr. Teese, ceased to be Presbyterians and at once became Dutchmen, they indicated their wakefulness by calling Mr. Hulbert as their Pastor, and were organized as a Reformed Dutch Church—how, else, would these have been able to make people believe they were anything but Presbyterians;—that, on the tenth of January, 1866, Mr. Cole, the author of this Address, succeeded to the Pastorate; that sixty-four have since been “added to the Church;” and that, with a hundred and seventy-eight members, the Pastor and the Church are dwelling together and working together, in the utmost harmony and affection.

But it is not alone because of its private interest, as a mere Church record, that this Address is particularly noteworthy. It is, in fact, a most minute history of the ancient village of Yonkers—as minute and as precise, indeed, as if it had been written, instead, by our good friend Doctor Hatfield—and it is a matter of the most agreeable surprise to us that the hard-working, pains-taking few who pick up the fragments of History, that nothing may be lost, have found in the Pastor of the Dutch Church at Yonkers, so thorough, and so judicious, and so practical an addition to their little number.

As we said, it is a history of Yonkers as well as a history of the Dutch Church at Yonkers. Beginning at San Salvador, with Columbus farcically kissing the wave-washed sands, Mr. Cole has glanced at Cortes, and De Soto, and Ponce de Leon, and Pizarro, and Melendez, and Champlain, and Raleigh, and the aboriginal Indians, and various other outside matters, until the Weckeseeks, a family of the Mohegans, have been reached; and these he has considered the original inhabitants of Yonkers.

We regret to say, in this respect, that we conceive that Doctor Cole has fallen into an error. At the risk of repeating what we have said before, therefore, (*Papers concerning the Town and Village of Yonkers—Gazette Series*, ii, 2-5,) we beg to say on this subject, that instead of Mohegans, the primitive settlers of Yonkers were undoubtedly Manhattans, a branch of the Munseys; and De Laet, (*Nieuwe Wereldt*—Ed. N. Y. Hist. Soc.,—pp. 297, 308,) van der Donck, the first Patroon of Colendonek, now Yonkers, (*Description of New Netherland*, 1656—Ed. N. Y. Hist. Soc.,—pp. 205, 206;) Mr. Moulton, (*History*, i., 231;) and even Mr. Bolton, (*History*, i, ix.) entertain the same opinion.

The Doctor next sweeps over the history of Europe, during the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries, glancing at the Reformation, at the contest for political power between the rival religious elements, at the struggle for the mastery, in the State as well as the Church, which was waged between the Puritans and the Prelatists, at the emigration to America of the various malcontents in England and of the money-seeking Dutchmen and Swedes, at Henry Hudson and the *Half-moon*, at the settlement of New Amsterdam, at the Dutch West India Company and the English refugees at Leyden, at Peter Minuit and the English claim to New Netherland, at "The Charter of Privileges and Exemptions," &c., until, on page 28, the Grant of Nepperhaem to van der Donck is reached.

Concerning this Grant, also, we conceive that Doctor Cole has erred, since it was undoubtedly made in 1645, for services rendered in Director Kieft's negotiations with the Indians, instead of in 1646, as stated in this Address; and in this, too, we venture to refer to the authorities cited in our *Papers*, &c.—*Gazette Series*, ii, 12, 15-16.—including van der Donck's Petition of May 26, 1653.

Strange to say, without noticing the original settlement of the Town, by van der Donck, the subsequent English claim to New Netherland is next reviewed, and the widow of the founder, then Mrs. O'Neale, introduced, also without the least allusion to the Patent of April 26, 1652, or to van der Donck's Petition of May 26, 1653, both of which were really worthy of notice.

The various transfers of the estate, ranging from Mary O'Neale, in 1666-7, to that to Lemuel Wells, in 1813, are next recited in due order; and the death of the latter, within our own remembrance, is properly referred to as the real origin of modern Yonkers.

Starting with a Map and minute description of the estate, as it was when Mr. Wells bought it, in 1813, Doctor Cole has contrasted with it a Map and similarly minute description of the same property, as it was in 1842, when Mr. Wells died and the Dutch Church, as already stated, came into

being. He has then narrated the rise and progress of the several Churches in Yonkers, and of those of the Reformed Dutch which preceded it, throughout the County; and these narratives are followed with an elaborate sketch of the history of the Church whose quarter-centennial was thus celebrated,—in the latter of which, especially, he seems to have left nothing unnoticed and undescribed.

An Appendix closes the volume, in which the successive Consistories of the Church, the "Members received from the organization"—three hundred and ninety-six in number—the "Members lost since the organization"—both by death, "without letter," and by letter—and the "present members of the Church," are designated, with the utmost precision—even the maiden names of married female members are particularly noted.

We need say no more in order to show our appreciation of this transient Address, or how much we think Yonkers is indebted to its patient Author. It is a model which may be usefully followed on every similar occasion; and, although we know nothing of Doctor Cole's antecedents and are personally a stranger to him, we welcome him into the feeble ranks of the working students of American History.

We do not know if the pamphlet is for sale, having been favored by the Author with the copy which we have used.

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24.—*Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Ministry at large, in the City of Providence*, presented and read at a public meeting held in the Westminster Congregational Church, Sunday evening, January 5, 1868. By Edwin M. Stone. Providence: 1868. Octavo, pp. 24. For the members of the Society.

In the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for April, 1867, we noticed this "Ministry at Large," at considerable length, while reviewing the Annual Report for 1867; and little remains for us to do, now, except to note the steady progress of the good work, under the judicious management of our honored friend, Rev. E. M. Stone. He has our earnest wishes for the continued prosperity of his important work.

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25.—*Manual of the Congregational Church in Coventry, Ct.* Prepared by Pliny H. White, Acting Pastor. Montpelier: 1868. Octavo, pp. 19. For the members of the Church.

This *Manual*, prepared for the use of the Church, embraces a historical sketch of that body, from its organization, in 1810, until now; its Confession of Faith, Covenant, Rules of Order and Discipline, and Standing Appointments; the succession of its Officers—Pastors, Deacons, and Clerks,—and a Chronological list of its Members, three hundred and thirty-eight in number.

As this tract was prepared only with great labor



and much judicious care, the task could not have fallen into more able hands than those of our friend and contributor, the President of the Vermont Historical Society; and it will serve as a model for similar works, in other parts of the country.

As a "local," it is of much importance.

26.—*The Annals of Iowa*, published quarterly by the State Historical Society at Iowa City. 1868. Edited by Sanford W. Huff, M.D., Corresponding Secretary. Vol. VI. Davenport: [1868.] Octavo, pp. 352. Price \$1.

Although we have not been supplied with a copy for that purpose, we take pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to this work. It is devoted, of course, to the history of Iowa and the doings and sayings of her subjects; yet it is none the less, for that reason, entitled to the friendly support of those who are not of Iowa.

It is neatly printed, very well filled with interesting materials for history, and illustrated with portraits of eminent citizens of that State; and we shall be glad to learn that it has secured, what it ought to enjoy, a liberal support on this side of the Alleghanies.

27.—*Semi-centennial Sermon of the Seventh Presbyterian Church, corner of Broome and Ridge-streets, New York City, Preached March 29th. 1868.* By the Pastor, Rev. T. M. Dawson, A.M., with an Historical Address to the Sabbath Schools, by the Rev. T. Ralston Smith, D.D. Published by request of the Church and Congregation. New York: 1868. Octavo, pp. 43.

Fifty years ago, what is now the eastern portion of New York was almost entirely unsettled—at best, "the houses were sparsely located on the corners of streets or in the middle of blocks; and often surrounded by post and rail fences. At different points, there were clumps of trees, strips of vacant ground, and farms. The roads were rough and hilly;" and no prospect of immediate improvement attracted the cautious and faithless inhabitant of the neighboring city.

At that time, to supply a local want, a City Missionary—Ward Stafford, by name—engaged a large room, in a farm-house, on the present line of Goerick-street, between Grand and Broome, for a preaching-station and Sunday-school. A Mr. Aiken succeeded Mr. Stafford, in the same place; and was succeeded, in his turn, in 1817, by Mr. Elihu W. Baldwin, under whose leadership a Church was organized, on the twenty-seventh of March, 1818—Mr. Baldwin being the Pastor—with a membership of twenty, nine of whom were received on profession of their faith.

A rival Missionary Society soon after embarrassed these zealous and humble laborers; yet lots were secured in Sheriff-street and a church-edifice commenced during the same year, and occupied, in part, in the following December. Financial troubles followed, in the midst of which

the building was completed. In 1826, that building, which had become too small for the comfort of those who attended, was sold; and a new house was built where the Church now meets. In 1831, that building was destroyed by fire; but, during the same year, a new one—that now used—was erected in its stead.

In 1835, Mr. Baldwin was succeeded in the pastorate by Rev. E. F. Hatfield, who is known to all our readers; and, in 1856, the latter was succeeded by Rev. T. Ralston Smith. In 1867, Mr. Dawson succeeded Doctor Smith; and he continues in that important field.

As we said, the Church began, in 1818, with twenty members. During the seventeen years of Mr. Baldwin's pastorate, eight hundred and seventy-nine members were added to this beginning. Doctor Hatfield, during twenty-one years, witnessed the accession of twenty-two hundred and thirty-three more; and Doctor Smith welcomed three hundred and twenty-nine in-comers. Yet, strange to say, the present known membership is not more than five hundred and twenty-five; and "the actual attendance" "not three hundred of this entire number." Why is this?

The sermon is a well-written, judicious discourse, in which there is nothing to offend, but much to encourage, the mixed audience before whom it was necessarily preached. The Address to the Sunday-school, which follows, is, also, a well-written, carefully-considered paper; and the precision of the narrative and the completeness of the details, render it extremely useful to all who desire to inform themselves concerning the local history of "the East side of town."

The work is well-printed and neatly bound; and Mr. Dawson will please accept our thanks for the copy which he sent to us.

28.—*Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Yale College*, with a statement of the Course of Instruction in the various Departments. 1865-69. New Haven: 1868. Octavo, pp. 72. For the use of the College.

The title-page describes the character of the tract and we need not enlarge on it.

29.—*Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867. An Address delivered before the N. Y. State Agricultural Society, at their annual meeting, in the Capitol, in Albany, February 12, 1868, by Elliot C. Cowdin.* Published by the Society. Albany: 1868. Octavo, pp. 56. For the Society.

Our friend, Mr. Cowdin, in this Address, has narrated the oft-told story of the Paris Exhibition of 1867. It has been told so often and so well, that we need not occupy our space further than in saying that Mr. Cowdin has not fallen behind any of his contemporaries while presenting the narrative again; although we find nothing worthy of our especial notice, except its entire silence on the subject of American party

politics—a feature in Mr. Cowdin's papers which is worthy of all praise.

30.—*Maine Anniversaries, 1868. Sermon before the Maine Missionary Society, at its sixty-first Anniversary, in Thomaston, June 24, by Rev. Uriah Balkam, D.D., with the Report of the Trustees; and Minutes of the 42d Annual Meeting of the General Conference of the Congregational Churches in Maine, held with the Congregational Church in Thomaston, June 23, 24, and 25. Portland: 1868. Octavo, pp. 120. For the Societies.*

We are indebted to Deacon Duren of Bangor, for a copy of this work, in which are recorded the year's history of the Congregational Churches in Maine, and their condition at the opening of the new fiscal year.

It is marked with that completeness and excellent judgment which seems to mark all that escapes from Deacon Duren's pen: and the Conference has reason to rejoice in the possession of such a Secretary.

31.—*Catalogus Senatus Academici, at omnium qui munera et officia gesserunt, quique alicujus gradus laurea donati sunt, in Universitate Viridimontana, ab anno 1865, Collegioque Agriculturae. A.D. MDCCCLXVII. [Burlington] Anno xcli. Octavo, pp. 62.*

One of those very useful works, for reference, which are sometimes concealed from the multitude under a very unintelligible title-page.

If the learned Editor had told his readers, in plain English—which ought to be enough for any Vermonter, as it is for any New Yorker—that they could find in this volume a list of the officers and graduates of the University of Vermont, from the beginning until 1866, he might have done a service to somebody, besides showing his own good sense and a respect for his Mother-tongue: as it is, he has done neither, and only secured the appearance of being a very learned, while he is seen to have been a very injudicious, man.

32.—*The finances of the United States. An Address delivered by A. A. Low, Esq., at the Centennial Celebration of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, at Irving Hall, New York, April 6, 1863. Octavo, pp. 11. Sine loco, sine anno.*

Mr. Low is a distinguished business man; and he displays most excellent judgment on this most important subject.

He conceives that an early resumption of specie-payments "is the one thing needful" to restore the trade and commerce of the "country to a condition of prosperity"; that such a resumption would put an end to all the bitter discussions concerning reduction of interest and medium of payment; that new loans at reduced rates of interest, for the purpose of retiring the existing debt as fast as it shall become due, are easily procurable; and that the further issue of United States notes is most earnestly to be deprecated.

The practical common-sense of such a man is worth the ill-digested oracles of seventeen mere speculators; and it would be heeded, too, if the country, instead of being giddy, superficial, and dishonest, were sober, well-informed, and virtuous.

33.—*Historical Recollections of St. Paul's Chapel, New-York. By Rev. Morgan Dix, S. T. P., Rector of Trinity Church. To which is prefixed an account of the three days service held in that chapel, on occasion of the celebration of its centennial anniversary, October 28th, 29th, and 30th, 1866. Printed by order of the Vestry of Trinity Church. New-York: F. J. Huntington and Company, 1867. Octavo, pp. 64. Price \$1.00.*

Until a short time ago, we had not been favored with a sight of this important pamphlet; but, notwithstanding the date, we must not allow it to pass without notice.

We were not unaware of the three days' services with which the energetic young Rector of the Parish Church commemorated the one-hundredth birthday of old St. Paul's: but we did not expect to see, resulting from that service, so complete an historical sketch as this. It opens with a minute description of the services themselves; and to them is added the Rector's Sermon, carefully annotated.

The historical sketch opens with a picture of New-York, as it was in 1766—clustered on the bank of the East-river, while the bank of the North-river was neglected;—and this is followed by a carefully-prepared sketch of the Chapel, from the date of the order of the Vestry to prepare for its erection, (*November 3, 1766*;) past the laying of the Corner-stone, (*May 14, 1764*;) the "dedication" of the unfinished structure to the worship of God, (*October 30, 1766*;) the orders for the completion of the building (*March 9, 1767*;) and of the portico, (*September 28, 1767*;) and for the enclosure of the church-yard with a ditch and temporary fence, (*May 14, 1781*;) the report in favor of building the steeple, [*May 13, 1793*;) and the order for its construction, [*March 24, 1794*;) the order for the introduction of stoves, in winter, [*June 24, 1794*;) for the clock and bell, [*April 11, 1796*;) for an organ, [*July 22, 1800*;) for the chandeliers, [*December 13, 1802*;) and for a brick wall around the church-yard, [*May 10, 1804*;) etc., until the close of the first century of its existence.

The architect of the building was a Scotchman, named McBean; its builders were Messrs. Gautier & Willis; the "Dedication" services—for it was never "consecrated"—were conducted by Rev. Doctor Auchmuty.

Among the incidents referred to by Doctor Dix are the Stamp-act riots—which he has erroneously considered as having occurred in the Fall of 1766, instead of the Fall of 1765—of

the closing the Chapel because the clergy insisted on praying for the King; the preservation of St. Paul's, while the fire of 1776 was raging; the inauguration of Washington, as President; the subsequent attendance, by the President, on the services therein; the death of John Pierce and his burial in the Chapel-yard; the tri-centennial celebration of the Reformation; the removal of General Montgomery's remains from Quebec and the re-interment of them in front of the Chapel; the visit of General La Fayette; the Oratorio to aid in building Zion Church; the consecration of Bishop Hopkins and others; etc.

Following this interesting review of the associations of the Past of St. Paul's, is a comparison of the Present with the Past, respecting the Chapel itself, its galleries, its "Library-room"—the birth-place of the General Theological Seminary—its chancel and altar-piece, its chandeliers, its "President's and Governor's pews," its organ and organists, its graveyard, the tablets within the Chapel, etc.; and it closes with a notice of the dangers, from fire, to which the structure has been exposed. Four elaborate Notes close the volume—one of these relating to William Vesey, the first Rector; one to Doctor Auchmuty, subsequently a Rector; one to Doctor Cooper of King's College; and one to Doctor O'Beirne.

It will be seen that Doctor Dix has done well what he has undertaken to do in a field of labor which was undoubtedly new to him; and that as a local historian, as well as a theologian, he is entitled to high respect. Indeed, we have seldom seen a more workman like production; and if the same skilful hand would go as carefully over the chequered career of the entire Parish of Trinity, the result would be one which would be welcomed by every student as well as by every old New-Yorker.

for history; and we trust that our respect will be sustained by the respect of all into whose hands his excellent Report shall fall.

35.—*The Fire Lands Pioneer*; published by the Fire Land Historical Society, at their rooms in Whittlesy Building, Norwalk, Ohio. Sandusky, Ohio: 1868. Octavo, pp. 119. Price 50 cents.

The ninth volume of the Collections of this modest Western Society—the only Historical Society in Ohio, we believe—contains the proceedings of the Society and various papers of local interest, the latter including reminiscences of pioneer life, sketches of the pioneers, sketches of the early history of various Towns and Counties, reports of meeting of pioneers, obituary notices of deceased pioneers, etc.

There is no other publication of this character within our knowledge; and it is rescuing from oblivion much that but for it would be speedily lost forever. We shall rejoice to learn, therefore, that it is well sustained; and if our readers will take counsel on this subject from us, it will be.

The price is fifty cents per year.

36.—*Church Manual*. Anson D. F. Randolph. Sine loco, sine anno. Duodecimo, pp. 105.

This is one of the neatest little volumes, for general circulation, that we have seen for some time, and, withal, one of the most interesting.

It is the *Manual* of the old Reformed Dutch Church at Sleepy Hollow—that widely-known spot which Mr. Irving immortalized—and its earnest Pastor, the Rev. J. B. Thompson, has certainly displayed great taste and good judgment in preparing it for, and carrying it through, the press.

A very brief sketch of the Church closes the volume.

34.—*Annual statement of the trade, commerce and manufactures of the City of Cleveland, for the year 1867*. Reported to the Board of Trade, by J. D. Pickard. Cleveland: 1868. Octavo, pp. 60. For the use of members of the Board.

There is no more important paper, concerning the local affairs of a town, than a minute report of its "Trade, Commerce, and Manufactures;" yet how few collectors seem to consider them of the least practical value, until they want to use the information which they contain and cannot find it on their book-shelves.

The volume before us is just one of this vastly useful, but stupidly neglected, class; and it is wrong that the praises of such an Author should be sung only in counting-houses, and his labors made useful only to the momentary speculators in hog and hominy. He has our homage as a laborious collector of the most useful material

37.—*Report and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the year 1867*. Vol. V. Part I. Madison, Wisconsin: 1868. Octavo. pp. viii, 1—160.

*Report and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the year 1867*. Vol. V., Part II. Madison, Wisconsin: 1868. Octavo, pp. 161—320.

*Report and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the year 1869*. Vol. V., Part III. Madison, Wisconsin: 1869. Octavo, pp. 321—435.

After a silence of several years, the Wisconsin Historical Society has apparently arisen to activity again, and commenced a new race of usefulness.

In the volume before us, the fifth of its series, we have its arrearages, accumulated since 1860; and in the hands of the excellent Secretary of the Society, Lyman C. Draper, Esq., the work has been done well.

The papers of which the contents are composed,



are generally short, but very important as materials for the workmen. They are almost wholly on Western topics, however, and, therefore, less interesting to the great body of Eastern readers; yet we cannot too highly commend the good judgment of the Editor, in collecting into this volume, and thus preserving and making useful, those local papers which, but for his care, might very soon be lost forever.

We trust that this young Society will continue the good work which it has so well recommenced.

38.—*A Manual of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.* By John C. Lowrie. New York: Wm. Rankin, for 1865. Duodecimo, pp. 359.

The purpose of this *Manual* is to convey to those who seek it, such information concerning the Missions of the Presbyterian Church, as will prove most useful to them.

Opening with some Introductory Remarks concerning the Missionary work, generally, Dr. Lowrie next describes the Board of Foreign Missions of which he is a Secretary, and its various labors and fields of labor among our Southern and Western Tribes of Indians, in Western Africa, North India, Siam, China, Japan, and South America, and among the Jews; and he closes with a body of statistics, which will be found very useful for reference by all who are interested in the great subject on which the volume treats.

The historical sketches of the several Missions appear to be well considered and very minute; while the *Biographical* sketches of those who have successively occupied these several fields of labor, have successfully preserved, in convenient form, a very complete record of the lives and services of those who have thus labored for the salvation of their fellow men.

#### C.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

39.—*Second Annual Report of the Metropolitan Board of Health, of the State of New York.* 1867. New York: 1868. Octavo, pp. 320.

In this handsome volume we have the Second Report of one of those intricate and very scientific bodies under whose control the Republican Legislature of New York has placed the Democratic Counties of Kings and New York, probably for other purposes than those which are strictly sanitary or prudential in their character.

The Report opens with an apology for the very short crop of good which the very great display of science and still greater outlay of money have produced; and it insists that "the public mind must be educated as to the necessity of any change in the long established habits of life and business." It admits also, that the interests of the commu-

nity upon which it has been saddled by an antagonistic power, form "a powerful element of resistance" to its expensive and, sometimes, useless operations; and it very coolly tells the Governor, a political friend to whom it reports, that two years of expensive experiment have failed to accomplish any material good. Very wisely, however, it fails to exhibit either the relative mortality or the relative expense of the establishment, as they were in 1867, with the corresponding mortality and expense, as they were *three* years ago, before this political machine was set in motion. Even with the *Cholera* to swell the first, and the expensive science displayed by this Board to diminish the last, the deaths in the Summer of 1865, in the Fifteenth Ward—the cleanest in town—were only one-seventh more than in the Summer of 1867; while in the Fourth Ward—one of the dirtiest and vilest—the difference was only one-eighth—even less than where cleanliness prevailed. The same inaptness at comparison is seen in the relative expenses of the two establishments, where the expenses for 1865 are paraded, with the cost of street-sweeping included, and those of 1867 compared with them, with Mr. Whiting's monthly bills for street-sweeping as carefully excluded.

As we have said, there is a large amount of science in the supplementary exhibits; but we fail to find any good which has been derived from them to the tax-burdened City of New York. Unless it has saved the City something by the support of patientless physicians and anxious patriots who else had been hungry and unhoused, we see no advantage in this Board, with all its array of science and titled officers, and all its accumulations of cost, which was not equally enjoyed by the old system, twenty years ago. All this may be the result of our own innate stupidity; but, nevertheless, we do not see the advantage, if any such exists.

40.—*Manual for the use of the Legislature of the State of New York.* 1865. Prepared pursuant to a Resolution of the Senate and Assembly of 1864, by the Secretary of State: Albany: Weed, Parsons, & Co. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. lxi 422.

We refer to this *Manual*, for a copy of which we are indebted to the Representative from Rockland-county, Hon. Thomas Lawrence, for the purpose of laying before our readers, in other States, information concerning one of the most useful Hand-books of the State of New York, including its Government from 1623 until 1868; its Post-offices and Post-masters; its County-officers; the Funds of the State; Valuation of real and personal property, area, and taxation of each County; Banks; Counties, and dates of their organization; Voters, by Counties, specifying natives and foreigners; the Constitutional Con-

vention, the Senate, and the Assembly—the members, organization, and rules of each; the Military Department; Agricultural Societies; Educational statistics; etc.

As it appears annually, it will be seen that it is an important volume for those who collect works concerning this State.

41.—*Statement of the Disposition of some of the bodies of deceased Union Soldiers and Prisoners of War, whose remains have been removed to National Cemeteries in the Southern and Western States.* Vols. I, II, and III. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1868. Octavo, Vol. I. pp. 29; Vol. II. pp. 59; Vol. III, pp. 38.

*Roll of Honor.* [No. I.] Names of Soldiers who died in Defence of the American Union, interred in the National Cemeteries at Washington, D.C., from August 3, 1861, to June 30, 1865. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1865. Octavo, pp. 194. (294a—294c.)

[No. II.] Names of officers and soldiers felled on the battle-fields of the Wilderness and of Spotsylvania Court-house, Va. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1865. Octavo, pp. 20.

[No. III.] The Martyrs who, for our Country, gave up their lives, in the prison pens in Andersonville, Ga. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1866. Octavo, pp. 225.

*Roll of Honor.* [No. IV.] Names of Soldiers, victims of the Rebellion, buried in the National Cemetery at Alexandria, Virginia. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1866. Octavo, pp. 69.

[No. V.] Names of Soldiers who died in defence of the American Union, interred in the National Cemeteries at Fortress Monroe and Hampton, Va. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1866. Octavo, pp. 56.

[No. VI.] Names of Soldiers who died in defence of the American Union, interred in the Eastern District of Texas; Central District of Texas; Rio Grande District, Department of Texas; Camp Ford, Tyler, Texas; and Corpus Christi, Texas. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1866. Octavo, pp. 35.

[No. VII.] Names of Soldiers, victims of the Rebellion, buried in National Cemeteries in Maine, Minnesota, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Arkansas, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, and Colorado Territory, during the Rebellion. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1866. Octavo, pp. 135.

[No. VIII.] Names of Soldiers who died in defence of the American Union, interred in Arkansas, California, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, and Nevada, and the Territories of Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, New Mexico, and Washington. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1866. Octavo, pp. 126.

[No. IX.] Names of Soldiers who died in defence of the American Union, interred in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Oregon, Maryland, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, Missouri, the Military Division of the Mississippi, and the Territory of Dakota. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1866. Octavo, pp. 244.

[No. X.] Names of Soldiers who died in Defence of the American Union, interred in Wisconsin, New York, Pennsylvania, Iowa, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina, Arkansas, Kansas, and Dakota Territory. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1867. Octavo, pp. 222.

[No. XI.] Names of Soldiers who died in defence of the American Union, interred in the National Cemeteries at Chattanooga, Stone's River, and Knoxville, Tenn. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1866. Octavo, pp. 443.

[No. XII.] Names of Soldiers who

died in defence of the American Union, interred in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Arkansas, Texas, Utah Territory, and on the Pacific Coast. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1867. Octavo, pp. 173.

[No. XIII.] Names of Soldiers who died in Defence of the American Union, interred in New York, Illinois, Virginia, West Virginia, Missouri, and the territories of Colorado and Utah. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1867. Octavo, pp. 135.

*Alphabetical Index to places of interment of deceased Union Soldiers in the various States and Territories, as specified in Rolls of Honor Nos. I—XIII, being those issued from the Quarter-master-general's Office, between June 15, 1863, and August 27, 1867.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1868. Octavo, pp.

[No. XIV.] Names of Soldiers who, in defence of the American Union, suffered martyrdom in the Prison-pens throughout the South. Washington: Government Office. 1865. Octavo, pp. 337.

[No. XV.] Names of Soldiers who died in defence of the American Union, interred in the National Cemeteries at Antietam, (Maryland,) and at Arlington, (additional,) Culpepper Court-house, Cold Harbor, Winchester, Staunton, and various scattered localities in Virginia. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1868. Octavo, pp. 367.

[No. XVI.] Names of Soldiers who died in defence of the American Union, interred in the National Cemeteries and other burial places at Brookline, Cambridge, and Worcester, Massachusetts; Buffalo, Chattanooga, Cypress Hills (additional) Fort Niagara, Lockport, Lodi, Madison Barracks, Plattsburg Barracks, and Rochester, New York; Gettysburg, Mercesburg, Reading, Philadelphia, Tamaqua, and Upton, Pennsylvania; Brattleboro and Montpelier, Vermont; City Point, (additional) Danville (additional) Glendale, Richmond, and Yorktown, (additional) Virginia. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1868. Octavo, pp. 392.

In this series of twenty volumes—for which we are indebted to the kindness of Major-general Meigs, the Quarter-master-general of the Army—we have the Record, as far as it has been published, of the names, rank, etc., of the soldiers who died or were killed, while they were in the service of the United States, during the recent War of Secession.

We need not say that such a list, if carefully prepared,—as this seems to have been—must be exceedingly important, both to the families of the deceased and to strangers, to the working historian and to the pension-agent, to the fatherless children and to the cormorant who seeks to gobble their to-be-issued bounty-land-warrants.

We desire, however, to express our gratification that the Republic is not so ungrateful that it cannot honor the memory of those who volunteered to fight her Battles in the hour of her peril; and we earnestly hope that an undertaking which has been so admirably begun may be as admirably continued, until every man who laid down his life shall be thus honored by his Country.

As complete sets of this "Roll of Honor" are scarce, and the subsequent issues are to be sent to this office, we will cheerfully supply any information which may be gathered from them, to such of our subscribers as shall enclose us a stamped envelope in which to return the reply

42.—*Trial of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, before the Senate of the United States, on Impeachment by the House of Representatives for High Crimes and Misdemeanors.* Published by order of the Senate. In three Volumes. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1868. Octavo, pp. I, (2) xxii, 741; II, (2) xxii, 498; III, (2) xxii, 401.

The readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE are perfectly familiar with the unpleasant subject to which these volumes are devoted; and we need do no more than notice their appearance, as a matter to be recorded in our pages.

The volumes are neatly printed and contain *every thing* which was made public during the trial of the President. The importance of the work, therefore, will be readily understood.

We are indebted to Hon. E. D. Morgan, for the copy of the work which is before us; and we beg to return to him, therefor, our sincere thanks.

43.—*Congressional Directory for the Second Session of the Fortieth Congress of the United States of America; Compiled for the use of Congress.* By Ben. Perley Poore. Second Edition. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1868. Octavo, pp. 106.

In this volume, which is indispensable to all who visit the Capitol, we find lists of Senators and Representatives, with their home post-offices and biographical sketches; the Committees of the two Houses; officers of both Houses, and of the Library and Government Printing Office; description of the Capitol; Rosters of the Executive Departments, Supreme Court, Foreign Legations, etc., etc.

It is, in short, a complete exhibit of the Civil Service at or near Washington; and every office-seeker will need a copy of it.

44.—*Sixteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Free Public Library of the City of New Bedford.* Printed by order of the City Council. New Bedford: 1868. Octavo, pp. 31.

This Library, like that of Boston, is public property; and the public authorities, therefore, receive the Report of its doings.

During the year preceding the submission of this Report, *thirty-four thousand, eight hundred, and sixty volumes were delivered, to be taken from the library, to eight thousand, two hundred, and nineteen readers; and the institution seems to be judiciously managed, in every respect.*

45.—*Proceedings of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Westchester, for the year 1867.* W. W. Pierson, Clerk. New York: 1868. Octavo, pp. 405.

The County of Westchester, in which we reside, is fast becoming the most important of the "Country Counties" in the State. With a population of not far from a hundred and twenty-five

thousand souls; an assessed real estate of nearly forty millions of dollars—the real value not less than double that amount;—and a tax-roll, for 1867, of more than a million dollars, old Westchester is indeed a "rural district," without a city within it, whose power must soon be felt.

The volume before is the record of the doings of her legislature. It possesses no general interest; and we refer to it, only for the purpose of bringing a report of its existence before our readers.

46.—*Report of the Board of Education of School District, No. 6, Yonkers, to the Annual Meeting of 1868.* New York: 1868. Octavo, pp. 12.

There is probably no School District in this State which it more carefully, attended to by its Trustees than No. 6. of Yonkers. It numbers among its officers, Messrs. George B. Skinner, Justus Lawrence, Isaac H. Knox, John M. Mason, Briton Richardson, and Stephen H. Thayer—well known in New York as active, intelligent, and upright business men; and one of them, Mr. Mason, has long attended to its affairs, in person, with all the pride and disinterested fidelity which personal interest, alone, is generally required to produce.

The expenses of the past year have been nearly twenty-five thousand dollars, exclusive of interest on the cost of the school and its furniture; the number of scholars on the Register is five hundred and eighty-one; and the average attendance was four hundred and seventy-eight.

47.—*The Influence of History on individual and national action.* Annual Address before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Thursday evening, January 30, 1868. By Paul A. Chadbourne, M.D. Published by order of the Legislature. Madison: 1868. Octavo, pp. 23.

President Chadbourne professes, in this Address, to believe that History possesses some influence over the character and, consequently, over the conduct of men; and that, therefore, nations are controlled, more or less, by History. He pretends to suppose that a monument, or a picture, or a legendary saying, or something equally questionable in character, "can nerve a thousand strong hands, that, *but for them*, might have been powerless for good;" and he pretends, also, as an illustration of this fancy, that the remembrance of the Past inspired the revolutionists of 1776; and that, "when the time came for them to strike, they struck to avenge the wrongs of man in all ages."

All this is very nice; but it would be much nicer if it were *true*; and President Chadbourne evidently knows as little about History itself, as he knows about its practical influence on the everyday concerns of life. Indeed, the history of the Bunker-hill monument, itself, to which he so



historically appealed, had he read *that History*, would have taught him how *little*, rather than how *much*, History and the Past can control the actions of men, even when every ordinary tie of local pride assists in the work; and he ought to blush at his own ignorance while the remembrance of the unfinished pile, on Breed's-hill, during year after year of delay, bore indisputable evidence of his error. Then, too, there is the unfinished memorial to Washington, which no remembrance of the Past and no bawdy show of a dancing-woman's legs have yet found means to complete; and where is the much talked-of and begged-for monument to Mr. Lincoln? Is there no Past which exercises an influence for these?

The truth is, President Chadbourne's ideas are all bosh. Fanny Elssler's bare legs secured, in a jiffy, what a mere remembrance of the Past and all other influences had failed to secure during twenty long years; and the power of which the President has spoken so glibly, if it is indeed a power, has not yet had a Chair devoted to it in any College or University in the Union. The reason is obvious. *The Past is less important than the Future; and both the Past and the Future, consolidated, are infinitely less important than the Present, to our fast-going, commercial population.* If President Chadbourne has not discovered this stern fact, he is wholly unfit for the position he occupies as the head of the University of Wisconsin.

48.—*Eleventh Annual Report of the Central Park, for the year ending December 31, 1867.* New York: 1868. Octavo, pp. 161.

The Central Park of the City of New York has commanded the admiration of all who have visited it, notwithstanding it is only twelve years since it was first designed.

The Report before us is the eleventh; and the beautiful typography and exquisite illustrations illustrative of the improvements, perfected or in progress, indicate how much and how well the Commissioners have done, during the period of their appointment.

49.—*Universal Exposition, Paris.* Report to the Department of State on Silk and Silk Manufactures. By Elliot C. Cowdin, U. S. Commissioner. Washington, D. C. 1868. Octavo, pp. 114.

Among the many "Commissioners" whom the Federal authorities sent to Paris, last year, was our friend, Hon. E. C. Cowdin, an intelligent, practical, common-sense kind of a man, who is also a wide-awake merchant, and one who can handle his pen as well as he can use his eyes and his ears in any useful service.

In the volume before us we have the official Report of his stewardship, to the Federal authorities, whose commission he bore, in which,

after describing the character of silk; its use by the ancients, its introduction into Europe; and the progress of its manufacture there, Mr. Cowdin describes "The Rise and progress of Silk Industry in the United States;" the mode of rearing the silk-worm; the production of raw silk; the progressive development of silk industry in France, Great Britain, and other European countries, Asia, and Africa; specialties embraced by silk industry in the Exposition and in practise; etc.; and he appears to have left no portion of his subject unexamined.

In this *Report*, we find no useless matter and no attempt at fine writing. It is the work of a practical man, on a business subject with which he was familiar; and it reflects the highest credit on the official integrity of its excellent author.

50.—*Provincial Papers.* Documents and Records relative to the Province of New Hampshire, from the earliest period of its settlement: 1623-1686. Published by authority of the Legislature of New Hampshire. Volume I. Compiled and edited by Nathaniel Bouton, D. D., Corresponding Secretary of the New Hampshire Historical Society. Concord: 1867. Octavo, pp. xii, 629.

In July, 1866, the Legislature of New Hampshire adopted a Joint Resolution, authorizing the Governor to employ "some suitable person" "to collect, arrange, transcribe, and superintend the publication of such portions of the early State and Provincial Records, and other State Papers of New Hampshire, as the Governor may think proper;" and, on the thirty-first of August, following, "Nathaniel Bouton, Esquire" was appointed by Governor Smythe and commissioned for that purpose.

We have no personal acquaintance with Doctor Bouton, but the mode in which he edited the last volume of *The Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society* should have indicated to Governor Smythe, that the good intentions of the Legislature, with that gentleman to direct them, would end in a miserable failure. Unfortunately for the student of the history of New Hampshire, whom the Legislature evidently intended to serve, the volume before us answers better to expose the incapacity of Doctor Bouton for such an office, than for any other purpose.

It will be seen that Doctor Bouton was appointed "to collect, arrange, transcribe, and superintend the publication of" certain papers concerning the early history of New Hampshire; yet he has, FIRST, undertaken to determine what are and what are not, "reliable," concerning the history of New Hampshire, from 1623 to 1686; and to accept and reject, accordingly, as his own sweet will or fancy has dictated. SECOND: he has taken the most ancient of the existing volumes of *Province Records*—the earliest of New Hampshire's archives—and extracted therefrom only what he has

"*presumed to be of public interest*," leaving all else untouched, no matter what other people may think on the subject. THIRD: he has copied from the published *Records of the Massachusetts Bay Colony* and from our own *Colonial Documents*, whatever he has fancied was of general interest to New Hampshire; and, after *mutilating the extracts* thus taken from reliable and accessible volumes—he calls it "revising" them, as if a "*re-cord*" could be properly *revised* under the terms of his Commission or those of any other—he prints the mutilated trash, without indicating, ever so obscurely, which portion is "Record" and which is "Doctor Bouton." FOURTH: he has not hesitated to mutilate other papers by *modernizing* them—just because it was less trouble *to the copyist and printer*, he says, and also because a strictly *verbatim* copy of old papers is "of very doubtful utility." Great is New Hampshire's judgment, as thus represented by Doctor Bouton; and when it shall be contrasted with that more "doubtful" taste which Massachusetts presented by Messrs. Shurtleff and Pulsifer; that of Rhode Island, as seen in Mr. Bartlett's handiwork; that of Connecticut as published by Messrs. Hoadly and Trumbull; that of New York, as seen in Messrs. Brodhead's, O'Callaghan's, and Valentine's volumes; and that of Pennsylvania, as displayed by Mr. Hazard, New Hampshire will not be flattered.

In short, Doctor Bouton has executed the exceedingly important duties which have devolved upon him, in the most disgraceful manner; and the liberality of the Legislature has been imposed upon and the intelligence of the world insulted, by one who, while he is indeed a Corresponding Secretary of a Historical Society, is a greater stumbling-block in the way of faithful historical enquiry in New Hampshire, than all others combined.

The sight of such a volume as this, as the first-fruit of New Hampshire's new-born liberality in the cause of History, would have thrown John Farmer or Jacob B. Moore into convulsions; and we fancy that there are some of the same stock yet remaining there, who will fully sympathize with us.

#### D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

51.—*Harper's Pictorial History of the Great Rebellion*. Parts 25—35. New York: Harper & Bros. 1865.

We have already noticed the first volume of this work and take pleasure in returning to the subject. Although we saw in the Introductory Chapters, and noticed, some carelessly written "History," and not a few grave errors, the body of the work seems to have avoided that carelessness, very successfully; and we have seen little in that principal portion of it which we cannot heartily commend. It is written without any preten-

tion, in a plain, honest style; and it will take a prominent place in the permanently useful histories of the War.

But the *specialtie* of this work is the illustrations which it is enabled to produce without folding—large in size, evidently faithful in their details, and, as works of art, admirable. The maps are large and minute; the portraits are often exquisitely engraved; the landscapes have been carefully sketched and reproduced on the wood; and the compositions are spirited and well arranged. There is no illustrated History of the War, within our knowledge, which is so admirably illustrated.

The entire work is now before the public, forming two fine volumes; and we suppose they can be purchased entire, bound, by those who do not desire to take them in separate numbers.

52.—*Zell's Popular Cyclopaedia and Universal Dictionary*. Edited by L. Colange. Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Zell. 1865. No. 1. Quarto, pp. 8. Price 10 cents.

This is the initial number of what promises to be an exceedingly useful work.

The purpose of the Editor is to concentrate within two Royal Quarto volumes, the information which is now to be found only in the various volumes of the *Gazetteer*, the *Biographical Dictionary*, the *Encyclopedias of Medicine, Law, Agriculture, Religion, etc.*; and *History, Biography and Geography, Science, the Arts, and Language, Religion, Philosophy, and Agriculture*, and the entire circle of knowledge, will find places within its pages.

The articles will be necessarily brief, but generally as complete as will be often required; while the beautiful style in which it is issued, whether considered in the well-printed letter-press or the exquisite little illustrations, will make it a welcome guest, wherever it shall go.

We shall notice it hereafter, from time to time, as the numbers successively appear.

53.—*Historical Account of Boquet's Expedition Against the Ohio Indians, in 1764*. With Preface by Francis Parkman, and a translation of Dumas' Biographical sketch of General Boquet. Cincinnati, O.: Robert Clarke & Co. 1865. Octavo, pp. xxiv, 162. Price \$3.00.

The enterprising publishers of this volume, some time since, issued proposals for the publication of a uniform series of volumes, devoted to Western History, under the title of *The Ohio Valley Series*; and we have here, the first fruit of the undertaking.

The old book which they have selected for the initial volume, both on account of its scarcity and its historical importance, is admirably adapted for the purpose; and the excellent judgment which prompted the employment of Mr.

Parkman, to write an Introduction to the work, assures us that the guiding spirit of the enterprise is fit for the task which it has undertaken.

The Expedition of Colonel Boquet, in 1764, was one of those aggressive movements against the confederated Indian tribes of the West, which became necessary in order to secure the frontier, and to preserve the garrisons which had been posted in the Western Country; and the success of his undertaking forms one of the agreeable incidents of Colonial military history. The narrative of the Expedition was subsequently written by Doctor William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, and, in 1765, printed in that City; and, in 1766, it was reprinted in London, and, in 1769, in Amsterdam. Although not very rare, it is quite scarce; and it is well that it has been thus reproduced.

Mr. Parkman's Introduction is a pleasant article reviewing the situation of affairs which rendered it necessary to organize such an Expedition; but he adds nothing to the account in the text, concerning the result of the movement, and may be supposed, therefore, to approve its terms.

It is strange, however, that Mr. Parkman should have fallen into the error of attributing to Mr. Spofford, the excellent Librarian of Congress, the discovery of the name of the writer of this volume. Mr. Spofford, we are sure, would not desire such credit, in view of the well-known fact, that the extract from Doctor Smith's letter, quoted by Mr. Parkman, in this connection, was printed in a Note, appended to the title of the volume, in the *Catalogue of Printed Books in the Library of the New York Historical Society*, (page 550,) which was published in 1859. Reference may also be made, on the same subject, to the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, II, iii, 180, 252. Although we are sure that Mr. Parkman is incapable of injustice to any one, a stranger might readily attribute this mistake to the propensity of Boston writers, to treat as a discovery, anything not before generally known in Boston, no matter how familiar it may have been elsewhere. *Peter Force was the real discoverer of the Author's name.*

54.—*The Janes Family*.—A Genealogy and Brief History of the Descendants of William Janes, the emigrant ancestor of 1637, with an extended Notice of Bishop Edmund S. Janes, D.D., and other Biographical Sketches. By Rev. Frederic Janes. New York: John H. Dingman. [C. Scribner & Co.] 1868. Octavo, pp. 419. Price \$7.

The title-page will convey to the reader a correct idea of the character of this work, as the Author intended to make it. There are a Preface; an Introduction, in which the Author explains the system which he followed in arranging the several sketches, apologizes for his shortcomings as a

Genealogist, etc.; an "Historical," in which he narrates the story of the settlement of the New Haven Colony by Messrs. Davenport and Eaton; "The Janes Family," in which the history of that respectable family is discussed,—Guido de Janes, who accompanied Henry II. from France, in 1154, being considered the originator of the family in England, and William Janes, of New Haven, that of the American branch; although the Author strangely admits (*p.* 28) that he has no evidence whatever to connect Guido, the Norman interloper, with William Janes who carried the name to America! Of course, like all others who settled in New England, this William Janes, ancestor of the American family, was a refugee from England for conscience sake, which piece of information, historically considered, is not worth a brass button. The Genealogies follow, in the preparation of which the Author has not been very happy in the choice of a system of arrangement—a fault which he shares with many others who write Genealogies;—although the carefully-prepared Index, at the end of the work, will enable the reader to find any particular person referred to, without difficulty.

In the writing of the personal sketches, especially those of the earlier members of the family, Mr. Janes should have given, at the foot of the page, the authorities on which he rested when he made the various statements, many of them important, which crowd this portion of his volume—a sad omission, which we can hardly excuse him for being guilty of—and if he had made fewer attempts at what he evidently considers elegance of style, and more frequently kept out of sight the supposed fine effect of some pet figure of speech, he would have written more creditably as a historian and genealogist, and have saved space for more important material. Considered as a whole, however, this volume will be acceptable, as it will also be very useful, to the genealogist and local historian; and as such we heartily commend it to those of our readers who make collections of this class of works.

The typography is Munsell's; we need say no more.

55.—*The New Gospel of Peace according to St. Benjamin*. New York: American News Company. Octavo, pp. xxviii, 343.

Among the most popular of the various "War pamphlets" with which the whole country has been flooded during the past six or seven years, have been those, written in the style of the Scriptures, which are known as *The Gospel of Peace*, *New Gospel of Peace*, etc.; and the American News Company has done well by collecting one of the series and preserving it, in good style, for the use of those who shall follow us.

*The New Gospel* is said to have been written by



Richard Grant White, Esq., the well-known "Shakespeare scholar;" and those who know the purpose for which it was written, need not be told that, in common with all of the class, this work is violently partisan in its character and not always just concerning those of whom it treats. Besides, it seems to be particularly sarcastic on those who do not consider it beneath their dignity, as men and women, *to work for a living*, even in humble occupations. Thus, "the Phadees" (*Puddies*, or Irish) "the Bidhees" (*Biddies*, or Irish women) "the Gnuzebois" (*the News-boys*), among others, receive the coarse attentions of "St. Benjamin;" and if its reputed author was indeed the author, for reasons which he should have appreciated, this portion of the work might have been very properly omitted.

The volume is a very handsome specimen of printing on tinted laid paper; and its rubricated title-page gives it additional claims on the regards of collectors of fine books.

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56.—*Ancient Cities and Empires: their prophetic doom, read in the light of history and modern research.* By E. H. Gillett. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee. N. D. Octavo, pp. 302.

One of the most industrious of men is Doctor E. H. Gillett, the Pastor of the Presbyterian church in Harlem, whose labors in historical literature are well known to our readers and throughout the country.

The work before us is designed to lay before the reading public the result of modern research, as it has illustrated the prophecies and made them more easily understood by those who, before, were ignorant of many of their teachings; and it may usefully serve as a supplement of Bishop Newton and Alexander Keith, and other works of that character.

In the prosecution of his plan, Doctor Gillett has devoted entire chapters to Egypt, Ninevah and the Assyrian Empire, Babylon, Petra, Bashan, the cities of Moab and Ammon, Philistia, Tyre, Sidon, Samaria, Damascus, Jerusalem, and the seven Churches of Asia, closing with a general survey of Scripture Prophecy; and we need not say that he has done his work well, since he seldom fails to do so, in whatever he undertakes.

It is handsomely printed and fully illustrated; and must be a very acceptable addition to many a family book-shelf as well as to the greater number of Sunday-school libraries throughout the country.

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57.—*A treatise on Meteorology.* With a collection of meteorological tables. By Elias Loomis, LL.D. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Octavo, pp. 305.

The subject of which this volume treats is of modern growth, and it is still in the hands of those skilful workmen throughout the country,

who are working out its great problems to their utmost limit. Forty years have witnessed great accessions to the stock of material which meteorologists can employ; and "more than a thousand 'stations' in our own country have contributed to the commonstock. Foreign countries have also employed their learned men in this generally important work; and, both here and there, it is yet unfinished.

We are told, however, that "there has not hitherto appeared, at least in the English language, any general treatise on meteorology, which furnishes a comprehensive view of the present condition of every branch of this science with a minuteness sufficient to satisfy one who is himself engaged in the business of observing." That want, the learned Professor of Yale College has attempted to supply in this volume; and he has wisely done so by combining the text-book for instruction with the exposition of the present state of the science. The high character of Professor Loomis affords a guarantee of the completeness and the correctness of his work; and it must be an important addition to the educational and scientific literature of the country.

The illustrative cuts number upwards of a hundred; and the entire work wears an air of substantial neatness which entirely becomes it.

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58.—*Steven Lawrence, Yeoman.* A novel. By Mrs. Edwards. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. 422.

This story, which has passed through *The Galaxy*, now appears in an independent volume, neatly printed, and more neatly illustrated.

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59.—*The History of Middletown, Vermont*, in three discourses, delivered before the citizens of that town, February 7 and 21, and March 30, 1867, by Hon. Barnes Frisbie. Published by request of the citizens of Middletown. Portland, Vt.: Tuttle & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 130.

There is one peculiarity of New England which may be usefully imitated in all other parts of the world; and that is its habit of preserving and publishing histories of its towns, with all the details which plodding students so much delight to find, ready collected and printed for their use. It is a habit which enables New England's vanity to display itself and New England's story-tellers to boast unduly of ancient virtues; but it also preserves and very often circulates papers of great value, and gives the results of research which entitle their authors to the enjoyment of everlasting gratitude.

This town of Middletown is in Rutland-county, and was created, in law, in October, 1784; although it had given homes to sundry families, several years earlier. The places where the pioneers originally settled are noted, in this volume.

The hardships which they endured are spoken of. The labors which they expended are minutely described. Men and measures, in the utmost detail, are traced through their careers.

There is no pretension, no "fine writing," no writing for Buncombe, in this homely volume; but its author evidently kept in view the purpose of his undertaking, and honestly and earnestly fulfilled it.

We regard it as a really excellent "local,"

60.—*History of Elizabeth, New Jersey; including the early history of Union County.* By Rev. Edwin F. Hatfield, D.D. New York: Carleton and Lanahan. 1868. Octavo, pp. 701.

The result of much labor, judiciously expended, the volume before us will convey to its readers such a history of Elizabeth, as few other cities possess. Undertaking the task of its authorship at the solicitation of the Author's townsmen, and prosecuting it as a labor of love, Doctor Hatfield, as we happen to know, has carefully examined for himself the original authorities concerning his subject, and as carefully employed them in the preparation of this volume. He has patiently worked in the quarry, in person, and conscientiously hewed out, for himself, the material which he has used; and if he has erred, it is not the error which indolence has produced, nor that which is the offspring of prejudice or local influences.

Commencing his narrative with the entrance of the *Half-moon* into the Hudson, which Doctor Hatfield considers the discovery of the waters of that river—of which there are reasonable doubts—the Author traces the history of the attempts at settlement, as well as that of the settlement itself; the policy of the Dutch; the conquest by the English, in 1664; the Grant of what are now New Jersey and New York to the Duke of York; and the manorial Grant of New Jersey by the Duke to Carteret and Berkely—the latter seeming to be understood by Doctor Hatfield as an absolute "sale of the territory," in fee simple, instead of a mere copyhold, as was really the case—He describes the settlement of Elizabeth-town, in 1665; and from that time to the present, through adversity and prosperity, in Peace and War, under the British, and under New Jersey, Elizabeth is presented in her political, social, and religious aspects, with scrupulous fidelity to the truth, as the Author has understood it, after laborious investigation, and with unusual precision and great minuteness of detail.

It will be entirely impossible to follow the Author throughout his work, so little has he written which is not patent to his subject; and we content ourselves by saying, in general terms, that we do not remember any local history, un-

less that of Boston, by our venerable friend, Mr. Drake, which so nearly illustrates our idea of what a "local history" should be, as this. We say this because we can say no less, with justice to ourselves and to the Author; if we could say more in the same space we should be glad to do so.

Typographically, the volume is a very neat one; and it will be welcomed by scholars and collectors, the country over, quite as gladly as by the Jerseymen for whom and at whose instance it has been written.

61.—*One of the Family.* A Novel. By the author of *Carlton's Year*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Octavo, pp. 112. Price, 25 cents.

*Five hundred pounds reward.* A Novel. By a Barrister. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Octavo, pp. 131. Price 50 cents.

*Charlotte's Inheritance.* A Novel. By M. E. Braddon. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. pp. 145. Price 50 cents.

*Jennie's Quiet Life.* A Novel. By the Author of *St. Olive's*, etc. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Octavo, pp. 128. Price 50 cents.

*Poor Humanity.* A Novel. By F. W. Robinson. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Octavo, pp. 170. Price 50 cents.

*Brakespeare; or, the Fortunes of a Free Lance.* A Novel. By the Author of *Guy Livingston*, etc. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Octavo, pp. 148. Price 50 cents.

*Love or Marriage?* A Novel. By William Black. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Octavo, pp. 119. Price 50 cents.

*The Dover House.* A Story. By Annie Thomae. New York: Harper Bros. 1868. Octavo, pp. 124. Price 20 cents.

The above are successive volumes of the widely known "Library of Select Novels" which the Harpers have been placing before the public, during several years past, and which now reaches its three hundred and eighteenth volume.

They are all by standard European authors; and are unabridged and unaltered. They are well-printed; and while they will serve a good purpose among the hills, or by the sea-shore, or on the piazza, to amuse the sojourner there, they will not destroy the sight by reason of shabby typography; nor will they shock good taste or good morals by reason of their impurity.

62.—*Sermons of Henry Ward Beecher, Plymouth Church, Brooklyn.* Selected from published and unpublished discoveries, and revised by their Author. In two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868. Octavo, (I) 484, (II) 486. Price \$5.00.

Mr. Beecher's ability, as a pulpit orator, must be admitted by even his worst enemies, since nothing less than absolute ability could arrest and keep the attention of the thousands who listen to him, year after year, without impatience or fatigue. He has his faults, undoubtedly; but who has no faults? Besides, he makes no undue pretensions; he puts on no finical airs of

superior sanctity; and his message is the message of the Gospel, earnestly and honestly delivered, in the sense and manner which he conceives it to be his duty to present it.

Of course, Mr. Beecher is not a preacher of the "old school." He says little about the cardinal *doctrines* of the Bible; and he meddles only occasionally and incidentally with those fundamental questions which occupied, to the exclusion of most others, the attention of those intellectual giants of "the olden time," of whom we hear so much.

In the volumes before us, are a portion of these sermons, selected from the "many hundreds" which have been published; and the chosen ones were carefully reviewed by their distinguished author. They were originally prepared for his own congregation, to meet the wants of that mighty mass of thinking men and women; and they have been aptly described as "so many arrows shot in the day of battle, and every one of them with a real and definite aim." They are, therefore, eminently qualified to meet the every-day wants of thousands; we have no doubt they will be received with that hearty welcome which they so evidently merit.

The portrait of Mr. Beecher ornaments the work; and the typography is of that elegant class which has so widely separated the issues of the Present from those of the days of our boyhood.

63.—*Genealogical History of the Lee family of Virginia and Maryland, from A.D. 1300 to A.D. 1866.* With Notes and Illustrations. Edited by Edward C. Mead. New York: Richardson & Co. 1868. Quarto, pp. 114.

In this very beautiful volume, introduced by an elaborate series of original papers concerning the arms of the Lee family and the family itself, is an ancient family-tree of that family, which has long slumbered among the family-papers of the Editor. It is signed "CHARLES TOWNLEY, York; JOHN POMFRET, Rouge Croix;" and it bears the date of "August 1<sup>st</sup> 1750"—although it strangely contains the family record of General Henry Lee and of his children and grand-children, to the present day—and it traces a line of descent of the Lees, with here and there a break, from Hugo de Lega, A.D., 1200, to General Robert E. Lee, A.D., 1866.

The Lees seem to have been a Bedfordshire family; but beside the establishment of that fact, there is no evidence of its early history. Indeed, there is no apparent connection between those isolated individuals who are referred to, as living prior to A.D. 1300; and the history itself really begins at the latter date.

In 1641, Richard Lee, third son of Launcelet Lee, of Coton, in Shropshire—whose exact connection with those of an earlier period, who are

referred to in this volume, is not apparent—emigrated to America; and from him there is a plain, unvarnished story of the different branches and members of the family—Richard was the father of Richard, Junior, who was the father of Richard, Philip, Francis, Thomas, and Henry. Philip became the head of the Maryland branch of the family; Thomas became the Royal Governor of Virginia and the head of the Westmoreland branch of the family; Henry became the head of the Lees of Stafford.

In the Westmoreland branch were Philip Ludwell, Richard Henry, Francis Lightfoot, and Arthur, Lee; Henry of Stafford was the father of General Henry—"Light-horse Harry"—who was the father of Major Henry and General Robert E. Lee.

There is, also, a sketch of the Custis family, and one of General Lee's life and services; and we have no doubt that it will be very acceptable to a large portion of the people in the South.

As a specimen of book-making, considering the scarcity of material for the narrative of the earlier portions of the family, it is creditable to the Editor who compiled it; to the printers and publishers, also, for the care exercised in getting out the volume, much credit is due. It is emphatically a handsome book, appropriately illustrated; and we imagine Genealogists and Collectors of fine works will be glad to learn of its publication.

64.—*The Moonstone.* A Novel. By Wilkie Collins. New York: Harper & Bros., 1868. Octavo, pp. 223.

This work appeared, if we do not mistake, in successive numbers of *Harper's Weekly*; and is brought into this form, for the convenience of readers. Its Author is one of most popular of the day; and the character of the work, the reputation of its Author, and the neatness of its illustrations, will undoubtedly command for it an extended sale.

65.—*Trial and Sentence of the Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, Jr. Rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity, New York, by the Right Rev. Horatio Potter, D.D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York. For Preaching and Reading Prayers in the City of New Brunswick, New Jersey, without the express permission of the Rev. Alfred Stubbs, D.D., and the Rev. Edward B. Boggs, D.D.* February, 1868. Reported by Warburton, Bonynge, and Devine. New York: Thos. Whitaker. 3 Bible House. 1868. Octavo, pp. 310.

The internal troubles of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, like those of its parent in England, are producing great mischief both within and without its own borders.

It is always dangerous to abandon the standard authorities on any subject whatever; but in matters of religion, that danger is peculiarly great which attends those who wander, ever so little, from "the only rule of faith and practise." New



rules and new standards may be vested with authority by merely human enactments. New offices may be created and filled with incumbents holding and exercising new and unusual authority; and old and well-known offices may be filled with those on whom have been thrown powers and authority which were unknown in the days of those who spake and wrote authoritatively. But just so far as those rules and standards rest on merely human authority, and just so far as those officers rely on other warrants for the powers which they assume to wield, than those promulgated by the divine Head of the Church, there is danger both to the incumbents and to those whom they affect to rule.

But there is another phase of this subject. When any one voluntarily enters upon the duties of an office, whether that office is duly authorized or not, while he continues to fill that office, to exercise the powers with which it vests him, and to enjoy its emoluments, he is bound, both in law and in honor, to recognize those who, *by the same authority*, are set over him, and to obey all the rules and regulations which, *by the same authority*, are laid down as the guide for his official action. There is neither sense nor reason in claiming, under any authority whatever, the honors and emoluments of an office, while the weight of that authority, in all that relates to the duties of the same office, is denied by the incumbent. When those duties become onerous to the incumbent, when his "conscience" forbids the recognition by that incumbent of the authority of those who, by virtue of that law, are above him, or of those rules and regulations to which he has promised and owes obedience, he should retire from the office which he holds, and lay down, at once, both the emoluments which he enjoys and the obligations which are distasteful to him.

Entertaining these views, we opened this volume and examined its contents. Denying the existence of any legitimate authority in any one, any where, to prevent any other person from preaching the Gospel in whatever town and at whatever time the latter shall please to do so; and finding in Mr. Tyng's accusers no such authority whatever, even by their own showing, *except the warrant of merely human enactment*, we fully and heartily concurred with Mr. Tyng, in his abstract denial of any competent authority, in Doctors Stubbs and Boggs, to forbid him from preaching and praying in New Brunswick, whenever he desired to do so, agreeably to the terms of the Great Commission; but we thus concurred with him only because we recognized no other authority in these matters than that which is found in "the *only* rule of faith and practise"—the Scriptures, faithfully translated—and because we have *not* recognized as of any authority whatever, any of those internal sectarian regulations

which he, when he was ordained, fully recognized and promised to obey, and by virtue of which, alone, he is the "Rector" of the Church of which he is the Pastor and enjoys the privileges and emoluments of that office. On the other hand, we cannot understand how an Episcopalian "priest," as such, who has voluntarily assumed the obligations of his order, whether canonical or otherwise, can consistently refuse to conform to the recognized and authoritative rules of his own Church, whether those rules are called "Canons" or "By-laws;" nor can we see any reason why, in violation of those rules, to which he had already promised official obedience, Mr. Tyng should have disregarded the official rights which, under the provisions of those rules, Messrs. Stubbs and Boggs indisputably enjoyed in New Brunswick.

If these rules had become obnoxious to Mr. Tyng, he should have surrendered the emoluments and honors which, under their warrant alone, he was zealously enjoying, at the same time that he refused to discharge the duties which they imposed: until such surrender and withdrawal, he was bound, in law and in honor, to be honestly obedient to them in all their parts. His own solemn promise, in his case, was the controlling power; and, whether judiciously assumed by him or not, it was his duty to obey its requirements.

In the very important volume which is before us, we have a complete report of this trial. By appearing voluntarily before its authorized Court, Mr. Tyng continued to recognize the authority of "the Church," over a subject on which he had previously dared to set that authority at defiance—a subject too, in which, under the law to which he owed obedience, he had no right of action whatever. He was ably defended: but he was defended under a law the full extent of whose binding force, as the *sole* standard—"the *only* 'rule of [his] faith and practise'—he was as little prepared to assert as were his accusers; and he was accused under a law to which he owed obedience, by virtue of his own voluntary obligations, as fully and as completely as his accusers. He was condemned under that self-imposed law; and under it, too, he was punished. Under that law, strengthened by his own voluntary promises of obedience and his subsequent voluntary recognition of its authority by appearing before the Court which it had instituted, he has no just cause of complaint, at the result; and if his admirers are anxious to find one on whom they can more properly fix censure than on any other, for unwarrantably destroying the peace of his denomination, that person must be Mr. Tyng, himself, the violator of his own covenant.

It seems to us that while Mr. Tyng recognizes the binding force of the Canons of his Church, it is his duty to obey their demands: when that obedience shall become too great a burden for him

to carry, his most proper course will be to withdraw from the sphere of the Canons' authority and thus relieve himself from the obligations which, with his assent, they have imposed upon him.

66.—*History of New York City from the Discovery to the Present Day.* By William L. Stone. New York: E. Cleave. 1868. Octavo, pp. 252.

Mr. Stone seems to have intended this work for popular use; yet it is written with great care and commendable accuracy. The narrative, in many of its parts, is necessarily brief; yet we have noticed no marked neglect, in any instance, and imagine that there are few instances of it.

As the work has been made the vehicle for an advertising business, there has been little attention paid to the character of the typography.

67.—*Light on the Last Things.* By William B. Hayden. New York: New Jerusalem Publishing House. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 193.

The Author has no doubt succeeded in putting some of the prominent points of the New Church theories into the plainest and most unambiguous language. He calls it "New Truth for a new Age." That the age *is* new, he cites the progress and development of the four quarters of the past century as proof. The ratio of advance and improvement in each, over the former quarter, is brought to testify that, since 1757, the New Jerusalem has been descending. Progress and development in science—natural, social, and political—is conferring an ear upon him who would "hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches."

Although the book bears some marks of haste, the Author displays a most perfect knowledge of his subject. He treats of the spiritual existence of man beyond the grave, as one who scarcely needed the aid of "open vision." From this book, in so small a compass, the most ordinary reader may, in a few hours, possess himself of a knowledge of that country "from whose bourne no traveler returns," which cannot fail to exercise an abiding influence upon his life and character. It is this nearness to the realm of Spirit, which such disclosures inculcate, that renders the doctrine of Swedenborg so emphatically "the doctrine of life." W.

68.—*Gropings after Truth: A life journey from New England Congregationalism to the One Catholic and Apostolic Church.* By Joshua Huntington. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 167. Price 75 cents.

The Author of this little volume is described, in the Preface, as "a genuine son of New England," descended from ancestors who, from the first settlement of the Colonies, have been honorably distinguished in Church and State, educat-

ed from infancy in the pure tradition of the "Pilgrim Fathers, a pupil of the ablest teachers of Yale, Princeton, and Andover, sincere and earnest in his disposition, and therefore a competent witness regarding those things of which he speaks." He is said, also, to have first passed from Congregationalism, of the New England school, to infidelity; thence, again, to Congregationalism; thence to Episcopacy; and thence to Rome.

The work itself is in the form of a letter, addressed to a friend, announcing, first, the change of the writer's ecclesiastical relations; and, next, describing the process by which the change was effected.

There have been, from the beginning, two grand divisions in the religious world; and those divisions, sometimes under one name and sometimes under another, have constantly waged war against each other. Christ and the Pharisees, when the Savior was on earth, were the representatives of these antagonistic parties; and *Grace* and *Works* were the respective corner-stones on which the two systems rested. The same structures, resting on the same foundations, are still before us; and there is no one who pretends, or ought to pretend, that "the Reformation," so called, affected the religious status of either of these parties; and no one can justly assume that either the Reformed or the unreformed, as such, belonged necessarily to either party.

There was little else than *politics* in the religion of either Rome or England, two hundred years ago; and the strife between the Puritans and the Conformists, in the English Establishment, had as little to do with the Bible, or the doctrines of the Bible, or pure and undefiled Religion, as had the strife between Henry VIII. and the Pope; and when John Winthrop, and John Cotton, and the Puritan fathers emigrated to America, they emigrated as politicians rather than as religionists; and they brought with them no more Godliness than was necessary to give color to the surface of their pretensions. Of course, the Church which these men founded was like the men who founded it—it was merely a synagogue of Pharisees, holding not merely those who made merchandise of their religion, but such as those whom the Savior branded as "thieves," and indignantly whipped from the temple of the living God. That such a Church should be found cold, unyielding, inconsistent, and unscriptural, may reasonably be expected; and that such an one as Mr. Huntington, looking no farther than its narrow teachings, should become disgusted with it, does not, in the least, surprise us; nor, in view of the fact that he is a New Englander, is it at all inconsistent, as we understand it, that *he* is now in Rome.

We are not insensible of the apparent harshness of this judgment; but as we have often said that a consistent Methodist must be also an

Universalist, so we say now that those who can find sufficient license, outside of the Scriptures and merely in the *dicta* of their respective Churches, for doing what God has not authorized and for refusing to do what God has laid down as a duty, are already at Rome; and, whether it pleases or displeases, we are constrained to say that those who are strictly followers of the Pharisaical system of ancient New England must, sooner or later, if consistent and honest, follow the example of the Author of this volume.

The work is handsomely printed; and the binding is after the most approved modern fashion.

69.—*A treatise on Physiology and Hygiene*; for Schools, Families, and Colleges. By J. C. Dalton, M. D. With illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 399.

Doctor Dalton has rendered an essential service to the great body of the public, in the preparation of this volume—so well adapted to bring before the unprofessional reader a well-defined and intelligent knowledge of the physiological structure of man. He has employed no term which may not be readily understood by the ordinary reader; and his style of teaching is at once simple and exceedingly effective. Besides, there are numerous well-executed wood-cuts, illustrative of the text; and a well supplied Glossary and an excellent Index, at the end of the volume, enable those who turn to it to gather readily the information which they seek in its pages.

In every respect, it is a useful book; and should be found in every household.

70.—*The Holy Communion, its Philosophy, Theology, and Practice*. By John Bernard Dalgalins. Third edition. New York: The Catholic Publishing House. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. xvi, 440.

This work has become a standard on the subject of which it treats, among the members of the Roman Catholic Church, both those in Europe and those in America. It treats, *FIRST*, of the *Philosophy of the Holy Communion*, in which the doctrine of Transubstantiation is most elaborately discussed, and all the objections which have been raised against it—especially the scientific objections—have been successively examined, with calmness, dignity, and ability, such as are rarely witnessed in a polemic; *SECOND*, of its *Theology*, in which the various theological features of the Holy Communion are similarly discussed; and the doctrines of the union of the soul to God in the Holy Communion, of its effects on the soul, etc., as understood by the Church referred to, receive due notice; and, *THIRD*, its *practice*, as seen in its history, its limits, the communion of sinners, of the worldly, of the imperfect, etc., are carefully examined.

As a controversial work, this is a model which

may be usefully followed, both by reason of its thoroughness, its moderation, its earnestness, and yet its entire simplicity of style and language.

71.—*Walling's Route and City Guides*.  
A.—New York to Saratoga, Buffalo, and Niagara Falls, via, Hudson River and New York Central Railroads, Pp. 34, 54.  
B.—New York to Harrisburg, via Central Railroad of New Jersey, Allentown Line. Pp. 68.  
C.—Eric Railway. Pp. 60.  
D.—Hudson River. Pp. 34.  
E.—New York to Boston, via Springfield Route. Pp. 46.  
F.—New York to Montreal and the White Mountains, via New London, Palmer, Brattleboro, and Bellows Falls. Pp. 59.  
G.—Harlem Route. Pp. 32.  
H.—New York to Boston, via Shore Line Route. Pp. 43.  
I.—New York to the White Mountains, via Connecticut River. Pp. 45.  
J.—Long Island, via Long Island Railroad. Pp. 41.  
K.—Stouington Line. New York to Boston, via Long Island Sound, Stonington, and Providence, Pp. 42.  
L.—Norwich Line. New York to Boston and the White Mountains, via New London, Norwich, Worcester, Lake Winnipiseogee, Plymouth, or Littleton. Pp. 71.  
M.—Bristol Line. New York, via Long Island Sound, Bristol, and Providence. Pp. 39.

This series of hand-books for travellers is published by Taintor & Bros., New York, in neat 16 mo. volumes; and they must be exceedingly useful to all who are passing over the several routes to which they relate.

They are very neatly printed and amply illustrated with well-executed maps; and whether as Guide-books or "locals," concerning which so many of our readers pay special attention, they are worthy of an extended circulation.

72.—*Fifty years in the Itinerant Ministry*. By S. Landon, of the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Delivered in Brooklyn, in May, 1863, and ordered to be published by said Conference. New York: N. Tibbals & Co. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 48. Price 20 cents.

The author of this Sermon is an old man; a Methodist Preacher; and, evidently, an honest, outspoken, humble Christian. He was born on Grand Isle, in Lake Champlain; entered the ministry, fifty years since; and is still in the harness.

There are several classes who will welcome this little work—*FIRST*, the members of the Methodist Church; *SECOND*, those who can admire the Christian who has discovered that he is neither a giant nor a Madonna; *THIRD*, those who can stand the earnest lashing of a sturdy hand, on matters which should nerve every honest man's arm; *FOURTH*, those who collect "locals," whether as collectors or readers; and, *FIFTH*, those who can appreciate some of the choicest little portraits, painted in words, with which we are acquainted.

The picture of Mr. Anson, crossing the Lake to Grand Isle; that of the slaughtered officers on the *Confiance*, after the battle of Lake Champlain; that of Father Anson on his Circuit; and several others, are vastly more worthy of perusal than many others of larger pretensions.



It is a very neat little affair; and will interest every one who can feel interested in the well-told narrative of an honest, intelligent old man.

73.—*A text book of Natural Philosophy*: an accurate, modern, and systematic explanation of the elementary principles of the science. Adapted to use in High Schools and Academies. By Leroy C. Cooley. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 317.

This volume is evidently designed to be a "text-book of Natural Philosophy," suited to the wants of the higher grades of schools. It is especially notable, because it is not too much crammed with matter which ordinary classes cannot comprehend; and because it keeps up with the times, in the progress of science, discarding what has been rejected by the most intelligent teachers of the science, and admitting all known improvements which come within its sphere of observation.

In the selection of its subjects, it judiciously avoids everything that is merely novel or amusing; and, in its arrangement of its subjects, it is particularly entitled to commendation.

It is neatly printed and amply illustrated with well-executed wood-cuts.

74.—*The Record of the Second Massachusetts Infantry, 1861-1865*. By Alonzo H. Quint, its Chaplain. Boston: James P. Walker, 1867.\*

A book of over five hundred pages, with many excellent steel-engravings of officers connected with the Regiment. The Author, a member of the "Church militant," says in his Preface: "Counting it the honor of my life to have been the Chaplain of the Second Massachusetts Infantry, the preparation of this record has been no less a work of love than of duty. My own full notes, compared with and completed by the note-books of officers and enlisted men, were its basis. I have also carefully studied all the various rolls, books, and Reports of the Regiment and of Companies; the full papers preserved by Brevet Major-general Gordon; private letters and letters in newspapers; official Reports of Generals, the Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, and the State papers; special histories of Campaigns and Biographies, as well as rebel Histories, Biographies, and official Reports. In addition to the thanks due to Adjutant J. A. Fox and others of the Regiment, I acknowledge my obligations to the officials in the Adjutant-general's office, for the kindest facilities in the examination of their excellent records." And a life-picture it is, in fact, this record "for men to whom every date is a scene and every name

"a comrade, for widows and orphans, and for childless parents."

Books of this kind, besides being a memento to those personally concerned, have two important objects: First, to preserve what is worthy to be preserved of a struggle, which stands without a parallel in regard to dimensions and sacrifices; Second, to serve as material for the purely military history of the War. We must, therefore, be thankful to the Author, for his faithful narration of what he experienced as an eye-witness and observer, and for the explanation of certain military events, according to his own knowledge, combined with such material as he was able to procure from other sources.

No man, who undertakes to write an accurate history of the War, can dispense with this book, containing a great number of statistical and historical facts, which would have been lost, unless gathered on the very field of battle, in the turmoil of excitement, in camp and hospital, sometimes from the lips of officers and men who afterwards paid, with their lives, for the patriotic principles which they cherished and defended.

It would be impossible to give in this short review, an account of even the most conspicuous actions, in which the Regiment was engaged. Suffice it to say, that from the commencement to the end of the War, its career was as noble as it was one great, incessant Campaign; beginning with the most bloody baptism of Cedar-Mountain, where, "of twenty-three officers who went upon the field, seven only came back unhurt, and thirty-five per cent. of the Regiment as engaged, were killed or wounded." It then participated in the battles of Antietam, of Chancellorsville, of Gettysburg; was transferred to the West, where it fought under Hooker; and, finally, struck "to the sea," with Sherman. Its history forms part of the grandest features of the War; and its heroic deeds will forever embellish the Annals of the American people.

To be just to the Author, we must add, that his style never loses its vivacity or freshness, even when applied to mere strategical or tactical explanations; and his book will, therefore, not only be instructive to its readers, but, also, pleasing and animating, in a rare degree.

F. S.

75.—*Microscopic Examinations of Blood and Vegetations; found in Variola, Vaccina, and Typhoid Fever*. By J. H. Salisbury, M. D. New-York: Moorhead, Bond & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. 66.

This very handsome volume, illustrated with numerous illustrations, relates to a subject of the greatest importance; and those who are competent, have expressed an opinion concerning its merits, which is highly honorable to the learned and patient investigator who wrote it.

\* Although we have already passed our judgment on this work, we cannot withhold this, which has been written and sent to us by a distinguished officer, referred to in its pages, who is vastly more capable of judging of its merits than we are.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

We welcome it, as a contribution to the scientific literature of our common country, which has been furnished by the young but mighty West, although we are not well versed in the subject discussed; and we commend it to the careful examination of the thoughtful men, of all schools of practice, as a work which is said to be eminently worthy of their attention.

76.—*Comer's Navigation simplified*. A Manual of instruction in Navigation, as practiced at sea. Adapted to the wants of the sailor. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1863. Octavo, pp. 112, 51.

This work, "compiled at, and expressly for, the Navigation students of 'Comer's Commercial College, Boston,'" is intended to simplify the story of this important science, so as to enable persons of limited education to acquire a knowledge of it, in the shortest possible time. It seeks, by the small number and simplicity of its Rules, to impart to the learner a knowledge of the reasons for the processes; and it seems to be well adapted for the purposes for which it was designed.

77.—*Cradle Lands*. By Lady Herbert. New York: Catholic Publication Society, 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 232. Price \$2.

One of the neatest of the recent issues from the press, typographically considered, and one of the most interesting, in its contents, is the volume before us.

It describes a journey, undertaken for the benefit of an invalid, by way of Alexandria and Cairo, to Jerusalem, and thence, through Palestine and Asia Minor, to Constantinople. The description is exceedingly graphic; and we have followed the Authoress with so much interest that we sometimes fancy that we can see, in our minds' eye the images of the scenes which she has so skilfully opened to our view, in the pages of this volume. Indeed, we do not remember any volume of travels more enticing; and the exceedingly beautiful wood-cuts which illustrate the text, render the work still more attractive.

As we have said, the typography is very beautiful; and reflects credit on Messrs. John A. Gray & Green, by whom it was executed.

78.—*The Life of George Stephenson and of his Son, Robert Stephenson*; comprising also a history of the invention and introduction of the rail-way locomotive. By Samuel Smiles. With Portrait and Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1858. Octavo, pp. 501.

This is a revised edition of a work issued some ten years ago; and it contains, in addition to the two Memoirs referred to, a very complete and interesting history of the Railway and Lo-

comotive-engine, those great revolutionizers of the world.

The volume opens with a notice of the early "Schemers and Projectors," in which the origin of the railway, and the projects of Sir Isaac Newton, Doctor Darwin and Mr. Edgeworth, for the employment of Steam as a motive power, are carefully noted. A chapter on "Early Locomotive Models," follows; in which Watt & Bolton, Joseph Cugnot, Francis Moore, James Watt, William Symington, and Oliver Evans, and their several models, are successively referred to. "The Cornish Engine," and a Memoir of Trevithick, the noted Civil Engineer, closes the introductory part of the volume.

Sketches of the Newcastle coal-fields and coal-trade, of modern Newcastle, and of the neighboring coal-works, prepare the way for an introduction to the Stephenson family—old Robert, a fireman to a pumping-engine, his wife, Mabel, and six half-clad children, of whom the second was "George," the celebrated Railway-engineer.

The battle of George with poverty, is minutely detailed; and the step-by-step of his advance, from being an ignorant cow-tender to the great head of railway enterprise in England, is described with the utmost care. The various improvements in Locomotive-engines are referred to; and the history of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway and that of the Victoria Bridge form important features of the volume.

We have rarely seen a more interesting volume for a young mechanic than this; and even as a mere volume for casual reading, it is exceedingly interesting. The numerous engravings are very neatly executed; and the volume is worthy of a place on every workingman's book-shelf.

79.—*New Physiognomy, or Signs of Character*, as manifested through temperament and external forms, and, especially in "The Human Face Divine." By Samuel R. Wells. With more than One Thousand Illustrations. New York: Samuel R. Wells, 1868. Octavo, pp. 763. Price \$5.

"The study of Man, from any stand-point, is 'interesting,'" Mr. Wells says with great truth; and the study of man from the stand-point of physiognomy, is not the least interesting.

The elegant volume before us forms a complete treatise on this exceedingly important study, commencing with a definition of the term, and presenting, successively, a history of the science, its present status, its application to various useful ends, etc. The various systems of Lavater, Walker, and Redfield, are discussed; the structure of the human body is carefully described; and the details of the science are then elaborately presented to the reader, with remarkable clearness and completeness.

There seems to be no portion of the subject left unnoticed; and every portion is carefully and liberally illustrated with very fine wood-cuts.

80.—*Memorial of those who suffered for the Catholic Faith in Ireland, in the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries.* Collected and edited from the original authorities, by Myles O'Reilly, B. A., LL.D. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1869. Octavo, pp. 462.

In this volume, Doctor O'Reilly, by way of Preface, has glanced at the causes which have produced Ireland's troubles, and to the persecutions of Ireland's churchmen, by those of an antagonistic faith; and then, commencing with 1530 and closing with 1744, he has narrated the individual cases of persecution of some four hundred Irish Roman Catholics, who have suffered martyrdom because of their fidelity to the religion which they believed to be true.

We are not insensible of the intolerance of the churchmen in England, in days gone by, since Baptists, as well as Roman Catholics, have been the frequent victims of their unmerciful persecutions; and we are not disposed to conceal the fact that those who *profess to be* Christians did this; nor to flatter ourself that none except savages persecuted others for religious opinion's sake. It has been the practice of State religions, generally, whether Protestant, or Roman Catholic, or Mahomedan; whether in England, or France, or Ireland, or New England; from the beginning of such Establishments, until now; and it will continue to be their practice, *wherever the power shall rest on them*, even until the end of time.

The list of the sufferers, in the record of Doctor O'Reilly, and his narrative of their sufferings, are sufficient to appal the stoutest hearts; and, surely, the most relentless of bigots and the most hard-hearted of inquisitors never exceeded the persecutions, in many of the instances here recorded, either in the ingenuity which was displayed in the punishment inflicted, or the resolution with which it was applied.

Truly, this is Ireland's *Book of Martyrs*.

81.—*Travels and Adventures in South and Central America.* First Series. Life in the Llanos of Venezuela. By Don Ramon Paez. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 1, 473.

This appears to be a revision of a work, issued long ago, entitled *Wild Scenes in South America*; and is very well calculated to interest, not only those who desire information concerning South America, but a large class of our young people who have revelled already in all the fulness of our own sporting stories, now too numerous in this vicinity.

In the elaborate Introduction, we have a care-

fully-prepared description of Venezuela; and the text which follows is descriptive of travels and adventures, more or less romantic, in that semi-savage portion of the New World. There is, however, scattered throughout this narration of adventures, very much which is descriptive of the face of the country, of the habits and character of its inhabitants, of its natural productions, of its advantages and disadvantages for the progress of civilization, etc.; and we have no doubt, therefore, it will find permanent places in many well-established libraries from which it would otherwise be carefully excluded.

It is neatly printed; and the Map and well-executed wood-cuts serve to assist the reader, while they also add to the attraction of the volume.

82.—*English, Past and Present.* Eight lectures, by Richard Chenevix Trench, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. Sixth edition, revised and improved. New York: Charles Scribner, 1868. 16 mo., pp. 325.

In this little work, Archbishop Trench discusses, successively, the English language "as a composite language,"—in which he treats of the varied origin of our words,—“as it might have been,” had it not been for distracting elements; the “gains of the language” from various in-coming currents, whether from conquests or colonies, or other sources; the “diminutions of the language;” the “changes in the meaning of words;” and the “changes in the spelling of words.”

In the pages of this little volume, how much careful and patient study has stored its invaluable results; and from thence, how much may be learned, concerning our own mother tongue, which is important and useful to every one? Presenting its interesting facts in language which adds to their original charms, it is one of the most agreeable books, for those who think, which we have recently seen; and it is also, as we have said, exceedingly useful.

It is a very neat little affair, from the press of Spottiswood & Co., of London, although it bears the imprint of a New York house.

83.—*The Spanish Conquest in America, and its relations to the History of Slavery and to the Government of the Colonies.* By Arthur Helps. Vol. IV. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868. Duodecimo, 1 p.

This is the last of a series, of which, having seen no other volume, we can judge only from the contents of this. It embraces Books on the feud between the Pizarros and Almagros, in Peru; on “the New Laws;” on the reconquest of Peru by Gasei; on the Protectors of the Indians; with a General Survey of Span-



ish Colonization in America; and is illustrated with maps.

We have been much pleased with the style of this work, although we cannot say that we see the propriety of introducing one of the maps in *two* different places in the volume, another in *three* places, another in *five* places, and a fourth in *ten* different places.

There is an admirable Index to the work; and to those who are interested in the subject of the Colonization by the Spaniards, this volume must prove very interesting.

84.—*Early times in Raleigh.* Addresses delivered by the Hon. David L. Swain, LL.D., at the dedication of Tucker Hall, and on the occasion of the completion of the monument to Jacob Johnson; with Maps of the City of Raleigh, for the years 1792, 1834, and 1847. Compiled by R. S. Tucker. Raleigh: Walters, Hughes, & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 41, 21, xi.

These *Addresses* are important as matters of local interest, but for nothing else. They are formed by throwing together, without method, a number of disconnected facts concerning Raleigh, North Carolina, and various prominent individuals; and the whole reflects very little credit on the method of the President of an University. The facts, however, are not less important because of the imperfection of their setting; and for this reason, as we said in the beginning, these *Addresses* are important.

85.—*Notes, critical, explanatory, and practical, on the Book of Psalms.* By Albert Barnes. In three volumes, Volume I. New York: Harper & Bros. 1863. Duodecimo, pp. xlvii, 374.

The venerable commentator presents in this work the fruit of the closing labors of a busy life; and much of it has been written under physical disadvantages which would have appalled a less courageous man.

The elaborate *Introduction* which precedes the Commentary, includes a series of Sections devoted to the title, the authors, the collection and arrangement, the superscriptions, the character, the imprecation, and the practical value of these Psalms, and to the qualifications for preparing a commentary on them; and each Psalm is separately preceded by an introduction in which the title, and the author of that Psalm, and the occasion of its composition, are discussed, and an analysis of its contents given.

There is not much opportunity, in the treatment of the *Psalms*, for the display of an Author's merely *doctrinal* ideas; and although Mr. Barnes is known to be a Presbyterian, entertaining not very strong notions of what is known as Calvinism, we find little, if anything, to which the most fastidious could positively object—the sin of omission being more apparent than that of commission.

The Comments are exceedingly thorough, embracing not only the Philosophy, but the structure of the compositions, the customs referred to therein, the history of the occasion which produced them, etc.; and, unless we refer to Gill's *Exposition*, we know of none which is so complete in all its parts. Whether used in the family or the school, in the study or the class, therefore, it must be exceedingly useful, and will, undoubtedly, command an extended sale.

86.—*Lake George and Lake Champlain, from their first Discovery to 1759.* By E. C. Butler. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 240.

The attraction of Lake George, as a place of fashionable summer resort, seem to rival those which, a century ago, led rival powers to send rival armies to the same neighborhood, to contend for the mastery of a continent; and the former, like the latter, has been productive of a peculiar class of literature.

In the volume before us, Mr. Butler has gone over the entire ground of the early history of Northern New-York; and although he has fallen into some errors, he is entitled to great respect, when the difficulty which he has experienced, in obtaining access to original and varied authorities, shall be taken into consideration—we regret, for instance, that the story of Stark's adventure, narrated on pages 142–3, has found a place in his pages; and that that concerning Sabbath-day point, on pages 205–6, should have been added without further investigation of its usefulness.

The Maps with which the volume is illustrated add to its value; and, as a "local," it possesses unusual interest to every collector.

The volume is a very neat one; and will, undoubtedly, command a large sale.

87.—*Lake George: Its Scenes and Characteristics, with Glimpses of the Olden Times.* To which is added some account of Ticonderoga, with a description of the route to Schroon Lake and the Adirondacks. With an Appendix, containing Notes on Lake Champlain. With Illustrations. By B. F. De Costa. New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 1868. 16mo., 181, xiv.

This handsome little volume differs from the last-named, in this: it ranges over the entire history instead of a portion of it; it is descriptive of the topography as well as the history of Lake George; it describes, also, the Adirondacks and Schroon Lake.

There are few who possess the industry and the patience in research that Mr. De Costa possesses; and he has learned the necessity for reading for one's-self, the original authorities on which all true History rests. His history, therefore, is the result of hard work, and is entitled to the respect of all who shall read it, even

when, as in Allen's case at Ticonderoga, he explodes the fictions of three generations.

As a "local," his volume is important to every collector; and the careful student will find in it much that he cannot overlook without disadvantage. As a hand-book, merely, it must be exceedingly useful to all who seek a refuge in that vicinity from the heat and turmoil of the city.

The typography is highly creditable to both the printer and the publisher.

88.—*The Military Services and Public Life of Major-general John Sullivan, of the American Revolutionary Army.* By Thomas C. Amory. Boston: Wiggen & Lunt. 1868. Octavo, pp. 324.

We are told, in the *Acts of the Apostles*, that while Saul of Tarsus was engaged in "breathing out threatenings and slaughter" against those of his countrymen who were better than himself, he was informed by God, in language which was well understood, that "it is hard to kick against the pricks" which the Truth interposed; and we fancy that Mr. Bancroft, who seems to be similarly engaged, will find out, before long, that what was said to Saul, eighteen hundred years ago, while that gentleman was journeying to Damascus, is equally applicable to himself. Besides Mr. Reed, Professor Greene, and Mr. Schuyler, Mr. Amory has introduced himself as a champion of injured merit—first in *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, in December, 1866; next, in a paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society, in the same month; and now, in the volume which the title-page is placed at the head of this article.

Our readers will bear us witness, that Mr. Bancroft's misrepresentation of the Truth have found no favor in our pages; and we intend, as our strength and opportunities shall permit, to expose other portions of that gentleman's untruths from time to time, in order, as far as we can secure it, that the truth of History may have fair play in the house of her professed friends. We shall only pay a passing attention to this volume at this time, therefore, and await an early opportunity to examine, more fully than we can in a mere Book-notice, the merit of the questions discussed by Mr. Amory, as contrasted with that of the statement, published by Mr. Bancroft, concerning General John Sullivan.

Mr. Amory opens his volume with a rapid sketch of John Sullivan; his early political career; his attack on Fort William and Mary; etc., until his entrance into the army; and he continues it, with little more detail, until the end of the public career of his distinguished kinsman. In no portion of his volume does he assume a belligerent attitude, even in opposition to Mr. Bancroft; but he carefully narrates, or allows the papers which he quotes to do so, the services and

character of General Sullivan, without even contrasting, unless very incidentally, the adverse averments and innuendoes of the historian whom he opposes. Indeed, were we to name one or two defects in the works which are greater than all others, in view of the recognized object of its publication, it would be this very hesitation to grapple with Mr. Bancroft's slanders and slanderous innuendoes; and what seems to be the tone of entreaty in which it is written, rather than what seems to be the more appropriate vigor of one who has the Truth on his side, in a conflict with falsehood.

But we must say no more, now, than that the narrative is calm, dignified, moderate in its claims, and admirably sustained by original papers of great importance. In many respects, therefore, it is a most valuable addition to our stock of materials for History, Constitutional as well as Military; and it must find a welcome from all who are interested in the great subject of American History.

The press of John Wilson & Son produced it; and that is a guarantee of its neatness and correctness.

89.—*The Human Intellect: with an Introduction upon Psychology and the Soul.* By Noah Porter, D. D. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1863. Octavo, pp. xxviii, 673. Price \$5.

This volume, which is one of the most elaborate treatises on Mental Science which we have examined for many years, is said to contain "the results of the life-long labors and study of its 'well-known author.'" It is certainly a most carefully prepared work, displaying, on every page, the most thorough reading and careful study of the subject, in all its varied branches.

It is so printed that it is equally adapted to the wants of the class-room and those of the study; and we have no doubt it will be welcomed by the learned few for whose particular use it was undoubtedly prepared.

90.—*Theatrical Management in the West and South, for thirty years.* Interspersed with anecdotal sketches: autobiographically given by Sol. Smith, Retired Actor. With fifteen illustrations and a portrait of the Author. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Octavo, pp. 276.

This is a very curiously constructed volume, embracing at once what seems to be a running historical sketch of the history of various Western and Southern theatres, "for thirty years," and a collection of amusing anecdotes, concerning actors, audiences, managers, etc.

As part of the history of the Stage in America, detailed by one who personally participated in the events referred to, this volume must be permanently useful; while its anecdotes will never fail to interest even the casual reader.

91.—*The New Testament History*. With an Introduction, connecting the history of the Old and New Testaments. Edited by William Smith, LL.D. With Maps and Woodcuts. New York: Harper & Bros. 1863. Duodecimo, pp. 760.

This is an addition to the already important series of "Student's Dictionaries," which the Publishers are placing before the country. Like the others, it is a compact hand-book of the subjects treated on; and the fullness and accuracy of its several articles will make it exceedingly acceptable to students and to general readers, of all classes.

It is composed of three distinct parts—the First containing a connection of the Old and New Testament Histories and a Secular History of the Jews to the destruction of Jerusalem; the Second containing a History of Jesus Christ; the Third containing a History of the Apostles—besides elaborate Appendices, Tables, etc.

It is very neatly printed; and its illustrations are appropriate and well-executed.

92.—*The Invasion of the Crimea*; its origin, and an account of its progress to the death of Lord Raglan. By Alexander William Kinglake. Volume II. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 632.

The great merit of this work has been recognized throughout both Europe and America; and the attractive style in which it is written serves to make it still more popular.

The volume before us extends from the Battle of Alma to the close of the Battle of Balaklava; and with all the charms of romance, but with all the solidity of history, the narrative of the stirring events of that period is remarkably well told. Mr. Kinglake's analysis of character is unusually close and fearless; and his reviews of the great military operations which he describes are among the finest specimens of military criticism which have passed under our notice. He is not, also, afraid to exhibit his authorities at the foot of his page; and his Appendices exhibit papers of rare value in support of his text.

Those who write concerning the military operations of our own armies might usefully study the mode adopted in this work; and the mere style may be studied, also, with great advantage, by all who assume to write History of any kind.

The work is neatly printed; and has a full supply of maps to illustrate the text.

93.—*Cape Cod and all along shore: Stories*. By Charles Nordhoff. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 235.

The "stories" of which this volume is composed have been published, already, in either *Harper's Magazine* or the *Atlantic*; and they are brought together, as the wide-awake Author tells his

"stupid reader"—most stupid, it may be, in attempting to re-read what, of this class of writings, he has read before—because the enterprising Publishers desired their collection and were willing to pay for it.

The contents are of light reading which serves to "kill time" when labor is irksome; and they will undoubtedly find many readers on the railroads and steamboats, at the summer retreats and the domestic firesides, throughout the country.

94.—*The Opium Habit, with Suggestions as to the Remedy*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 335.

The number of those, among us, who habitually use opium, in one or more of its poisonous forms, is said to be very great; and the mischief which it is said to be working, insidiously, is as lamentable in its character as it is wide in its extent.

This volume is addressed to that unfortunate class rather than to any other; and it deals in facts rather than theories. It tells of successful efforts by some who were victims of opium, to overcome the enemy by which they had been led captive; it tells of miseries endured and conquered by them; and it holds out a hope to others of that class, that the thralldom from which they escaped, may also be overcome by others. De Quincy, Coleridge, Blair, Robert Hall, William Wilberforce, John Randolph, and our friend Captain Lahrbush are referred to, as examples of this habit—with the last of these our readers are acquainted, through the interesting chapter of his *Reminiscences* with which we were favored, in the number for April, 1867.

The work is, therefore, a sadly important one to those for whom it has been written; and its interest, "for its cause," is increased by the extreme neatness of the style in which it had been issued.

95.—*Miscellaneous Prose Works*. By Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton. In two volumes. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. (I) 425; (II) 368.

In these volumes are published the first collected edition of Lord Lytton's miscellaneous criticisms and essays, embracing a great variety of subjects, and treated in different styles. The first contains criticisms written for the leading Reviews of Great Britain; the second is devoted to the essays written in the Author's early years—a third should be added in which the essays published in his maturer manhood would find places.

The character of Bulwer, as a writer, is so well known to our readers that we need not attempt to describe it; and his reputation and ability will undoubtedly secure for these volumes a wide circulation, among the more sober, well-read of our countrymen.



The volumes are neatly printed; and are creditable to the house which publishes them.

96.—*The Myths of the New World: a treatise on the Symbolism and Mythology of the Red Race of America.* By Daniel G. Brinton, M.D. New York: Leypoldt & Holt. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 307.

Our readers are not unacquainted with the learned author of this volume, as some of the results of his earnest labors have been introduced to the world in *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*; and, not unfrequently, his signature is still seen therein.

This volume is a work of rare interest to every one who is at all interested in ethnological enquiries; yet it commends itself also to the thoughtful of every class. Commencing with an inquiry concerning "natural religions," it proceeds to ascertain the peculiarities of the red race, as seen in its languages, its isolation, and its mode of life as a hunting race.

Chapters are devoted to "the idea of God" among the American Indians; to their sacred number, Four, its origin and applications; to the symbols of the bird and the serpent; to the myths of water, fire, and the thunder-storm; to the Supreme Gods of the red men; to the myths of the creation, the deluge, the epochs of nature, and the last day; to the origin of man; to the soul and its destiny; to the native priesthood; and to the influence of the native religions on the moral and social life of the Indian race.

It will be seen from this general glance at its contents that the volume before us is very complete in the range of its investigations; and, without concurring in all that the Author has advanced and protesting against what is either an unfortunate looseness of expression or a tinge of skepticism which runs through the volume, we are glad to commend it to the thoughtful, generally, as well as to the student of American history—especially important and interesting is it to every one who has the least interest in the Indian nations, their origin, or their destiny.

Doctor Brinton has written the work and expressed his ideas in a most admirable style; and the narrative is as attractive as a novel, although it is more than usually profound, and as carefully sustained by foot-notes, as a lawyer's brief.

Typographically, the volume is a very fine specimen of general book-making; and it reflects the highest credit on Messrs. Collins & Co., of Philadelphia, who printed it.

97.—*Letters on the Divine Trinity, addressed Henry Ward Beecher.* By B. F. Barrett. Philadelphia: J. B. Lipincott & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 160.

This is a Second edition of this little book, with some additions, changes, and improvements from the hand of the Author. So far as we know,

the first edition, published in 1860, has had no very extensive circulation; and never received the slightest notice from the distinguished personage to whom the letters are addressed. They certainly do not merit his contempt; and we venture to express a doubt whether he will find it convenient to observe even a dignified silence in regard to them. Nine years have worked a great change in the public mind, in reference to the religious and philosophic theories upon which these letters are based. From the handful of the followers of Swedenborg that could be found in the United States, in 1860, they have advanced to the number of perhaps fifteen or twenty thousand, including many of the foremost men of the time. If Mr. Beecher could, in 1860, say in the face of Unitarianism:

"I believe that there is a God the Father; I believe that there is a God the Son; and I believe that there is a God the Holy Ghost. I believe that these are three beings, with separate and distinct understandings, with separate and distinct conscience, with separate and distinct will. I believe that God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, have a personality so separate that, if the fact of Unity had not been announced, the whole world would have been obliged to regard them as their Gods; that is to believe in tritheism. I should believe in tritheism did I not find the simple statement in Scripture that these three personal Gods are one. I understand their three-fold personality as much as I understand the existence of three different friends. It is the unity of them that I do not understand."

He will find it difficult to say the same in the face of Swedenborgianism, in 1869, or even, we may add, in the face of Orthodoxy—Doctor Bushnell has met the assertion and has dealt it a death-blow from the stand-point of Orthodoxy. Mr. Barrett, from the clear and luminous philosophy of Swedenborg, has poured a flood of light upon the subject before which Mr. Beecher must shrink, not into silence, but into darkness, or he must meet it; for the world will surely read this book. A subject so vast, so vital, to every man who recognizes his immortality, cannot be overlooked; and when dealt with, so as, at the same time, to meet and stand the scrutiny of the severest processes of logic, while it satisfies the cravings of the heart, no armor of orthodoxy, though backed by all the Councils and Synods in Christendom, will enable the subtlest polemic to gainsay or withstand it. We look for Mr. Beecher's answer.

Many, from motives other than curiosity, look into his forthcoming book, to find either a vindication of his views, expressed nine years ago, or a renunciation of them. The one or the other is, we think, due to the readers of Barrett, Bushnell, and Beecher.

W.

98.—*Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*. Prepared by the Rev. John McClintock, D.D., and James Strong, S. T. D. Vol. II.—C.D. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1868. Octavo. pp. viii, 933. Price \$5.

We have not seen the first volume of this important work, in which the Editors probably detailed the plan of their work with greater precision than we can guess at it, but it seems to be intended to embrace *all* the topics of Ecclesiastical literature, including the History of Sects, Biography, Christian, and Jewish, and Heathen Antiquities, Doctrinal questions, Ceremonies, Natural History, Ecclesiastical Law, etc.

On all these various and interesting subjects, and on others of less importance, elaborate articles are prepared by writers of the highest standing in the Union, of various denominations; and these are illustrated with numerous Wood-cuts, of superior character, making the volume, at once, both valuable and attractive.

We have wandered over its pages and through various articles which we have supposed would present, more surely than any others, the quality of the work; and we have been most agreeably surprised at the completeness, the precision of statement, the candor, and the honest boldness which mark every article we have thus tested. Thus, the Campbellites are not considered as heretics and heathen, notwithstanding they reject all human Creeds and Confessions of Faith, and employ no such theological technicalities as "Trinity," "eternally-begotten," etc.; and Doctor Coke is not spared in his pilferings, without acknowledgment, from the Commentaries of the criminal, Doctor Dodd. The vexed question of Communion is honestly treated by presenting the arguments, on both sides, without comment on either; and the equally vexed question concerning the varied merits and demerits of the several Commentators is similarly met, by a generally fair analysis of the several works, without unnecessary comment on either.

Both for the library of the student and for that of the general reader, this work will possess great interest.

99.—*The Sectional Controversy; or, Passages in the Political History of the United States, including the Causes of the War, between the Sections, with certain results*. By William Channing Fowler, LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. xii, 388.

The first edition of this work appeared in 1862; and it was met with such a torrent of opposition by those who assumed to possess all the wisdom and all the patriotism in the United States, that our readers need not be told that it traced the origin and progress of the adverse elements, in the States and in the Federal authorities, which finally crowded the Republic into a Civil War and dragged it to the extreme verge of ruin.

In the volume before us, the learned and industrious Author has carried his inquiries through the eight years which have succeeded the limit of the former edition; and he has boldly grappled what he has conceived to be the usurpations of the Federal authorities, in their various raids on the States and the People. Whatever dissent there may be to Doctor Fowler's conclusions, no one can deny either the aptness or the authority of his evidence, the ability with which he has used it, or the respectful boldness with which he has met his opponents. He has certainly left nothing to inference; and we find no statement which has not been amply sustained.

As a hand-book of American Political History, the volume will not fail to be exceedingly useful; but the want of a good index is a drawback to the comfort of those who shall employ it.

100.—*Calamities and Quarrels of Authors; with some inquiries respecting their moral and literary characters, and Memoirs for our Literary History*. By Isaac Disraeli. Edited by his son, the Right Honorable B. Disraeli. In two volumes. New York: W. J. Widdleton. 1868. Crown octavo, pp. (I.) 349, (II.) 411.

*Literary Character; or the History of Men of Genius, Drawn from their own Feelings and Confessions. Literary Miscellanies; and an Inquiry into the Character of James the First*, by Isaac Disraeli. Edited by his son, the Right Honorable B. Disraeli. New York: W. J. Widdleton. 1868. Crown octavo, pp. 592. Price, the three volumes, \$5.

Some time since, we are informed, Mr. Widdleton published *The Curiosities of Literature* and the *Amenities of Literature*; and these, with the volumes before us, complete, in nine uniform volumes, the writings of the elder Disraeli, as edited by his distinguished son, recently the Premier of Great Britain.

These works have been so long before the public, and our readers are so well acquainted with their peculiar merits, that we need not enlarge on that portion of our subject; we have pleasure, however, in calling the attention of book-buyers to the fact that Mr. Widdleton has re-produced them, from the most approved edition, in uniform style, on tinted paper, and with great typographical beauty. With a large circle of readers, these volumes will find a most hearty welcome.

101.—*First Principles of Popular Education and Public Instruction*. By S. S. Randall. New York: Harper & Bro. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 256.

Our neighbor and friend, the Author of this work, employed his leisure during a recent vacation, in carrying through the press these well-considered conclusions concerning the education of the young.

Of course, Mr. Randall urges the necessity of a Universal and Free Education, under the control of the State; and he urges that on the old plea

that virtue and intelligence in the citizen form the safeguards of the Republic—he urges, also, the necessity of “constructing the work of education,” by the State, “upon the broad foundations of an assured conviction of the immortality of our existence, as sentient and intelligent beings, and of the truth of that Christian Revelation which has shed its clear and benignant light upon our path,” etc.

We are not insensible of the advantages which are offered to every one, in the city of New York and its vicinity—that, so called, sore-spot in the civilization of the State and of the Union—since much that we know was gathered in the schools of the old Public School Society, in that city, and our children now enjoy the same advantage in the Public Schools in this Town; but we have yet to learn that education *necessarily* leads to virtue in the man, or that education in the individual *necessarily* leads to political integrity in the citizen or the office-holder. On the contrary, we have noticed that perfect success in crime is attained only by means of education, as in Monroe Edwards's case; that the greatest success in political trickery is among those who are educated, as in the cases of Aaron Burr, and Fernando Wood, and Benjamin F. Butler; that those who are most willing to overthrow the State or the Union, when they cannot control either the one or the other, are such educated men as Caleb Strong and the members of the Hartford Convention, Thomas W. Dorr and Charles Sumner, Francis Lieber and Jefferson Davis. So, also, is the greatest apparent success in trade with those whose superior education enables them, most successfully to hoodwink their neighbors; and the greatest success at the bar is with those whose superior intelligence enables them most frequently to outwit their opponents. If it is true that the yeomanry of a State is its best safeguard, as nearly every one asserts, Mr. Randall's theory is as inaccurate in practice as we have shown it to be in theory; since of all the classes of which a State is composed, the burghers of the cities and the residents of the larger towns are invariably the best educated, and the farmers the worst; and the schools of the latter, but for the forced levies on the cities which are made for the purpose of supplying them with teachers, would, as a class, be a disgrace to even the slovenly neighborhoods in which they are situated.

No, Mr. Randall, the safety of a State depends upon the personal integrity of its members—that integrity which forbids wrong-doing, even when self-interest incites to it—and integrity in the person is not a creature of the Public Schools. You must seek elsewhere, therefore, for reasons for the plea; and you must tell us, also, what greater right the State enjoys, in this Quixotic search for a guarantee for the State's perpetuity, than it would

have in the establishment by law, and the support by general Tax, of Sunday-schools or Sunday worship—both of which are certainly more conducive to that public virtue than the Public Schools can pretend to be.

But Mr. Randall conceives that the *Christian* religion should be the foundation of the system. Why the *Christian* more than the *Jewish*? and if the former, which kind of *Christian*—the Protestant, or the Roman, or the Greek? Indeed, does not Mr. Randall, in this premise, assert the *necessity* of the union of religious with secular instruction, in order to secure the ends of a Free and Universal Education—the safety of the Republic? Such must be evident, yet what more did Archbishop Hughes assert, when he claimed that the system of Free and Universal Education, *by the State*, in which that union of the religious with the secular was nowhere seen in practice, was a fraud on the taxpayer and a cheat on the family and the student?

Under the system referred to, the city of New York and its vicinity, groaning already under burdens of taxes for their own matters and the education of their own children, are taxed considerably more than a million of dollars every year for the sole purpose of paying the school bills of the farmers in distant parts of the State—and those bills, too, which are incurred by, and for the exclusive benefits of, those who are far better able to pay than are the men, in this part of the State, who are taxed for that purpose. If the farmers of St. Lawrence or of Cattaraugus are satisfied to let their children go without education rather than to ride in an old-fashioned wagon to market or meeting, or to smoke a smaller number of cigars or chew a few less papers of tobacco, why should not *they* be either allowed to indulge their taste in that respect or be compelled by law to do differently? Why should the State step in and say to them “Never mind; I will make those in the distance pay these for you; and you need not trouble yourselves about it?”

Under the system advocated by Mr. Randall, also, in fact, although not in name, the State is made to become *officially* connected with a special Church—not a Jewish, nor a Unitarian, nor a Greek, nor a Chinese, but a *Christian* Church, based on the bible, as somebody understands that volume; but we do not know whether that “somebody” is to be a Roman Catholic or a Baptist, an Orthodox Quaker or an Episcopalian, a Scotch Presbyterian or a Wesleyan Methodist. Who does know, under the system referred to?

The truth is, notwithstanding our honored friend differs from us, the place to make virtuous citizens is the fireside and bedside of the family, rather than the crowded school-room of a Public-school; and the thoughtless or overburdened teacher of a hundred or thousand



scholars can no more take the place of a mother, in the infusion into the youthful minds of those scholars the precepts which tend to virtue and integrity in more mature years, than she can darn their rawnning stockings or patch their sarcastic trowsers. *Home*, and a *Mother's* precepts, and a *Father's* example, supported by the teachings of Religion, at the same fireside or bedside, by the same parents,—marshalled and encouraged, too, at the Sunday-school and in the Meeting-house,—are the only sources of that virtue which is necessary in a Republic: and the duty which God has imposed upon every Father and Mother and thrown upon every family-circle, cannot be shirked with impunity by them, nor be seized by the State, without disadvantage to each, as well as to the individual members of which each is composed.

We leave to others to inquire how much of the crime—open or secret—and how much of the political laxity, which disfigure every class of the State, are the results of a neglect, by parents, of the good old-fashioned duties which formerly devolved upon *them*, and made the homes and the firesides of the land, the nurseries of individual intelligence and integrity; and we also leave to others the determination of how much of that individual laxity among parents, and how much of that radical change which has taken place in the polity of families, are due to the impertinent and unwise interference, by the State, under the assumed plea of public duty, in what belonged wholly to the family and not in the least to the Commonwealth—we will not, although we might do so, say, also, that the reason for that interference in domestic matters, by the Commonwealth, may be traced either to those who had profitable situations in view, or to those, trained in the school of a soldier, at the public expense, who had not laid down their love of domination with the duty which they owed the hands which had reared and educated them.

But Mr. Randall is not wrong in all his details of education; and his *expose* of the "errors and defects" of the system which he advocates is eminently worthy of the serious attention of both educators and the Commonwealth. We know how practical a man the Author is, and we expected much from him, without being wholly disappointed—he probably could have said more of the "errors and defects" of the system, were he not now, as he has been, so long, a part and parcel of the system itself.

We should be glad to go over the entire volume and point out what we conceive to be its beauties and its defects, but we cannot afford the space which would be necessary. We leave the subject, therefore, to more favored hands.

The volume is a well-printed and neatly bound

specimen of book-making; and bears on its cover the appropriate monogram of the beneficent torch-bearer extending light where light does not now exist.

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102.—*David, the King of Israel*: a portrait drawn from Bible History and the Book of Psalms. By Frederic William Krummacher, D.D. Translated under the express sanction of the Author, by the Rev. M. G. Easton, M.A. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 518.

The venerable author of *Elijah, the Tishbite*, is so well and so favorably known to the American reading public, that this work will be welcomed from one end of the country to the other.

In this volume, Doctor Krummacher traces the history and character of David and of the kingdom of Israel with great minuteness; and he scatters over his narrative, here and there, without disturbing the harmony of the whole, various reflections of a general character which will be peculiarly welcome to the great body of his readers.

The volume is illustrated with a portrait and is very handsomely printed.

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103.—*An Introduction to the Constitutional Law of the United States*. Especially designed for Students, General and Professional. By John Norton Pomeroy, LL.D. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1868. Octavo, pp. xxv, 549.

From the beginning of the Revolution until now, there have been two leading classes into which the inhabitants of what are now the United States have been divided; and between these there has been an unceasing conflict. Composed of those who have resisted the efforts which have been steadily exercised, to withdraw from "the governed" and concentrate in "the Government," not only the exercise of the powers of sovereignty but the sovereignty itself, the first of these parties sturdily resisted the schemes of Granville and those of Lord North, as well as those of John Jay and Robert Morris; and, on the fourth of July, 1776, it seized and transferred to the several States, then newly-formed, the prerogatives of Majesty, where, in law, they still remain: the second, composed of the monarchists of America, steadily resisted the progress of Independence and as sturdily insisted on man's incapacity for self-government. The necessity of Rulers and Governments, in which should be centralized, not merely the delegated authority, as agents of "The People," to administer the Government, which was the extent of their power, but the original authority, as Sovereign, *de facto*, with all the powers with which "The People" itself, as expressed by the major will of the Commonwealth, could properly be clothed, has steadily been the lesson which this party has inculcated and as steadily sought to establish. These two—the friends and the oppo-

nents of the individual manhood of man—have struggled for the mastery, generation after generation; and, as extravagance and vice have gradually undermined the Republic, those who have favored the idea of classes among “the People” and powers in the Government which “the People” can not control, have as steadily increased.

Knowing the impossibility of overthrowing the Republic, *as it was founded*, by direct assaults, the latter party has steadily approached it, indirectly,—sometimes, it is true, with terrible overthrows, but generally with a slow and certain success. Thus, we have had “constructions” placed on the Constitution, by Chief-justices, which were as much usurpations as were Cromwell’s soldiers in the House of Commons; anxious politicians, eager only for plunder, have given dignity to “incidental powers” and made them superior to the great powers which had been expressly withheld; ambitious soldiers have undertaken to disregard everything except their own ideas of propriety, by assuming to dictate to legislators, the judiciary, and the executives of States, and, not unfrequently, to usurp even the prerogatives of “The People” itself, by dispensing with the Ballot-box, in the designation of those who should administer the affairs of Commonwealths. The Congress have seized the power to create “Banks of Issue,” from which “money” has been poured over the country, faster than from the Federal mints; debts, payable in gold and silver, have been repudiated, and paper substituted; promissory notes have been issued *with intent to be dishonored*, yet with accompanying edicts enforcing their circulation among an unwilling “People,” on pain of forfeiture of indebtedness; the bench has been prostituted, the executive disgraced, the country made contemptible—all, “incidentally,” according to law.

But there have been other means employed than those to which we have referred, for the overthrow of the Republic and the substitution, instead, of a centralized, consolidated Aristocracy. One of these has been the pollution of our literature by an insidious substitution of what has been known to be false for what was known to be disagreeably true. This has been done by writers of all grades, from miserable penny-aliners to dignified LL.D.s; and children’s school-books and scholars’ text-books have been the field of these worse than Jesuitical operations.

In the volume before us, for instance, Doctor Pomeroy undertakes to talk of “Sovereignty” and “the Sovereign,” of a “State” and a “Nation,” without telling his readers either what is the true meaning of either of these terms or in what sense he uses them. He is, therefore, enabled to shift their meaning to suit the occa-

sion of the moment; and we have thus a text-book, by a Dean of a Law-school, in which there are no fixed definitions for the technical terms which are presented to its readers. The effect of this is seen by a circumspect reader, without much trouble. On page 8, while controverting Austin’s idea that in the United States there is no Sovereign, because a Sovereign cannot be compelled by law, while, here, the Law nominally controls all, Doctor Pomeroy says, truly, “if ‘the People, in whose name these commands are ‘assumed to be uttered, be not the Sovereign, ‘we have none;’ yet, on pages 38 and 39 he makes the aggregate “United States” the Sovereign. Indeed, so steadily and certainly has he pursued his course of misrepresentation, that while he referred to the *Declaration of Independence* (pages 36-38) he did not hesitate to falsify the record in order to establish a theory; and to tell us that, if he had told the truth, he saw “no escape from the extreme positions ‘reached by Mr. Calhoun.’ Had he read the *Declaration of Independence*, as it was written and signed, and the Treaties with France, Holland, Great Britain, etc., as they were signed, and *told the truth* concerning their contents, he would have occupied a very different position from that which he now occupies—whether or not it would have been that occupied by Mr. Calhoun, we do not pretend to know.

The truth is, Doctor Pomeroy had a theory to sustain when he set out to write this book; and he evidently cared nothing about the cost, so long as he succeeded in sustaining that theory. History and law were pushed into the service and then pressed into the moulds which Doctor Pomeroy had made for them—how much, when they left his hands, they looked like the History and the Law which rest only on the authorities, the reader may judge. The Doctor has thus accomplished his purpose. His theory has been sustained in an octavo of five or six hundred pages, but as quietly and as smoothly as he placed before his readers matter which, because it is calculated to lead them into error, is most pernicious in its character.

The volume is a handsome one; and will undoubtedly be welcomed by those in whose especial interest it has evidently been written.

104.—*Vermont Historical Gazetteer*: a magazine embracing a digest of the history of each Town, Civil, Educational, Religious, Genealogical, and Literary. Edited by Abby Maria Heminway. Burlington: Miss A. M. Heminway. *Sine anno*. Octavo, pp. 615-1196. Price \$2.50.

Some years since, we purchased the first number of a new work, by a lady, which arrested our attention because of the novelty of its construction and what seemed to be its remarkable completeness.

It was a collection of separate Town Histories, to be grouped by Counties, forming, when complete, a new History of Vermont. Such a feature would have been, in itself, attractive to a careful student of history; but the novelty was increased by the promise that these several Town Histories should be written by those who, by reason of their studies or facilities to obtain material, were best qualified to perform the duty, in a proper manner.

That specimen number was well done. It was written by a score of competent pens, with minor contributions from three or four times as many others; but we feared that the promise was too good to be completely realized, and the proposed work too full of promised usefulness to be appreciated by a thoughtless and superficial generation. We subsequently met with and purchased the two or three succeeding numbers; and while they were monuments commemorative of Miss Hemmaway's untiring industry and excellent judgment, they were, also, indicators to us that they were too good to be profitable, although they were not too good to be extremely useful and valuable.

The thick volume before us contains Numbers VII—XI, of Volume I. of the work, completing it; and—shame on Vermont!—we learn that the busy bee through whose industry it has been given to the world, is now lamenting that she is crippled in her labors because she is not properly and sufficiently sustained—indeed, she says the material for the next volume is in her hands, complete, but—*she needs more subscribers in order that she may pay her printer.*

The work, as we have said, is as peculiar in its construction as it is unusually complete and accurate in its details. As one pen cannot be expected to do well, what a hundred pens can only do tolerably, with much patient labor and a great variety of material, the work of the one hundred, concentrated, as it has been in this work, must necessarily be more complete and more accurate than it would have been if only one had done it. Thus: among the contributors to this volume we find the names of Hon. Samuel Swift, (author of the *History of Middlebury*) E. C. Wines, LL.D., Rev. Doctors Linsley, Olin, Merrill, Haddock, Hicks, de Goesbriand (Bishop of Burlington) Hopkins (Bishop of Vermont) etc.; John M. Weeks (author of *History of Salisbury*) Rev. J. F. Goodhue (author of the *History of Shoreham*) Hon. Hiram Hall; Hon. Erastus Fairbanks; Hon. David Read; Professors Clark and G. W. Benedict; Zadoc Thompson (author of *History of Vermont*); Henry Stevens; George F. Houghton; Hon. D. A. Smealley; President Wheeler; Rev. Pliny H. White; etc.; and it needs no scholarship to ascertain that the combined efforts of these and a hundred others,

less widely known, must have produced a better article than it would have been possible for any one person to have done.

We earnestly hope, therefore, that a generous list may be raised for this important work; and we hope, also, that it will be supported not only by Vermonters, but by scholars and collectors throughout the country.

105.—*Norwood: or Village Life in New England.* By Henry Ward Beecher. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 549. Price \$1.50.

The Pastor of the Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, has written a story which has run through the *Ledger* and returned, as it should, an ample reward for Mr. Bonner's outlay; and Scribner & Co. have collected the pieces, brought them out in book form, entered the market with this second-hand article, and, as they ought, are making money by the operation.

The volume before us contains the story in its new form; and we note it for the benefit of those whom it may concern.

106.—*The History of a Mouthful of Bread; and its effect on the Organization of Men and Animals.* By Jean Macé. Translated from the eighth French edition, by Mrs. Alfred Gatty. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 399. Price \$1.75.

*The Servants of the Stomach.* By Jean Macé. Reprinted from the London translation, revised and corrected. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 311. Price \$1.75.

These works are truly marvellous instances of the success which sometimes rewards the labor of those who attempt to simplify the most abstruse subjects and reduce them to the understanding of children.

In the first-named volume, M. Macé has addressed a little girl concerning the life and nature of men and animals. Of the former, he treats of the hand, tongue, teeth, stomach, liver, etc.; of the latter, the various classes are described. The mode of imparting this very important information is conversational, as best adapted for its purposes; and every child of ordinary intelligence will understand the lessons which are taught.

The second of the series, treats also of man—his bones, marrow, joints, vertebral column, head and chest, arms and legs, muscles, etc.—and the mode of treatment is exactly like that spoken of before.

These works should find a place in every family library.

107.—*Harper's Phrase-book; or Hand-book of Travel,* both for travellers and schools. Being a guide to conversations in English, French, German, and Italian, on a new and improved method. By W. Pembroke Petridge. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. 16 mo. pp. 309.

This is a very neat small quarto, bound in limp



muslin, and contains a very complete exhibit of the ordinary phrases of conversation, in four different languages.

It must become very popular, since it is evidently a very useful little volume; and we can very readily understand why those who are about to go among strangers, whose mother-tongue is different from their own, will find it quite indispensable.

108.—*The Court Sermon*: 1674. Supposed to have been written by Gilbert Burnett, Bishop of Salisbury. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1868. Small quarto, pp. viii, 54. Price \$2.00.

Several years since, Mr. Clarke obtained a manuscript sermon from London. It had been advertised as a "MS. Court Sermon, 1674;" but it was without the author's name, although it was signed, "G<sup>t</sup> BURNETT," and bore the date "*September the 10th, 1674.*"

Mr. Clarke, in the "Prefatory," discusses the question of authorship, in which it is stated that the handwriting is not that of Bishop Burnett—which is explained by a passage in the Sermon itself, in which it is said that it is "a faire copie" made for presentation by a "clerk;" and that it had not been read nor revised by the author. It is said, that the Sermon was not delivered as was expected; and it is said, also, that there are indications, within the Sermon, in its allusions to the author, that Burnett was not its author.

Apart from the question of authorship, it is a quaint production, and is interesting as a specimen of the Sermons of the period; but we are not called upon to examine the disputed subject, and we cannot, therefore, enter on it.

The typography is very beautiful; and the edition was only a hundred and fifty copies.

109.—*The Old World in its new face. Impressions of Europe, in 1867-1868.* By H. W. Bellows. In two volumes. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. (L) 454; (II) 528.

The Rev. Doctor Bellows, in the letters which he wrote from Europe, has exacted honors from those who, before, were not wont to bestow any. We never saw him, would not know him were we to meet him, and have hitherto cared as little about him as about any other stranger; but we have risen from the reading of these letters with so much clearer views concerning many of the subjects of which they treat, with so much admiration of the evident candor of the writer, and with so little with which we are discontented, that we have learned to consider him almost as a personal friend.

France, Switzerland, Italy, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Turkey, Greece, Belgium, Holland, and Germany, in their social as well as in their re-

ligious character, their cities, their peoples, their schools, their artists and scholars, their churches, their inhabitants, all receive careful and candid attention; and they are minutely described in these letters, by a careful and honest observer.

The work is very beautifully printed; and we shall look for the second volume with much interest.

110.—*Sabin & Sons' American Bibliopolist. A Literary Register and Monthly Catalogue of Old and New Books, and Repository of Notes and Queries.* Vol. I. No. 1. New York, January, 1869. Octavo, pp. 40.

A new competitor for the honors and profits of the *Publishers' Circular*, issued by the widely known Joseph Sabin & Sons, Booksellers, in New York.

It opens with an ill-natured and very small attack on an Auctioneer's Catalogue, which, probably for the purpose of saving expense, the senior member of the firm of Sabin & Sons had *not* been employed to make up for the press. Mr. Sabin should have remembered that his services, in making catalogues, cost something—as all good articles do—and he could have very well afforded to be generous in his criticism of those who evidently had no other end in view than to serve a neighbor, without fee and without reward, as best they could, even if, in doing so, they had not equalled "J. S.," either in making their annotations or parading their names on the title page.

The second article is a narrative of a sale, in April last, in which "the editor of this journal" was both auctioneer and bidder, and it is difficult to determine, from the narrative itself, whether the exact object of its author was to describe the sale or to puff the salesman. Whatever it may have been, the salesman gets the greater share of space; and the reader knows less of the books which were sold, and the prices they brought, "than of J. S." and of his superior abilities, when pitted against the venerable and astute William Gowans.

A well-written and judicious article on "LIMITED EDITIONS," closes the literary contents; but the contrast between this and the two articles which precede it, makes it the more conspicuous.

Lists of books published in November; of books recently published in Europe; and of books for sale by the publishers, follow; and a number of advertisements close the number.

It is neatly printed; and, exclusive of the exceeding bad taste of the Editor, in his first two articles, it is worthy of a place on any collector's table.

A number of Book Notices which we had prepared for this number are necessarily laid over for the next.

THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. V. SECOND SERIES.]

FEBRUARY, 1869.

[No. 2.

I.—GENERAL LEE'S FINAL REPORT OF  
THE PENNSYLVANIA CAMPAIGN,  
AND BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, NOW  
FIRST PRINTED.

COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM SWINTON, ESQ.

[MY DEAR DAWSON:

I send you herewith for publication, General R. E. Lee's official Report of the invasion of Pennsylvania and the battle of Gettysburg; and shall take occasion, at a future day, to follow it up with a paper by way of comment and elucidation.

This document I regard as quite the most important and interesting in my collection of unpublished manuscripts relating to the history of the late war. It was obtained by me, from a source not necessary to be mentioned here, soon after the close of the war, while in Virginia gathering material for my *Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac*. It was General Lee's habit to make public brief preliminary Reports of his military operations, as soon as possible after their occurrence, and afterwards follow them up by carefully-prepared and elaborate Reports, designed for permanent places in the archives of the war. Such a brief preliminary account of the invasion of Pennsylvania and battle of Gettysburg, was published by General Lee, soon after the return of the ill-starred Campaign of the Summer of 1863; and it is this paper which appears in our existing collection of historical documents. It is quite meagre and incomplete.

The present document is Lee's full and final Report of this great Campaign. It was prepared by the Confederate commander, during his leisure moments, in the Winter of 1864-5, while besieged by Grant, within the lines of Petersburg. I believe it was never even forwarded to the War-office at Richmond; and happened to be preserved from the destruction that befell all of Lee's Headquarters' papers, while on the retreat from Petersburg, simply from the fact that it chanced to be on the person of one of his staff officers.

WILLIAM SWINTON.]

I have the honor to submit a detailed Report of the operations of this Army, from the time it left the vicinity of Fredericksburg, early in June, to its occupation of the line of the Rapidan, in August.

Upon the retreat of the Federal Army commanded by Major-general Hooker, from Chancellorsville, it occupied the ground North of the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg, where it could not be attacked except at a disadvantage.

It was determined to draw it from this position and, if practicable, transfer the scene of hostilities beyond the Potomac. The execution of this purpose also embraced the expulsion of the force, under General Milroy, which had infested the lower Shenandoah Valley during the preceding Winter and Spring. If unable to attain the

valuable results which might be expected to follow a decided advantage gained over the enemy in Maryland or Pennsylvania, it was hoped that we should, at least, so far disturb his plans for the Summer Campaign, as to prevent its execution during the season of active operations.

The commands of Longstreet and Ewell were put in motion, and encamped around Culpeper Court-house, on the seventh of June. As soon as their march was discovered by the enemy, he threw a force across the Rappahannock, about two miles below Fredericksburg, apparently for the purpose of observation. Hill's Corps was left to watch these troops, with instructions to follow the movements of the Army, as soon as they should retire.

The Cavalry, under General Stuart, which had been concentrated near Culpeper Court-house, was attacked on the ninth of June, by a large force of Federal Cavalry, supported by Infantry, which crossed the Rappahannock at Beverly's and Kelley's Fords. After a severe engagement, which continued from early in the morning till late in the afternoon, the enemy was compelled to re-cross the river with heavy loss, leaving about five hundred prisoners, three pieces of artillery, and several colors, in our hands.

General Imboden and General Jenkins had been ordered to coöperate in the projected expedition into the Valley: General Imboden, by moving towards Romney with his command, to prevent the troops guarding the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from reinforcing those at Winchester; while General Jenkins advanced directly to the latter place, with his Cavalry Brigade, supported by a Battalion of Infantry and a Battery of the Maryland line.

General Ewell left Culpeper Court-house on the tenth of June. He crossed the branches of the Shenandoah near Front Royal, and reached Cedarville, on the twelfth, where he was joined by General Jenkins. Detaching General Rodes, with his Division and the greater part of Jenkins's Brigade, to dislodge a force of the enemy stationed at Berryville, General Ewell, with the rest of his command, moved upon Winchester—Johnson's Division advancing by the Front Royal road; and Early's by the Valley turnpike, which it entered at

Newtown, where it was joined by the Maryland troops.

#### BATTLE OF WINCHESTER.

The enemy was driven in on both roads, and our troops halted in line of battle, near the town, on the evening of the thirteenth. The same day, the force which had occupied Berryville retreated to Winchester, on the approach of General Rodes.

The following morning, General Ewell ordered General Early to carry an entrenched position North-west of Winchester, near the Newtown road, which, the latter officer, upon examining the ground, discovered, would command the principal fortifications.

To cover the movement of General Early, General Johnson took position between the road to Millwood and that to Berryville, and advanced his skirmishers toward the town. General Early, leaving a portion of his command to engage the enemy's attention, with the remainder gained a favorable position without being perceived; and, about 5 P. M., twenty pieces of artillery, under Lieutenant-colonel H. P. Jones, opened suddenly upon the entrenchments. The enemy's guns were soon silenced. Hays's Brigade then advanced to the assault, and carried the works by storm, capturing six rifled pieces, two of which were turned upon and dispersed a column which was forming to retake the position. The enemy immediately abandoned the works on the left of those taken by Hays, and retired into his main line of fortifications, which General Early prepared to assail in the morning. The loss of the advanced works, however, rendered the others untenable; and the enemy retreated in the night, abandoning his sick and wounded, together with his artillery, wagons, and stores. Anticipating such a movement, as soon as he heard of Early's success, General Ewell ordered General Johnson to occupy, with part of his command, a point on the Martinsburg road, about two and a half miles from Winchester, where he could either intercept the enemy's retreat, or aid in an attack, should further resistance be offered in the morning. General Johnson marched with Nicholl's, and part of Stewart's Brigades, accompanied by Lieutenant-colonel Andrews with a detachment of his Artillery; the Stonewall Brigade being ordered to follow. Finding the road to the place indicated by General Ewell, difficult of passage in the darkness, General Johnson pursued that leading by Jordan's Springs to Stephenson's Depot, where he took a favorable position on the Martinsburg road, about five miles from Winchester. Just as his line was formed, the retreating column, consisting of the main body of General Milroy's Army, arrived and immediately attacked

him. The enemy, though in superior force, consisting of both Infantry and Cavalry, was gallantly repulsed; and finding all efforts to cut his way unavailing, he sent strong flanking-parties simultaneously to the right and left, still keeping up a heavy fire in front. The party on the right was driven back and pursued by the Stonewall Brigade, which opportunely arrived. That on the left was broken and dispersed by the Second and Tenth Louisiana Regiments, aided by the Artillery; and, in a short time, nearly the whole Infantry force, amounting to more than twenty-three hundred men, with eleven stand of colors, surrendered, the Cavalry alone escaping. General Milroy, with a small party of fugitives, fled to Harper's Ferry.

The number of prisoners taken in this action exceeded the force under General Johnson, who speaks in terms of well-deserved praise of the conduct of the officers and men of his command.

In the meantime, General Rodes marched from Berryville to Martinsburg, reaching the latter place on the afternoon of the fourteenth. The enemy made a show of resistance, but soon gave way; the Cavalry and Artillery retreating towards Williamsport, and the Infantry towards Sheperdstown, under cover of night. The route taken by the latter was not known, until it was too late to follow; but the former were pursued so rapidly, Jenkins's troops leading, that they were forced to abandon five of their six pieces of artillery. About two hundred prisoners were taken; but the enemy destroyed most of his stores.

These operations resulted in the expulsion of the enemy from the Valley, the capture of four thousand prisoners, with a corresponding number of small arms, twenty-eight pieces of superior artillery, including those taken by General Rodes and General Hays, about three hundred wagons and as many horses, together with a considerable quantity of Ordnance, Commissary, and Quartermaster's stores.

Our entire loss was forty-seven killed, two hundred and nineteen wounded, and three missing.

#### MARCH INTO PENNSYLVANIA.

On the night of Ewell's appearance at Winchester, the enemy in front of A. P. Hill's, at Fredericksburg, recrossed the Rappahannock; and the whole army of General Hooker withdrew from the North side of the river. In order to mislead him as to our intentions, and, at the same time, protect Hill's Corps in its march up the Rappahannock, Longstreet left Culpeper Court-house, on the fifteenth, and, advancing along the eastern side of the Blue Ridge, occupied Ashby's and Snicker's Gaps. He had been joined while at Culpeper, by General Pickett, with three Brigades of his Division.

General Stuart, with three Brigades of Cavalry,



moved on Longstreet's right, and took position in front of the Gap.

Hampton's and Jones's Brigades remained along the Rappahannock and Hazel rivers, in front of Culpeper Court-house, with instructions to follow the main body as soon as Hill's Corps had passed that point.

On the seventeenth, Fitz Lee's Brigade, under Colonel Munford, which was on the road to Snicker's Gap, was attacked, near Aldie, by the Federal Cavalry. The attack was repulsed with loss; and the Brigade held its ground until ordered to fall back, its right being threatened by another body coming from Hopewell, towards Middleburg. The latter force was driven from Middleburg and pursued towards Hopewell by Robertson's Brigade, which arrived about dark. Its retreat was intercepted by W. H. F. Lee's Brigade, under Colonel Chambliss; and the greater part of a Regiment captured.

During the three succeeding days, there was much skirmishing, General Stuart taking a position West of Middleburg, where he awaited the rest of his command. General Jones arrived on the nineteenth, and General Hampton in the afternoon of the following day, having repulsed, on his march, a Cavalry force sent to reconnoitre in the direction of Warrenton. On the twenty-first, the enemy attacked, with Infantry and Cavalry, and obliged General Stuart, after a brave resistance, to fall back to the Gaps of the mountains. The enemy retired the next day, having advanced only a short distance beyond Upperville.

In these engagements, the Cavalry sustained a loss of five hundred and ten, killed, wounded, and missing. Among them were several valuable officers whose names are mentioned in General Stuart's Report. One piece of artillery was disabled and left on the field.

The enemy's loss was heavy; about four hundred prisoners were taken, and several stand of colors.

The Federal Army was apparently guarding the approaches to Washington, and manifested no disposition to assume the offensive. In the meantime, the progress of Ewell, who was already in Maryland, with Jenkins's Cavalry advanced into Pennsylvania as far as Chambersburg, rendered it necessary that the rest of the Army should be within supporting distance; and, Hill having reached the Valley, Longstreet was withdrawn to the West side of the Shenandoah; and the two Corps encamped near Berryville.

General Stuart was directed to hold the mountain passes with part of his command, as long as the enemy remained South of the Potomac; and, with the remainder, to cross into Maryland and place himself on the right of General Ewell. Upon the suggestion of the former

officer, that he could damage the enemy and delay his passage of the River by getting in his rear, he was authorized to do so; and it was left to his discretion, whether to enter Maryland, East or West of the Blue Ridge; but he was instructed to lose no time in placing his command on the right of our column, as soon as he should perceive the enemy moving northward.

On the twenty-second, General Ewell marched into Pennsylvania, with Rodes's and Johnson's Divisions preceded by Jenkins's Cavalry, taking the road from Hagerstown, through Chambersburg, to Carlisle, where he arrived on the twenty-seventh. Early's Division, which had occupied Boonsboro, moved by a parallel road to Greenwood, and, in pursuance of instructions previously given to General Ewell, marched towards York. On the twenty-fourth, Longstreet and Hill were put in motion to follow Ewell, and, on the twenty-seventh, encamped near Chambersburg.

General Imboden, under the orders before referred to, had been operating on Ewell's left while the latter was advancing into Maryland. He drove off the troops guarding the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and destroyed all the important bridges, on that route, from Martinsburg to Cumberland, besides inflicting serious damages upon the Chesapeake and Ohio canal. He was at Hancock, when Longstreet and Hill reached Chambersburg, and was directed to proceed to the latter place, by way of McCannellsburg, collecting supplies for the Army on his route.

The Cavalry force at this time with the Army, consisting of Jenkins's Brigade and White's Battalion, was not greater than was required to accompany the advance of General Ewell and General Early, with whom it performed valuable service, as appears from their Reports. It was expected that, as soon as the Federal Army should cross the Potomac, General Stuart would give notice of its movements; and nothing having been heard from him since our entrance into Maryland, it was inferred that the enemy had not yet left Virginia. Orders were therefore issued to move upon Harrisburg. The expedition of General Early to York was designed, in part, to prepare for this undertaking, by breaking the railroad between Baltimore and Harrisburg, and seizing the bridges over the Susquehanna at Wrightsville. General Early succeeded in the first object, destroying a number of bridges above and below York; but, on the approach of the troops sent by him to Wrightsville, a body of militia stationed at that place, fled across the river and burnt the bridge in their retreat. General Early then marched to rejoin his Corps. The advance against Harrisburg was arrested by intelligence received from a scout, on the night of the twenty-eighth, to

the effect that the Army of General Hooker had crossed the Potomac and was approaching the South Mountains. In the absence of the Cavalry, it was impossible to ascertain his intentions; but, to deter him from advancing further West and intercepting our communications from Virginia, it was determined to concentrate the Army, East of the mountains.

#### BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

Hill's Corps was accordingly ordered to move towards Cashtown, on the twenty-ninth, and Longstreet to follow the next day, leaving Pickett's Division at Chambersburg, to guard the rear until relieved by Imboden.

General Ewell was recalled from Carlisle, and directed to join the Army at Cashtown or Gettysburg, as circumstances might require.

The advance of the enemy to the latter place was unknown; and the weather being inclement, the march was conducted with a view to the comfort of the troops.

Heth's Division reached Cashtown on the twenty-ninth; and, the following morning, Pettigrew's Brigade, sent by General Heth to procure supplies at Gettysburg, found it occupied by the enemy. Being ignorant of the extent of his force, General Pettigrew was unwilling to hazard an attack with his single Brigade; and returned to Cashtown. General Hill arrived with Pender's Division in the evening; and, the following morning, the first of July, he advanced with these two Divisions, accompanied by Pegram's and McIntosh's Battalions of Artillery, to ascertain the strength of the enemy, whose force was supposed to consist chiefly of Cavalry.

The leading Division, under General Heth, found the enemy's videttes about three miles West of Gettysburg, and continued to advance until within a mile of the town, when two Brigades were sent forward to reconnoitre. They drove in the advance of the enemy, very gallantly, but subsequently encountered largely superior numbers and were compelled to retire with loss, Brigadier-general Archer, commanding one of the Brigades, being taken prisoner.

General Heth then prepared for action, and, as soon as Pender arrived to support him, was ordered by General Hill to advance. The artillery was placed in position and the engagement opened with vigor. General Heth pressed the enemy steadily back, breaking his first and second lines, and attacking his third with great resolution. About half-past two, in the afternoon, the advance of Ewell's Corps, consisting of Rodes's Division, with Carter's Battalion of Artillery, arrived by the Middletown road, and forming on Heth's left, nearly at right angles with his line, became warmly engaged with fresh numbers of the enemy. Heth's troops having suffered heavily in their pro-

tracted contest with a superior force, were relieved by Pender's; and Early coming up by the Heidlersburg road, soon afterwards took position on the left of Rodes, when a general advance was made. The enemy gave way on all sides, and were driven through Gettysburg with great loss. Major-general Reynolds, who was in command, was killed. More than five thousand prisoners, exclusive of a large number of wounded, three pieces of artillery, and several colors were captured. Among the prisoners were two Brigadier-generals, one of whom was badly wounded.

Our own loss was heavy, including a number of officers, among whom were Major-general Heth, slightly, and Brigadier-general Scales, of Pender's Division, severely, wounded.

The enemy retired to a range of hills South of Gettysburg, where he displayed a strong force of Infantry and Artillery.

It was ascertained from the prisoners, that we had been engaged with two Corps of the Army formerly commanded by General Hooker; and that the remainder of that Army, under General Meade, was approaching Gettysburg. Without information as to its proximity, the strong position which the enemy had assumed could not be attacked without danger of exposing the four Divisions present, already weakened and exhausted by a long and bloody struggle, to overwhelming numbers of fresh troops.

General Ewell was therefore instructed to carry the hill occupied by the enemy, if he found it practicable, but to avoid a general engagement, until the arrival of the other Divisions of the Army which were ordered to hasten forward. He decided to await Johnson's Division, which had marched from Carlisle by the road West of the mountains, to guard the trains of his Corps; and consequently did not reach Gettysburg, until a late hour. In the meantime, the enemy occupied the point which General Ewell designed to seize; but in what force could not be ascertained, owing to the darkness. An intercepted dispatch showed that another Corps had halted that afternoon, four miles from Gettysburg. Under these circumstances, it was decided not to attack until the arrival of Longstreet, two of whose Divisions, those of Hood and McLaws, encamped about four miles in rear during the night. Anderson's Division of Hill's Corps came up after the engagement.

It had not been intended to deliver a general battle so far from our base unless attacked; but, coming unexpectedly upon the whole Federal Army, to withdraw through the mountains, with our extensive trains, would have been difficult and dangerous. At the same time, we were unable to await an attack, as the country was unfavorable for collecting supplies in the presence of the enemy, who could restrain our foraging

parties by holding the mountain-passes with local and other troops. A battle had, therefore, become in a measure unavoidable; and the success already gained gave hope of a favorable issue.

The enemy occupied a strong position, with his right upon two commanding elevations adjacent to each other, one South-east, and the other, known as Cemetery Hill, immediately South of the town, which lay at its base. His line extended thence upon the high ground along the Emmetsburg road, with a steep ridge in rear which was also occupied. This ridge was difficult of ascent, particularly the two hills above mentioned as forming its northern extremity, and a third, at the other end, on which the enemy's left rested. Numerous stone and rail-fences, along the slope, served to afford protection to his troops and impede our advance. In his front, the ground was undulating and generally open, for about three-quarters of a mile.

General Ewell's Corps constituted our left; Johnson's Division being opposite the height adjoining Cemetery Hill; Early's in the centre, in front of the North face of the latter; and Rodes's upon his right. Hill's Corps faced the West side of Cemetery Hill, and extended nearly parallel to the Emmetsburg road, making an angle with Ewell's. Pender's Division formed his left; Anderson's his right; Heth's, under Brigadier-general Pettigrew, being in reserve. His artillery, under Colonel Walker, was posted in eligible positions along the line.

It was determined to make the principal attack upon the enemy's left, and endeavor to gain a position from which it was thought that our artillery could be brought to bear with effect. Longstreet was directed to place the Divisions of McLaws and Hood on the right of Hill, partially enveloping the enemy's left, which he was to drive in. General Hill was ordered to threaten the enemy's centre; to prevent reinforcements being drawn to either wing; and to cooperate, with his right Division, in Longstreet's attack. General Ewell was instructed to make a simultaneous demonstration upon the enemy's right, to be converted into a real attack should opportunity offer.

About four, P.M., Longstreet's batteries opened; and, soon afterwards, Hood's Division, on the extreme right, moved to the attack. McLaws followed, somewhat later, four of Anderson's Brigades—those of Wilcox, Perry, Wright, and Posey—supporting him on the left, in the order named. The enemy was soon driven from his position on the Emmetsburg road, to the cover of a ravine and a line of stone-fences, at the foot of the ridge in his rear. He was dislodged from these, after a severe struggle, and retired up the ridge, leaving a number of his batteries in our possession.

Wilcox's and Wright's Brigades advanced with great gallantry, breaking successive lines of the

enemy's Infantry, and compelling him to abandon much of his artillery. Wilcox reached the foot, and Wright gained the crest, of the ridge itself, driving the enemy down the opposite side. But, having become separated from McLaws's, and gone beyond the other two Brigades of the Division, they were attacked in front and on both flanks, and compelled to retire, being unable to bring off any of the captured artillery. McLaws's left also fell back; and it being now nearly dark, General Longstreet determined to await the arrival of General Pickett.

He disposed his command to hold the ground gained on the right, withdrawing his left to the first position from which the enemy had been driven.

Four pieces of artillery, several hundred prisoners, and two regimental flags were taken. As soon as the engagement began on our right, General Johnson opened with his artillery, and, about two hours later, advanced up the hill next to Cemetery Hill, with three Brigades, the fourth being detained by a demonstration on his left. Soon afterwards, General Early attacked Cemetery Hill with two Brigades, supported by a third, the fourth having been previously detached. The enemy had greatly increased the strength of the positions assailed by Johnson and Early, by earth-works.

The troops of the former moved steadily up the steep and rugged ascent, under a heavy fire, driving the enemy into his entrenchments, part of which were carried by Stewart's Brigade, and a number of prisoners taken. The contest was continued to a late hour, but without further advantage. On Cemetery Hill, the attack by Early's leading Brigades,—those of Hays, and Hoke under Colonel Avery—was made with vigor. Two lines of the enemy's Infantry were dislodged from the cover of some stone and board-fences, on the side of the ascent, and driven back into the works on the crest, into which our troops forced their way and seized several pieces of artillery. A heavy force advanced against their right, which was without support; and they were compelled to retire, bringing with them about one hundred prisoners and four stands of colors. General Ewell had directed General Rodes to attack in concert with Early, covering his right; and had requested Brigadier-general Lane, then commanding Pender's Division, to co-operate on the right of Rodes. When the time to attack arrived, General Rodes not having his troops in position, was unprepared to cooperate with General Early; and, before he could get in readiness, the latter had been obliged to retire from want of expected support on his right. General Lane was prepared to give the assistance required of him, and so informed General Rodes; but the latter deemed it useless to advance after the failure of Early's attack.



In this engagement, our loss in men and officers was large. Major-generals Hood and Pender, Brigadier-generals Jones, Semmes, G. T. Anderson, and Barksdale, and Colonel Avery commanding Hoke's Brigade, were wounded—the last two, mortally. Generals Pender and Semmes died after their removal to Virginia.

The result of this day's operations induced the belief, that, with proper concert of action, and with the increased support that the positions gained on the right would enable the artillery to render the assaulting columns, we should ultimately succeed; and it was accordingly determined to continue the attack.

The general plan was unchanged: Longstreet, reinforced by Pickett's three Brigades, which arrived near the battle-field during the afternoon of the second, was ordered to attack the next morning; and General Ewell was ordered to assail the enemy's right, at the same time. The latter, during the night, reinforced General Johnson with two Brigades from Rodes's and one from Early's Divisions.

General Longstreet's dispositions were not completed as early as was expected; but, before notice could be sent to General Ewell, General Johnson had already become engaged, and it was too late to recall him. The enemy attempted to recover the works, taken the preceding evening, but was repulsed; and General Johnson attacked in turn. After a gallant and prolonged struggle, in which the enemy was forced to abandon part of his entrenchments, General Johnson found himself unable to carry the strongly-fortified crest of the hill. The projected attack on the enemy's left not having been made, he was enabled to hold his right with a force largely superior to that of General Johnson, and finally to threaten his flank and rear, rendering it necessary for him to retire to his original position, about one in the afternoon.

General Longstreet was delayed by a force occupying the high, rocky hills on the enemy's extreme left, from which his troops could be attacked in reverse as they advanced. His operations had been embarrassed the day previous, by the same cause; and he now deemed it necessary to defend his flank and rear, with the Divisions of Hood and McLaws. He was, therefore, reinforced by Heth's Division and two Brigades of Pender's, to the command of which Major-general Trimble was assigned. General Hill was directed to hold his line with the rest of his command, to afford General Longstreet further assistance if required, and to avail himself of any success which might be gained.

A careful examination was made of the ground secured by Longstreet; and his batteries placed in positions which, it was believed, would enable them to silence those of the enemy.

Hill's artillery and part of Ewell's were ordered to open simultaneously; and the assaulting column to advance under cover of the combined fire of the three. The batteries were directed to be pushed forward as the Infantry progressed; to protect their flanks; and to support their attack closely.

About one o'clock, at a given signal, a heavy cannonade was opened and continued for about two hours, with marked effect upon the enemy. His batteries replied vigorously at first, but towards the close, their fire slackened perceptibly; and General Longstreet ordered forward the column of attack, consisting of Pickett's and Heth's Divisions, in two lines, Pickett being on the right. Wilcox's Brigade marched in rear of Pickett's right, to guard that flank; and Heth was supported by Lane's and Scale's Brigades, under General Trimble.

The troops moved steadily on, under a heavy fire of musketry and artillery; the main attack being directed against the enemy's left centre. His batteries reopened as soon as they appeared. Our own, having nearly exhausted their ammunition in the protracted cannonade that preceded the advance of the Infantry, were unable to reply or render the necessary support to the attacking party. Owing to this fact, which was unknown to me when the assault took place, the enemy was enabled to throw a strong force of Infantry against our left, already wavering under a concentrated fire of artillery from the ridge, in front, and from Cemetery Hill, on the left. It finally gave way; and the right, after penetrating the enemy's lines, entering his advanced works, and capturing some of his artillery, was attacked, simultaneously, in front and on both flanks, and driven back with heavy loss. The troops were rallied and reformed; but the enemy did not pursue.

A large number of brave officers and men fell, or were captured, on this occasion. Of Pickett's three Brigade commanders, Generals Armistead and Garnett were killed, and General Kemper dangerously wounded. Major-general Trimble and Brigadier-general Pettigrew were also wounded, the former severely.

The movements of the Army, preceding the Battle of Gettysburg, had been much embarrassed by the absence of the Cavalry. As soon as it was known that the enemy had crossed into Maryland, orders were sent to the Brigades of Robertson and Jones, which had been left to guard the passes of the Blue Ridge, to rejoin the Army without delay; and it was expected that General Stuart, with the remainder of his command, would soon arrive. In the exercise of the discretion given him, when Longstreet and Hill marched into Maryland, General Stuart determined to pass around the rear of the Federal

Army, with three Brigades, and cross the Potomac between it and Washington; believing that he would be able, by that route, to place himself on our right flank, in time to keep us properly advised of the enemy's movements.

He marched from Salem, on the night of the twenty-fourth of June, intending to pass West of Centreville, but found the enemy's forces so distributed as to render that route impracticable. Adhering to his original plan, he was forced to make a wide detour through Buckland and Brentsville; and crossed the Occoquan at Wolf Run Shoals, on the morning of the twenty-seventh. Continuing his march through Fairfax Court-house and Dranesville, he arrived at the Potomac, below the mouth of Seneca Creek, in the evening. He found the river much swollen by the recent heavy rains; but, after great exertions, gained the Maryland shore before midnight, with his whole command. He now ascertained that the Federal Army, which he had discovered to be drawing towards the Potomac, had crossed the day before, and was moving toward Fredericktown, thus interposing itself between him and our forces.

He accordingly marched northward, through Rockville and Westminster, to Hanover, Pennsylvania, where he arrived on the thirtieth; but the enemy advanced with equal rapidity on his left, and continued to obstruct communications with our main body.

Supposing, from such information as he could obtain, that part of the Army was at Carlisle, he left Hanover that night, and proceeded thither by way of Dover. He reached Carlisle on the first of July, when he received orders to proceed to Gettysburg. He arrived in the afternoon of the following day, and took position on General Ewell's left. His leading Brigade, under General Hampton, encountered and repulsed a body of the enemy's Cavalry, at Hantertown, endeavoring to reach our rear.

General Stuart had several skirmishes during his march; and, at Hanover, quite a severe engagement took place with a strong force of Cavalry, which was finally compelled to withdraw from the town. The prisoners taken by the Cavalry, and paroled at various places, amounted to about eight hundred; and, at Rockville, a large train of wagons, coming from Washington, was intercepted and captured. Many of them were destroyed; but one hundred and twenty-five, with all the animals of the train, were secured.

The ranks of the Cavalry were much reduced by its long and arduous march, repeated conflicts, and insufficient supplies of food and forage; but the day after its arrival at Gettysburg, it engaged the enemy's Cavalry with unabated spirit, and effectually protected our left. In this action, Brigadier-general Hampton, was seriously

wounded while acting with his accustomed gallantry.

Robertson's and Jones's Brigades arrived on the third of July, and were stationed upon our right flank. The severe loss sustained by the Army and the reduction of its ammunition rendered another attempt to dislodge the enemy unadvisable; and it was therefore determined to withdraw.

The trains, with such of the wounded as could bear removal, were ordered to Williamsport, on the fourth of July, part moving through Cash-town and Greencastle, escorted by General Imboden and the remainder by the Fairfield road. The Army retained its position until dark, when it was put in motion for the Potomac, by the last-named route. A heavy rain continued throughout the night and so much impeded its progress that Ewell's Corps, which brought up the rear, did not leave Gettysburg until late in the forenoon of the following day. The enemy offered no serious interruption; and after an arduous march, we arrived at Hagerstown, in the afternoon of the sixth, and morning of the seventh, of July.

The great length of our trains made it difficult to guard them effectually in passing through the mountains; and a number of wagons and ambulances were captured. They succeeded in reaching Williamsport, on the sixth; but were unable to cross the Potomac, on account of the high stage of water. Here they were attacked by a strong force of Cavalry and Artillery, which was gallantly repulsed by General Imboden, whose command had been strengthened by several batteries, and by two Regiments of Infantry which had been detached at Winchester to guard prisoners, and were returning to the Army. While the enemy was being held in check, General Stuart arrived with the Cavalry, which had performed valuable service in guarding the flanks of the Army, during the retrograde movement; and, after a short engagement, drove him from the field.

The rains that had prevailed almost without intermission, since our entrance into Maryland, and greatly interfered with our movements, had made the Potomac unfordable; and the pontoon bridge, left at Falling Waters, had been partially destroyed by the enemy. The wounded and prisoners were sent over the river as rapidly as possible in a few ferry-boats; while the trains awaited the subsiding of the waters and the construction of a new pontoon bridge.

On the eighth of July, the enemy's Cavalry advanced towards Hagerstown, but was repulsed by General Stuart, and pursued as far as Boonesboro. With this exception, nothing but occasional skirmishing occurred until the twelfth, when the main body of the enemy arrived. The Army then took a position, previously selected, covering the Potomac from Williamsport to Falling Waters, where it remained for two days with the



enemy, immediately in front, manifesting no disposition to attack but throwing up entrenchments along his whole line.

By the thirteenth, the river, at Williamsport, though still deep, was fordable; and a good bridge was completed at Falling Waters, new boats having been constructed and some of the old recovered. As further delay would enable the enemy to obtain reinforcements, and as it was found difficult to procure a sufficient supply of flour for the troops, the working of the mills being interrupted by high waters, it was determined to await an attack no longer. Orders were accordingly given to cross the Potomac, that night—Ewell's Corps by the ford, at Williamsport, and those of Longstreet and Hill, on the bridge. The Cavalry was directed to relieve the Infantry skirmishers, and bring up the rear.

The movement was much retarded by a severe rain-storm and the darkness of the night. Ewell's Corps having the advantage of a turn-pike road, marched with less difficulty, and crossed the river by eight o'clock the following morning.

The condition of the road to the bridge and the time consumed in the passage of the artillery, ammunition, wagons, and ambulances, which could not ford the river, so much delayed the progress of Longstreet and Hill, that it was daylight before their troops began to cross. Heth's Division was halted about a mile and a half from the bridge, to protect the passage of the column. No interruption was offered by the enemy until about eleven o'clock, when his Cavalry, supported by artillery, opened in front of General Heth. A small number, in advance of the main body, was mistaken for our own Cavalry retiring, no notice having been given of the withdrawal of the latter, and was suffered to approach our lines. They were immediately destroyed or captured, with the exception of two or three; but Brigadier-general Pettigrew, an officer of great merit and promise, was mortally wounded in the encounter. He survived his removal to Virginia only a few days. The bridge being clear, General Heth began to withdraw. The enemy advanced, but his efforts to break our lines were repulsed, and the passage of the river completed about one, in the afternoon.

Owing to the extent of General Heth's line, some of his men, most remote from the bridge, were cut off, before they could reach it; but the greater part of those taken by the enemy, during the movement, supposed to amount in all to about five hundred, consisted of men from various commands, who lingered behind, overcome by previous labors and hardships and the fatigue of a most trying night march. There was no loss of material, except a few broken wagons and two pieces of artillery which the horses were unable to draw through the deep mud. Other horses

were sent back for them; but the rear of the column had passed before their arrival.

The Army proceeded to the vicinity of Bunker-hill and Dartsville, where it halted to afford the troops repose.

The enemy made no effort to follow, except with his Cavalry, which crossed the Potomac at Harper's Ferry and advanced towards Martinsburg, on the sixteenth of July. They were attacked by General Fitz Lee, with his own and Chambliss's Brigade, and driven back with loss.

When the Army retired to Virginia, it was intended to move into Loudon; but the Shenandoah was found to be impassable. While waiting for it to subside, the enemy crossed the Potomac, East of the Blue Ridge, and seized the passes we designed to use. As he continued to advance along the eastern slope, apparently with the purpose of cutting us off from the Rail-road to Richmond, General Longstreet was ordered, on the nineteenth of July, to proceed to Culpeper Court-house, by way of Front Royal. He succeeded in passing part of his command over the Shenandoah in time to prevent the occupation of Manassas and Chester Gaps by the enemy, whose Cavalry had already made its appearance. As soon as a pontoon bridge could be laid down, the rest of his Corps crossed the river and marched through Chester Gap to Culpeper Court-house, where it arrived on the twenty-fourth. He was followed by General A. P. Hill, without serious opposition.

General Ewell having been detained in the Valley by an effort to capture a force of the enemy guarding the Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road, West of Martinsburg, Wright's Brigade was left to hold Manassas Gap, until he arrived. He reached Front Royal, on the twenty-third, with Johnson's and Rodes's Divisions, Early's being near Winchester, and found General Wright skirmishing with the enemy's Infantry, which had already appeared in Manassas Gap. General Ewell supported Wright with Rodes's Division and some artillery; and the enemy was held in check. Finding that the Federal force greatly exceeded his own, General Ewell marched through Thornton's Gap, and ordered Early to move up the Valley, by Strasburg and New Market. He encamped near Madison Court-house, on the twenty-ninth of July.

The enemy massed his Army in the vicinity of Warrenton; and, on the night of the thirty-first of July, his Cavalry, with a large supporting force of Infantry, crossed the Rappahannock at Rappahannock Station and Kelly's Ford. The next day, they advanced towards Brandy Station; their progress being gallantly resisted by General Stuart with Hampton's Brigade, commanded by Colonel Baker, who fell back gradually to our lines, about two miles South of Brandy Station. Our In-



fantry skirmishers advanced and drove the enemy beyond Brandy Station.

It was now determined to place the Army in a position to enable it more readily to oppose the enemy, should he attempt to move southward. That near Culpeper Court House being one that he could easily avoid, Longstreet and Hill were put in motion, on the third of August, leaving the Cavalry at Culpeper. Ewell had been previously ordered from Madison; and, by the fourth, the Army occupied the line of the Rapidan.

The officers of the General Staff of the Army were unremittingly engaged in the duties of their respective Departments, much depending on their management and execution. The labors of the Quarter-master Commissary, and Medical Departments were more than usually severe. The Inspector's General were also laboriously occupied in their attention to the troops, both on the march and in camp; and the officers of Engineers showed skill and judgment in expediting the passage of rivers and streams, the swollen condition of which, by almost continuous rains, called for extraordinary exertion. The chief of Ordnance and his assistants are entitled to praise for the care and watchfulness given to the Ordnance trains and ammunition of the Army, which, in a long march and in many conflicts were always at hand, and accessible to the troops. My thanks are due to my personal Staff, for the constant aid afforded me at all times, on the march and in the field, and their willing discharge of every duty.

(R. E. LEE.)

## II.—WOMEN OF THE REVOLUTION.

### A SERIES OF LETTERS WRITTEN BY DISTINGUISHED WOMEN OF THAT PERIOD.

FROM THE TOMLINSON COLLECTION, COMMUNICATED BY CHARLES I. BUSHNELL, ESQ.

#### 1.—"CLARENDA".

was I to neglect writing by this opportunity my good Friend might perhaps Imagine I had given over all thought of answering his Letters—this however will Convince you to the contrary—I am Ever happy to here from you & must be much more so to have it Come from your own hand—the Loss of my poor unfortunate Brother & the times have almost Renderd me incapable of writing to my nearest friends—I have wrote But one Letter since which was to gurry—and can not write aney thing now scarcely worth your attention—news we have none—we have A great number of soldiers here all which seem to be kept in good order I fear nothing now whilst we have so many to protect us and so well fortified.

Jeantye & Abraham are Boath well—the tur-

flles are soon to be seperated as their is A talk in our family to go to Red hook soon as we Can make it Convenient—next week Jeantye Abraham & myself Expect to go to hackensack to see & bid Adeue to all their not being certain how Long we shall have to stay here—and must I quit my native Place, O, sweet New York, for Ever—here is nothing Remarkable but this that the girls here are got mad—Miss Betsey More's heart was stolen by one Mr Smith one of the head Inginears & after A few days acquaintance Made him Return his in Lieu of the one he stole, they ware Married at her fathers house tho' not with his Consent, & Miss hope has Chang'd her name & is now Mrs Long.

Least I should tire your Patience I Conclude assuring you that you have our Best wishes and that you may Return safe to your Native soil is the sincearest desire of her who is Ever anxious for your wellfare.

CLARENDA.

NEW YORK 9<sup>th</sup> of April, [1777]

Since I wrote the Above My Mother is taken very sick.

[Addressed]

Cap<sup>t</sup> RICHARD VARICK  
AT ALBANY.

[Endorsed]

(Rec<sup>d</sup> Ap<sup>t</sup> 26, 1776.)

Cap<sup>t</sup> W. HUYCK.

2.—JANE VREDENBURG.

NEW YORK, April 28<sup>th</sup>, 1776.

DEAR RICHARD—

After My Long Silence I Suppose you Will Imagin I did Not intend to acquaint you, Whether I had Received your Letters or Not. I have Now however the Happiness to Inform you that I Received them Both with Great Pleasure, and Was Happy to Hear My Friend Enjoyed his Health, & usual Flow of Spirits, Which the Present Situation of affairs Require. I thought Ere this to have had the Pleasure of Seeing you in New York, But am Greatly Disappointed in hearing that instead of Coming Nearer to your Friends, you are going to A greater Distance, Perhaps Never to Return, Tho God forbid that Should be the Case. How Many Dear Friends are Deprived of Each others Good Company, Some for A few Months, others for Ever through the Distress of these Times.

Our Family has undergone A Severe Trial Last Week. Since Cornelia Wrote your Last She has Been deprived of the Best of Mothers, After Laying Nine days intirely deprived of her Reason She Could Get no Rest, Took No Nourishment But What Was Put in her Month With A Spoon, And in that Manuer Expired. Figure to your

Self the distress it Must have occasioned to see So Good A Parent under go Such distress Aunt Tweedy & Cernelia are Very Much affected. My Poor old Grandfather Grieves I Cant think he Will Long Survive her.

I hope the Report Concerning the army Before Quebec's Being Defeated is an untruth it was Said there Were 1400 Men Kill'd, there is no Confidence I Believe Put in it I Believe the various Reports are invented By Both Parties to Vex Each other.

our City in A Short time Will be Very Well Fortified the Streets are so Blocked up there is hardly any Passing They are Erecting A Fort on the Governors Island, they have A Very fine one they Say on Long Island & several in town I hope They May Be of Service to us if Occasion Requires—

My father & Brothers Kind Respects to you—My Sister is in the Country so you Cant have hers at Present—

Accept the Best Wishes for your Health & Success of your

affectionate Friend J. V.

John McAdam, Lord drummond & Doctr. Middleton are gone to Bermuda, the two former for their health.

[Addressed]

To Cap<sup>t</sup> RICHARD VARICK

[Endorsed] AT STILLWATER.

J. VREDENBURGH.

### 3.—MRS. GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Mrs Schuyler begs the favor of Cap Varick to purchase two thousand Oysters and to get Mrs Vernon or some person that understands it to pickle them—

SARATOGA Ap: 30<sup>th</sup> 1776.

[Addressed]

To Cap<sup>t</sup> RICHARD VARICK, att Albany.

### 4.—MRS. DOCTOR TAPPEN.

POOHKEEPSIE July ye 19<sup>th</sup> 1776.

MY DEAR.

We have been in great Confusion ever since you left us, first place almost every Tory in the County was hunted up by the Yankies & Brought to County Community—then we had news of the ships coming up the river. Troops flocking here like swarms of Bees—People that live at the river moving everything away, others packing up one thing with another has put such a Damp upon my spirits that I have very little left I have almost a continual pain in my head, ears & Teeth am very faint & week I take a nap every day & cant seem to sleep enough I take the Bath once or twice a day but dont seem to do much good perhaps bleeding would be of service, to me, but dont

like to do anything without your advice—if the Garison is so that you can cleverly leave them I would be very glad to see you for a day on several accounts—you letter of ye 14<sup>th</sup> I rec<sup>d</sup> yesterday I suppose it to be the one you mentioned to have sent to Clintons—Caty Rec<sup>d</sup> her third yesterday from Gilbert—he expects to be up on Business in two or 3 Days time I hope you have heard from me before this I wrote one by Lieutenant Belnat & one by Quad-Newcomb I might of wrote oftener had I known of the opportunities several of our acquaintances have been to one or both the forts but was not kind enough to let me know of it I hear some hands are going this afternoon to fort Constitution by which I hope to send this I will get one of the little boys to carry it to shipyards if Mr Dally is one that goes I will send a p<sup>r</sup> white Linnen Rib<sup>d</sup> stockings & let him give them to Peter for you if you dont come up yourself & have a safe opportunity send your New Brown Linnen Stockings up after they are Dirty—I will Run them & send them to you again I have not heard from Sopas since you went away I heard they were all well at Mr Clintons our friends are all well here—we hear nothing of Toryism since independence was read to them at Carpenters they seem to be as much Distressed about the ships coming up as the wigs—I believe they have given over all their lead & give up their tuels for the purpose of intrenching at shipyards—they as well as wigs are at work there—it seem'd the lot fell most on the tories themselves in our Neighborhood Coll. V. Klceek Snedeker Hain Emot Fisher John Davis Everit, we have nothing new last we hear was a gentleman of the army came in company with Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan from ticonderoga left it last sunday said there was nothing new the children are well Caty slept at sisters last night I feel pretty well myself Just now. Sister was very sorry when she heard that Lieut. Brison had lost his arm she is acquainted with him—Farewell my Dear I hope the Lord will preserve you from all evil.

I remain Yr Loving wife

ELIZABETH TAPPEN.

P. S. Please to let me know weather you meant that I should sell the whole of the medicine in the chests or sel them singly—When I heard the ships were Coming up I thought best not to unpack that they might be ready for moving—Let me know how to sell Cort Peren p<sup>r</sup> oz & Pul. Rhei—likewise what I must put in that vial I was speaking of to you to make it ink.

### 5.—JANE VREDENBURG.

RED HOOK, July 20, 1776.

DEAR RICHARD—

I am Extremely Happy in having So convenient

an opportunity of acknowledging the Receipt of your two agreeable favours of 18<sup>th</sup> May & 19<sup>th</sup> June—was Glad to hear My Friend Still Enjoyed his Health hope this May find you Still enjoying that Valuable Blessing, it Leaves us all in the Possession of it at Present. I Should have Been Exceeding Happy Had it Lain in Your Power to have Paid us A Visit, Before you was more Deeply Engaged tho hope it May not be of Much Longer Duration, that We May then again Meet all our Friends in Peace, the Cloud Seems to Hang Very heavy over Poor New York, that once happy Place, I often Wish Myself in it, But am Much afraid I shant have that Pleasure this year, I cant Bear the thoughts of Remaining here all Winter, tho there is Very agreeable Company.

I Believe Cornelia will Lose her Heart, there are so Many Sprigs that Pay Very Close attention that I am afraid if we Remain here all winter I Shall Leave her Behind, and I Should be very Loth to do that. I imagine She would Schold me if she knew I wrote in this Manner about her—She desired me to Present her Compliments to you—she Would write, But is hindred by Ironing.

I am Very Much Disappointed at Gennys not Coming up I thought to have had the Pleasure of her Good Company for Some time, & Cornelia & Myself intended to have Gone to albany with her But am Very Sorry to Meet with So Great a disappointment. after Reminding you Not to Criticise upon the Writing or inditing as Both are Most Curiously Done, & Generally are.

I Beg Leave to Subscribe

Myself your Affectionate & Sincere  
Friend J. V.

Sarah Duryee is Married to Mr. Henry Peter

[Addressed]

To Cap<sup>t</sup> PETER VARICK at Albany

Pr favor Mr

J. Vredenburg

[Endorsed]

from

J. VREDENBURG.

6.—JANE VARICK.

April 11<sup>th</sup> 1777 AT PETER ELTINGS ESOPUS.

DEAR BROTHER,

I am still here but how long I'm to stay I dont know for Mammy has sent for me sev'ral times to come by the first opportunity if it only was as far as [ ] from there—Daddy would fetch me I don't think I shall meet with an opportunity till Nancy is got well of her lying she was brought to bed on Wednesday the 9<sup>th</sup> Inst of a fine young Son I wish you a great deal of joy with your Nephew may he live long and happy that's the

sincere wish of your Sister—Peter talks of bringing me down when he is once mov'd down at wall kill which I suppose will be about the Middle of next Month and it will be almost the Latter end before I reach that beloved Place called Home Mammy sent me word I must bring down some of your things and mend them there as there's not so much Company to hinder me I've done but very little to your shirts since my last which is now a fortnight ago for there was some preparations to be made for this little stranger I've this Evening finish'd his Christening Cap as he's to be made a Christian of on sunday but who's to be the witnesses yet I cant tell but will inform you in my next I've finished your Cotton Stockings according to Promise in the Holidays and will send them with this with Cap<sup>t</sup> Johnson be pleas'd by this Oppertunity to send me all the shirts you can possibly spare for this time as also the Linen Cambrick and Muslin for stocks I will promise to do as much with them as lays in my Power while here and Leave what I've done with Mrs Elmendorph to send by the first opportunity th<sup>r</sup> rest I'll take down and mend at home I'll assure you I'll mend them much better and faster there as I'll have some help there and here I'm oblig'd to help instead of getting help—don't make any stand about sending them as I'll promise you to do my best to them as far as lays in my power and I dare say you dont doubt my word in the least if you do you wrong me greatly for I'll do anything that lays in my Power for my Parents Brothers and Sisters I wish you'd inform me what you meant by writing in your last you'd bought me some y<sup>d</sup>s of Muslin for a Morning Dress when you should be so lucky as to go and see tother Country what tother Country do you mean or do you want to see I did not quite understand your meaning in that wish you'd write it Plainer in your Next you mention'd also in your last about Miss Schuylers stays I've had no oppertunity to Enquire yet but will get Mr Elting to do it in the Morning I go out very seldom indeed without it is a small walk just dusk to revive me a little but have not done as much as that since Tuesday I use myself as much to confinement as I possibly can that it would be too great when I get at Home but I need not be afraid of that my Happiness will be too great for that when once I see my dear relations again how much I long for that happy Hour but should be very glad to see you once more before I went down but as for coming to Albany I don't expect at all I can't tell whats the reason but you seem nearer to me than my other Brothers and Sisters but I believe its because you and I were thought to be the favourites of our parents I know Sister Ann and Sally was always jealous of me but I never saw any distinction made between us only they were both backward of asking Daddy if they wanted



anything and that I never was Daddy has never refused me anything yet that I've wanted and ask'd for so I'd no reason to be backward nor my Mother has never kept anything back which she new I wanted I had almost forgot to tell you I have heard that Gen<sup>l</sup> Scotts wife Daughter Son and Granddaughter were come to town yesterday I suppose you'd be very happy to see them once they are agoing to live here Entirely without they are drove away by those plagued scarecrows the Regulars which I am not afraid of though they have come [ ] without they come from your way I hope if there's any danger you'll keep as much out of the way as Honor will Permit you lest you get also hurried away to Eternity but I trust and hope on that God who has preserved us to this day that he will guide and direct your steps that no such accident may befall my dear Brother may he preserve us in all our ways and words and may he pour out His Blessings on us all may he also be with our army in the day of Battle that they may gain a compleat Victory over their Enemies that's the sincere wish of every good Person I send you in tris only two pair of Stockings I'll roll them in the Towel in which you must put the shirts and things you send your third Pair you took along the last time you was here I wish you would now be so Kind as to send me that lock of hair you promised me last summer I should be very happy with it—they all join me in wishing that Health and Happiness may attend you wherever you give my Comp<sup>s</sup> to enquiring acquaintences I am Dear Brother with every sentiment of esteem your Ever loving true and affectionate friend and sister

JANE VARICK.

I've not so much in Love as when I wrote the last I don't care much more for one person than I do for another Good Night I think it high time to break off its past Midnight already and they snore away at a fine rate Pleasant Dreams to you every Night Excuse bad writing for this time the next shall be better.

[Addressed]

To Col<sup>l</sup> RICHARD VARICK, AT ALBANY.

7.—CATHARINE LIVINGSTON.

FORT MONTOMERY, June

DEAR SISTER—

I got down about a mile this side the upper fort next day 5 o'clock in the afternoon where we were to wait for the next tide I was a good deal uneasy as it would be some time in the night when I landed but very luckily a little after sun down I saw a barge which when we haild we found found were souldiers from our fort who had been for beef I and my handmaid bundled in with our duds and got home about 10 o'clock it happen'd

the grand round were going and were just then at the water side so that we were not detain'd I am hardly slept out yet as I did not sleep two hours the night I came away, and can't sleep much in the morning for the noise for here are 6 Companies which make it very lively I have been uneasy about Daddy as I heard the Committee of New Windsor had been taken and sent home I have not much time to write as I expect company to dinner and the man is waiting for the letter Gilbert scolds at me every day for not bringing Catey but I believe she's better off where she is.

I don't expect to stay here long I wish you would hurry Larrence out of our house by the 1<sup>st</sup> of July at least for they have rang'd long enough—Give my love to all friends, and accept the same from your affectionate sister

CATHARINE LIVINGSTON.

Colonel Clinton has not been here since I went away but we expect him and his wife and Cap<sup>t</sup> Bedlow and his wife to Dine with us saturday morning 9 o'clock.

[Addressed]

To MRS CROE—Mart Agtroin

8.—MRS. DOCTOR TAPPEN.

NEW WINDSOR, Saterdag Morn.

MY DEAR—

Wn are much alarmed with this news of the shipping being in the river—we dont know what to do—no body to advise with— we was at M<sup>r</sup> Jacksons yesterday to bespeak his sloop in case we should be obliged to Fly—he told us we might have it but that it could be too late to go by water when we heard they were coming up—ships sale so much faster with the wind than a sloop. I received yours by Gilbert in which you advise me to have my wagon this side that I may ride a few miles I case the ships come. I am in a good deal trouble I had some thoughts of returning to Poughkeepsie my wagon is on the other side the river this seems to break our plan I was in hopes of living with you once more most of what you want for winter I have with me though not intirely ready for whering I thought to made them ready at leisure sister advise me to send my things the other side but dont know where to send them safe. I was much disappointed at your not coming I wish I could see you if it was but for one hour—seems to me you might come up & go back again in one night—the ships will hardly winter where they have not been in dark—I am at a loss whar to do wether to send my things to fishkills or Back from the river this side or to return with all to Poughkeepsie I believe for the present I will send them back in hopes to see you soon to

advise with God Bless you my dear & prosper  
your army from Y<sup>r</sup> Affect. wife

ELIZABETH TAPPEN—

[Addressed,]

To Doct<sup>r</sup> PETER TAPPEN  
Fort Montgomery.

9.—MISS DEY.

BLOOMSBURG Sept<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 80.

DEAR SIR,

I have in some measure complied with your request in sending your bear skin, one table cloth and towel with a large piece of canvas to make two towels more if you please (I cou'd find no more than one in your chest) with two pair of your stockings.

Our friend Cap<sup>t</sup> Colfax is here—has been exceeding ill, but is in a fair way of recovery—he has been here a week uncertain when he returns to camp, but wou'd be very hapy to find your bear skin at Head Q. when he returns he will make you ample satisfaction in friendship or any other way you demand—his present weakness requires a warm bed and I will not vouch for his not freezing next winter if he does not keep himself warm you're near the Hudson and can send up for another any time, if possible do not disappoint him.

Nothing new here worth your notice, on publick affairs, but you say what should an old Maid do with publick who can scarce have any Domestick, not even a distant hope of ever launching out in this world of business, but hold sir, your advice shall be followed in each particular, and as I think an age between 30 and 40 no despicable one, shall (if Not disappointed in morals) Embrace it, supposing it should be a devine, or in sight Opposition no Objection I hope or a Medium I shall be satisfied. I need not acquaint you that the Dr has found the road to matrimony his head will be settled I think he has the appearance of a brave specie. Coll. Dey is not at home nor many of his family—so you have only my love, love did I say I believe it must only be compliments in which Mama and Mr. Colfax heartily join to you and the Generals family. I am not pleas'd Major Franks disappointed us in not giving us a sight of the amiable Mrs Arnold—

from dear Sir your friend &c.,

COLL. VARICK.

E. DEY.

[Addressed,]

Coll. RICHARD VARICK.

[Endorsed]

from Miss DEY.

10.—MISS SARAH VARICK.

HACKENSACK Sept 26. 1780.

DEAR BROTHER,

I shall not attempt making many apologies for this time as business will not admit of it. Uncle Varick is very sorry he has it not in his power to oblige you he says he has not a lock in the world and as screws they are not at home, you desire me to let you know particularly if all our relation—it is not in my power at present aunt Sarah was not very well last night—Aunt at the Corner set out Yesterday for Raritan poor Nancy is all alone—she was in good spirits last night. the Express is in a hurry and you will excuse me till the next opportunity and then you shall have the particulars of all you request. I must conclude with my compliments to Gen. Arnold all all that enquire I remain

your affectionate sister

SARAH VARICK.

11.—MISS DEY.

BLOOMSBURG, Oct<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> 1780.

DEAR SIR.

I have complied with your request in yours of the 10<sup>th</sup> instant which I received by the hand of Coll. Harrison—can find no letters from Gen. Gates or the detestable Arnold.

have not the least doubt of your giving General satisfaction as well as to your friends, my dear sir, there's no one *here* that has the least distant suspicion of your disaffection to your country, or can they anywhere if acquainted with your principles.

have heard you have been very unwell hope to here from you soon, at least of your recovery—I was inform'd of your ill state of health by one of the Gentlemen of the family but you say nothing of it in your letter.

Mr. Colfax is so far recover'd that he last Thursday set off for New London, he Expects (health permitting) to return in six weeks—hope to see you soon if convenient to yourself—I have heard from Hackensack last week the family are nearly recovered.

Dady mama and all the boys especially Peter sends their Best Compliments to you and except the unfeigned regard from dear Sir,

your sincere friend

E. DEY.

The General came here last Monday. Poor Franks came last Night from Philadelphia have not seen him. Yet tear it, as I am no proper person to console as I think he must want consolation from the many disagreeable aspersions against him.

[Addressed,]

Col<sup>o</sup> VARICK

WEST POINT.

## 12.—MISS JANE VARICK.

HACKINSACK October 29<sup>th</sup> 1780.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

I'm very sorry to hear that you're offended with me for my not writing to you but believe me my Letter must Certainly Have miscarried as I wrote you and sent it to the Care of Major Gibbs, but when the Letter arrived at Tappan Head Quarters was mov'd from there and I directed the Letters should be forwarded from Tappan if Possible, and whether it has been sent or not It is not in my Power to tell, but shall know by Tomorrow as Abraham Haring is gone Home.

I'm likewise sorry to inform you that the Letter you sent under Cover to Major Gibbs has Miscarried he detained it for a few Days on Hearing that I was from Home and then sent it by an Express who came Down with Orders to Major Goetschiers, the Express being a Young Fellow lately Enter'd that Department was Unfortunate Enough to lose it—Major Gibbs raves at the poor Unfortunate Young Fellow—I was very Unhappy myself as by the Precaution you had taken, I suppos'd it to be an Answ—on a very delicate subject. I wish you would Recollect what you had wrote and send it me by the first safe Hand, but whatever it may be it will Come too late to serve any Purpse whatever, if I could have receiv'd the one by Major Gibbs it would have Come in time, as he took Leave of us last Friday Afternoon—Poor Fellow he was Exceedingly Distress'd when I shall see him again the Lord only knows, I must drop the Subject it Distresses me too much.

I return'd last Tuesday from a Visit to my Dr Sister at Raritan in Company with Aunt Varick and Abraham—We left her well on Monday, and in good Spirits with her Love to you, but poor Soul before we Reach'd Home which was on Tuesday Noon, she was deliver'd very Unexpectedly of Two fine Sons Surprisingly you'd say, too many for a Beginning, Especially in these hard Times—The thoughts of Matrimony will be too shocking if there's so many Comforts to Come at once. We wish much for your good Company in our Quarter, as we shall want God Fathers soon.

Mammy has just left us on a visit to Bergen to meet her Sisters, and Mrs Buskirk, but that's all we've to expect as they are too Strict in New York to get *Intelligence* or any thing else.

Abraham and Myself after our return from Somerset went on Business to Col. Deys I was there Inform'd of the Unfortunate loss of my Letter but had not the Time to write from there, as the little Leisure I had I was Surrounded by my Head-quarter Acquaintances it was

Night before we reach'd there and the next Morning which was Friday at Ten I left it after Settling a great deal of Business so you may Judge of my Leisure time—Sally is just a going to set out for their to fetch her Clothes as she's a going to Help Tenutye Nurse her Bantlings—Adieu I must Conclude as they're a waiting—I remain your affectionate sister

J. V.

[Endorsed]

Miss VARICK

to Col. RICH'D VARICK.

## 13.—MISS E. DEY.

BLOOMSBURG July 7<sup>th</sup> 1781.

DEAR SIR.

I can freely forgive you the neglect you have shown for these few months past. I had really argued myself in a notion of my friends' being attach'd worthy female, who might have merit enough to shake his most firm Resolution to the Contrary, at which I should most heartily rejoice.

There's nothing did give me more real pleasure than when I first heard of your appointment in the General's family, those of your Enemies who perhaps Might still harbour an Evil Opinion of you on traitor Arnold's Account I hope they will submit to a better man's judgment.

I am Exceeding happy to hear of Mr Fitzhugh's having joined the family, you make no Mention of any of the other Gentlemen of the family—we've heard that our friend Humphrey has left you, pray what is of Colfax, Tilghman, and all my old Acquaintance. Coll. Hamilton and lady and all the clever folks in and about Head Quarters pray make your letter serve by way of Gazette to your friend, you must allow me a little curiosity altho I cannot be accus'd of an overstock of woman in me.

No liklihood of changing states—the one prefer'd makes no advances yet and be asur'd I shall not, so that, that matter rests in the same state of uncertainty as when you left us.

Our County are collecting Troops for three months. It is very severe for the Militia at this present time when hay and harvest are to be gather'd if they Cou'd be brought to think the service of their country preferable to private property you might have soldiers without murmuring, but you surely will know the disposition of our Country, the burden of the war falls on the few virtuous in this place, one fourth, or I may rather say, third of the year our family are on duty when the disaffected stay at home and enjoy the peace—Our officers are dilatory in Executing their office with any degree of spirit.

I have wrote this letter considerably long if you please the next shall be shorter—you will ex-



cuse the blots of this—the next shall be wrote by day light—I cannot afford to transcribe this I have no more paper, and I know of none to be had this side of Philadelphia, pray if you have an opportunity, put Coll. Tilghman in mind of a few sheets of paper I am more in want of them now than when they were offer'd—My best compliments to his Excellency and family and believe me to be dear Sir yours most unalterably

COLL. VARICK

E. DEY.

## 14.—MRS. GENERAL MONTGOMERY.

There is no pleasure equal to hearing my dear little friend of the improvement you and all those who are call'd after General Montgomery make in their learning, and I will please myself that they will all strive to be good and great men. I shall always be happy to hear how you go on—and will take an opportunity of sending you some books that may give you a fondness for reading, in the meantime beg you to make my Compliments to your mama and your sisters, and wish you to believe me

Your affectionate friend.  
JANET MONTGOMERY.

NEW YORK,  
April, 1784

[Addressed]  
MONTGOMERY TAPPEN ESQ.  
Poughkeepsie.

## 15.—MRS. GENERAL MONTGOMERY.

MADAM—

To attempt to give consolation on an occasion so recent, & so fatal, where the most promising hopes are at once so cruelly blasted—where death has snatched to an untimely grave your only son—Where an attempt far beyond my abilities was less a mourner than I really am—My dear Madam I feel very sensibly your loss, and if the silent tear and the sighing heart would share your pains—you should not believe me want these to console you.

I had when I left town purposed to purchase him some books which I had promised and which I in my hurry forgot. I several times made myself reproaches for this neglect and fully intended writing for them this fall—but Alas, his wants from us are now past—we may weep but he is happy in the bosom of a father who supplies all his wants, & if so why do we still weep or do we envy him his happiness.

When we reflect on the pains the disappointments the mortifications that the happiest are subject to in this world of care why should you regret he has escaped from them all to become

an heir of glory—time and reflections like these will I trust be your comforters.

God is just—He tempers the wind to the shorn Lamb—I am one that speaks from a knowledge of his goodness—tried in the Furnace of affliction by the loss of a Father and a Husband—which were the two strongest ties of my life, yet did he not permit me to sink under the weight of my woes—but bid me look forward to the high reputation they had left behind—and to the hour of death with the sweetest hopes.

I close this with commending you to his care, and with assuring you that I shall ever remember with pleasure the attention you have shown for my husband's memory,

My Compliments to Mr Tappan

I am dear Madam

Your friend and humble S<sup>t</sup>

J. MONTGOMERY.

CLERMONT Nov. 24, 1784,

MRS. TAPPEN.

## 16.—MRS. GENERAL HAMILTON.\*

MY DEAR BROTHER.

Your Letter covering the release was handed me this day, for which I make you and my sister my acknowledgments. The absolute necessity for the maintenance and educating my beloved children, is the only [ ] of property, a sentiment that my mind is intirely convinced of. The uncertainty of what will be my Income has caused me to diminish the number of my Domesticities, the severity of the season, and the age to which some of my children have arrived at, makes it necessary to give them those expensive parts of Education; all those circumstances combining, Demands other attentions and exertions that my wounded heart is scarcely equal to, and brings my mind to that state, that I could willingly say, into thy hands I commit my all-powerfull and be [ ] Deity—those Children that thou hast given me, to Guard them thro' this world of Disasterous Event, and permit me to fly to my blessed Redeemer and humbly at his feet Implore forgiveness for any ill act or omission and that I may be permitted to rem in in his blest abode and there view my Hamilton. But I must resigne me to the will of my great God, and long or short the remainder of my life I must Devote it with resignation to his decree, ah, may it be to his satisfaction, then all will be well.

I regret you did not see these Gentlemen on their way up Mr Benson on Business, and they might have received from you those marks of

\* written Feb: 9, 1807, from New York to her brother Philip I. Schuyler, Rhineback.—*Document on copy.*

"without effect." Mr. Bourne spoke as "Judge" and advocate, "as a lawyer," in 1864; but, in 1867, he wrote as "President of the Maine Historical Society," the successor of the accomplished, scrupulous, and unyielding Willis. This plump, unblushing avowal that the "claim" of priority was a mere "assumption" which he "was not called upon to argue;" that, "without 'this assumption,' all the rest was worthless and "without effect;" must be pleasant reading to the Popham Committee, and equally flattering to his constituents in the MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, of which he is President and seems to be, as such *ex officio*, Defender of the Popham Faith and Litany.

Such were the occasion and animus of this remarkable *Address*; and such the contradictory and irreconcilable positions of its author, in 1864 and 1867.

To avoid the effect of the instances of priority cited by Mr. Thornton, in the *Congregational Quarterly* of 1863, and reiterated by Mr. Cushman, in the same *Quarterly*, in 1867, to refute the assertion on page 60 of the *Address*—that at Sagadahoc, in 1607, "was offered the first Christian prayer, in our own language, that ever broke from human lips on the shores of New England,"—Mr. Bourne resorts to a legal technicality, and boldly affirms that "the words 'Shore' or 'Shores,' in the *Address*, are [*were*] every where used in a marine sense, in contradistinction from the Islands; and as synonymous with Main or Continent."

But, *if* this be true, then Mr. Bourne felt that he was "called upon to argue" the question of priority, that it was *not* an assumption, for he goes on to state why "no allusion was made to 'Neutral, St. George's, or Elizabeth, Islands,'—namely, that "any action on any *Island* was entirely irrelevant."

There is no escape from the dilemma; and it brings the case to a very delicate point, for it is hardly agreeable to consider whether it be a safe, much less an honorable, thing to go about to satisfy others with what one's self disbelieves.

It is due to Mr. Bourne to remember that he appeared, avowedly, as "a lawyer"—as "one of the legal profession," by special "request,"—being fully instructed in the "belief" of his clients, as set forth on the Memorial stone; but the propriety of appearing officially in the case, as the President of the Historical Society, belongs solely to the consideration of that body.

Whether "the words, 'Shore' or 'Shores,' in the *Address*, are [*were*] every where used in "a marine," or technical, limited, and unusual sense, or in their ordinary and popular use, is a simple question of fact; and the answer will be furnished by Mr. Bourne himself. He warns Mr. Cushman that "one who would criticise

"either the sentiment or the truth of the statement of an author, must first assure himself "that he *understands* him;" but, with all reverence, does Mr. Bourne appreciate the difficulty of the task in this instance?

The *Address* itself proves,

FIRST: That he *did*, "every where," use the words "Shore" or "Shores," in their usual, popular acceptance, just as Mr. Cushman and every one understands him.

SECOND: That he *did not*, "everywhere," nor any where, even once, use them in the pretended "marine," or technical and limited sense.

THIRD: That he *did not* intend, nor even think of, that sense, "in contradistinction from the "Islands."

FOURTH: That a "marine" or limited sense would have been impertinent; and

FIFTH: That it was a mere *after-thought*.

On page 47, Mr. Bourne quotes *The Maine Historical Collections*, 1857, that "our Shores" were first trodden by the Pophamites, on Monhegan Island; and then adds: "as a lawyer 'I venerate the record. Human memory may 'be faithless to its trust, *but the record never 'forgets*!"

Again: it was not till years after "the discovery of this western *Continent* by Columbus . . . "wafted to these *Shores*," in 1492, that he saw the "Continent" (page 8) yet, if we believe Mr. Bourne, he here used the word *Shores* "in a "marine sense;" and that Columbus discovered America in 1492, only, "in a *marine* sense!"

Does he mean that Popham left the "*Shores* of "England" (page 58) only "in a *marine* sense?"

Does he really mean, "in a *marine* sense," "when he speaks of the first Christian prayer. . . "on the *Shores* of New England;" (page 60) and that, only "in a *marine* sense," the prayers of Gosnold's colonists were not "first"?

This seems like trifling, or something worse, but Mr. Bourne deliberately avers (*HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, July, 1867*), that he intended all this only "in a *marine* sense;" that "this position carries with it so much common sense, that "without instruction, it must necessarily suggest "itself to every considerate mind;" that "no man acquainted with the first principles of "National or International Law, or Comity, can "fail to see" it; that "every one ought to "know" it, "and, surely, educated Ministers of the "Gospel cannot be absolved from the requirement;" that "if Mr. Cushman did not comprehend the true import" [*that is* "the *marine* "sense"] "of the *Address*, his misapprehension "is perhaps excusable from the circumstances of "his life. If he had lived in a commercial community," [*like the Village of Kennebunk, for "instance*] "he would have learned" better; and that if he had been "one of the legal profes-

"sion," he would have "regarded" the suggestion of any other than "a *marine* sense," "as ministerial waggery, rather than as emanations of "sober honest thought;" and would scarcely "be willing, in his sober senses, to sit down and enter upon his Diary, that one of his parishioners had repented of his sins, and become a Christian because he said he would." Perhaps he might, with Mr. Bourne, "sometimes think that humanity may be tending heavenward, but that its present status is so far short of the realization of that high destiny, that he can give no credit to the assumption of a principle that men will do what they agree to," "in a *marine* sense." If he had only understood Mr. Bourne's *Address*, "in a *marine* sense," he would not have attempted a "Quixotism" that can hardly commend itself to the intelligent Christian," so deficient in "common" [i. e. "*marine*"] "sense," that "one cannot but wonder that he should so peril his reputation as a historical student, or as an astute member of his profession;" and "would have learned that Islands are denominated such only because they are off from the Shore!"

In an early Maine Case, in 1810,—*Storer vs. Freeman* (6th Massachusetts Reports, 439).—Chief-justice Parsons defines the sea-shore to be the margin of the sea, between ordinary high-water-mark and low-water-mark; and, as Mr. Bourne uses the words, "shore" or "shores," strictly and exclusively in a technical or "*marine* sense," and never in the usual or popular meaning, he is "of opinion" the Poplar rogues must have been in very limited and uncomfortable quarters—an abode for water rats! If there be any thing singular or apparently absurd in this picture, it is so only "in a *marine* sense;" for, in that sense, Mr. Bourne wrote, and never meant anything else, as he says; and is a "position which carries with it so much common sense, that, without instruction, it must necessarily suggest itself to every considerate mind."

Was it because of this exclusively "*marine* sense," in which he spoke, that he made "no allusion" to the history of "Neutral, St. George's, or Elizabeth Islands"?

Some common sense would seem preferable to "*marine* sense" in historical matters, however else it may be "in a Commercial Community" like Kennebunk.

The Presidential Chair of the Maine Historical Society, once graced by the worth and modesty of a Gardiner, and adorned by the refinement and learning of the scholarly Willis, was held in abeyance till fitting tribute could be paid to that most successful highwayman, and twin-hero of Gad's Hill, the "hanging Chief-justice," Popham, now beatified "by the faithful;" and whose virtuous memory is said to be "truly consecrated

"by one of the most magnificent monuments ever erected;" and then under, such "auspices," the once honored seat was awarded to the masterly Orator of 1864.

NOT YET.

BOSTON, MASS.

#### IV.—NOTES ON COINS.

BY WILLIAM KELBY, ESQ.

##### THE MASSACHUSETTS SHILLING.

###### I.

In the year 1652, the Colony of the Massachusetts, coined money, and several pieces of silver, about the size and value of a shilling, which are now to be seen handed about in London; on the one side is a Fir Tree in a Field of White (the Army of the Colony), and the word MASSACHUSETT; and on the other side of which is NEW-ENGLAND, ANNO DOMINI, MDCLII.—*The Middlesex Journal*, London, January 11, 1776.

###### II

The Massachusetts Shilling lately mentioned in the public papers, is not the only money struck by our settlements abroad, nor the only coin minted in New England. Of this Shilling too (the inscription on which is MASATHUSETS, &c. 1652, and not MASACHUSETTS) there are two sorts, viz. a bigger and a lesser (the latter very indifferent workmanship) besides their several parts, such as the penny, two-pence, three-pence, and six-pence, all of the same type; and a third sort varying from these, having on it the story of the good Samaritan. The Shillings likewise have this further particular relative to them, viz. that Mr. John Hull, who obtained the patent for coining them, raised a very large estate, both real and personal, from it, insomuch that he was enabled to give his daughter thirty thousand pounds for her portion, all which was paid, as report says, in these New England shillings. After this, it is unnecessary to observe, that they are common; but what first gave rise to their coinage, was the great quantities of silver taken about the year 1651, by the Bucaniers, from the Spaniards, which being brought to New England, it was thought prudent to coin it there for the prevention of frauds, and, therefore, a mint was erected at Boston. The first money being thus struck in the year 1652, the same Date was continued upon all that were struck for thirty years after. There were also other pieces struck in New England, which are very well known to the lovers of virtue. The Summer Islands, Maryland, Carolina, and the English settlements in the East Indies, likewise had their monies, and the last still enjoy that privilege. It is to be observed also, that when the Massachusetts struck theirs, there was at that time no King in Israel, it being



under the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, who with his Parliament took notice of it; and having been thus indulged, there was a tacit allowance of it afterwards by Charles II. for more than twenty years; and although it made one of the charges against the Colony, when their Charter was called in question, yet having been done for a good purpose, no great stress was laid upon it. The Massachusetts Shilling is intrinsically worth about ninepence or tenpence English, and as a curiosity bears but a small premium.—*The Middlesex Journal*, London, January 16, 1776.

PROCLAMATION REGULATING THE VALUE,  
IN AMERICA, OF FOREIGN SILVER COINS.



By the QUEEN,

A PROCLAMATION,

*For Settling and Ascertaining the Current Rates of Foreign Coins in Her Majesties Colonies & Plantations in America.*

ANNE R.

WE having had under our Consideration the different Rates at which the same Species of Foreign Coins do Pass in Our several Colonies and Plantations in *America*, and the inconveniences thereof, by the indirect Practice of Drawing the Money from one Plantation to another, to the great Prejudice of the Trade of our Subjects; And being Sensible, That the same cannot be otherwise Remedied, than by Reducing of all Foreign Coins to the same Current Rate within all Our Dominions in *America*; And the Principal Officers of Our Mint having laid before Us a Table of the Value of the several Foreign Coins which usually Pass in Payments in our said Plantations, according to their Weight, and the Assays made of them in Our Mint, thereby shewing the just Proportion which each Coin ought to have to the other, which is as followeth, *viz.* *Sevill* Pieces of Eight, old Plate, Seventeen Penny-weight Twelve Grains, Four Shillings and Sixpence; *Sevill* Pieces of Eight, New Plate, Fourteen Penny-weight, Three Shillings Seven Pence One Farthing; *Mexico* Pieces of Eight, Seventeen Penny-weight Twelve Grains, Four Shillings and Sixpence; *Pillar* Pieces of Eight, Seventeen Penny-weight Twelve Grains, Four Shillings and Sixpence Three Farthings; *Peru* Pieces of Eight, old Plate,

Seventeen Penny-weight Twelve Grains Four Shillings and Fivepence, or thereabouts; *Cross Dollars*, Eighteen Penny-weight, Four Shillings and Fourpence Three Farthings; *Ducatoons of Flanders*, Twenty Penny-weight and Twenty One Grains, Five Shillings and Sixpence; *Ecu's of France*, or *Silver Lewis*, Seventeen Penny-weight Twelve Grains, Four Shillings and Sixpence; *Crusadoes of Portugal*, Eleven Penny-weight Four Grains, Two Shillings and Tenpence One Farthing; *Three Gilder Pieces of Holland*, Twenty Penny-weight and Seven Grains, Five Shillings and Two-pence One Farthing; *Old Rix Dollars* of the Empire, Eighteen Penny-weight and Ten Grains, Four Shillings and Sixpence; The Half, Quarters, and other parts in Proportion to their Denominations, and Light Pieces in Proportion to their Weight: We have therefore thought fit for Remediying the said Inconveniences, by the Advice of Our Council, to Publish and Declare, That from and after the First Day of *January* next ensuing the Date hereof; no *Sevill*, *Pillar*, or *Mexico* Pieces of Eight, though of the full Weight of Seventeen Penny-weight and an half, shall be Accounted, Received, Taken or Paid within any of Our said Colonies or Plantations, as well those under Proprietors and Charters, as under Our immediate Commission and Government, at above the Rate of Six Shillings per piece Currant Money for the Discharge of any Contracts or Bargains to be made after the First Day of *January* next, the Halfs, Quarters, and other lesser Pieces of the same Coins to be Accounted, Received, Taken, or Paid in the same proportion; And the Currency of all Pieces of Eight of *Peru*, *Dollars*, and other Foreign Species of Silver Coins, whether of the same or Baser Alloy, shall, after the said First Day of *January* next, stand Regulated, according to their Weight and Fineness, according and in proportion to the Rate before limited and set for the pieces of Eight of *Sevill*, *Pillar*, and *Mexico*; So that no Foreign Silver Coin of any sort be permitted to exceed the same proportion upon any Account whatsoever. And We do hereby Require and Command all Our Governours, Lieutenant-Governours, Magistrates, Officers, and all other Our good Subjects within Our said Colonies and Plantations, to Observe and Obey Our Directions herein, as they Tender Our Displeasure.

Given at Our Castle at *Windsor*, the Eighteenth Day of *June*, 1704. In the Third Year of Our Reign.

G O D Save the Q U E E N .

*A Computation made by Mr. Newton, Master Worker of the Mint, according to which all Foreign Coins may Pass in Her Majesties Plantations, in Proportion to the Rate Limited in Her Majesties Proclamation for Pieces of Eight of Sevill, Mexico and Pillar.*

	Weight and Intrinsic value of the following Species.		Rate of the said Pieces in Proportion to the Limitation made by the said Proclamation.	
	Weight. Penny-Gr.	Value. Shil. Pence.		
Sevill Pieces of Eight Old Plate.	17 12	4 6	6	—
Sevill Pieces of Eight New Plate.	14 —	4 6	4	9½
Mexico Pieces of Eight.	17 12	4 6	6	—
Pillar Pieces of Eight.	17 12	4 6	6	—
Penn Pieces of Eight.	17 12	4 6	6	—
Cross Dollars.	18 —	4 5	5	10½
Ducatoons of Flanders.	20 21	4 3	5	10½
Cent's of France or Silver Lewis.	17 12	4 6	7	4
Crusados of Portugal.	11 4	4 6	6	—
Three Guilder Pieces of Holland.	20 7	2 10	3	9½
Old Six Dollars of the Empire.	18 10	4 6	6	11

All Halves, Quarters and lesser Pieces are to Pass in Proportion to the above Rates.—*The Boston News-Letter*, No. 34, Monday, December 11, 1704.

CUTTING COIN IN AMERICA.

I have been told, that among some of our poorest American colonies upon the continent, the people enjoy the liberty of cutting the little money among them into halves and quarters, for the conveniences of small traffic.—*The Intelligencer*, No. XIX. Dec. 2. 1728.—Dean SWIFT's Works.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE OF THE NEW YORK ASSEMBLY, ON THE SUBJECT OF COPPER COINAGE, MARCH 3. 1757.

THE Committee who were directed to bring in a Bill to regulate the Copper Coin in this State, being at a loss to determine the extent of the intended regulation, whether it was only to ascertain the value of the pieces now in circulation, or was meant to extend to a new coinage, do present to the House the result of their enquiries on this subject.

They find that there are various sorts of copper coin circulating in this State, the principal whereof are,

FIRST: A few genuine British half-pence of George the Second, and some of an earlier date, the impressions of which are generally defaced.

SECONDLY: A number of Irish half-pence, with a bust on the one side, and a harp on the other.

THIRDLY: A very great number of pieces in imitation of British half-pence, but much lighter, of inferior copper, and badly executed.—These are generally called by the name of Birmingham Coppers, as it is pretty well known that they are made there, and imported in casks, under the name of Hard Ware, or wrought copper.

FOURTHLY: There has lately been introduced into circulation, a very considerable number of coppers of the kind that are made in the State of New-Jersey. Many of these are below the proper weight of the Jersey coppers, and seem as if designed as a catch-penny for this market.

The following calculations will tend to shew the difference between the *real* and *nominal* value of the several kinds of coppers that are circulating among us.

The very best red copper in sheets may be bought by the quantity at the factories in England, for 11d. sterling per pound.—The expence of importation will from 20 to 25 per cent.—This will bring the price to about two shillings New-York currency per pound.—But copper in the mass, or old copper which may be melted down into ingots, and manufactured in the plating mills, so as to be fit for cutting into blanks, as the coppers are called before they are milled, will not cost the purchaser more than 20d. per pound.

Forty-eight of the genuine British half-pence, when new, weigh one pound Averdupois. Of the Birmingham coppers that circulate among us, sixty make one pound Averdupois.—The genuine Jersey coppers, weigh each six penny weight, six grains, which gives forty six and two-fifths to the pound Averdupois.

These all pass by consent without discrimination, at fourteen to the shilling.—Hence the following comparative values:

A pound of Copper may, as before stated, be reckoned at.....£0:1:8

A pound of genuine British half-pence passes with us for.....0:3:5

The difference is.....0:1:9

Which is a little more than fifty-one per cent loss.

A pound of Birmingham coppers passes with us for.....0:4:3

The difference is.....0:2:7

Which produces a loss of near sixty-one per cent.

A pound of Jersey coppers passes with us for nearly.....0:3:4

The difference is.....0:1:8

Which is exactly fifty per cent. loss.

If the expence of Coinage be deducted from the losses respectively, as before stated, the difference will shew the neat loss the State sustains by the influx of the several copper coins that are current among us.

What the real expence of Coinage may be, the Committee have not been able to ascertain with any degree of accuracy, as the persons who could give the best information on that subject, find it their interest to keep the secret to themselves. It may be presumed however, that the expence of Coinage on a considerable sum, would not amount to more than 25 or at the most 30 per cent. Taking it at the highest estimation, the neat loss on the three several kinds of coppers specified in this statement, would be as follows:

On the British half-pence, ..... 36 per cent.  
On the Birmingham half-pence, ..... 49 per cent.  
On the Jersey coppers, ..... 35 per cent.  
The profits that will arise to the Coiners on the foregoing principles, will be as follows:  
On the British half-pence, ..... 57 per cent.  
On the Birmingham ditto, ..... 96 per cent.  
On the Jersey coppers, ..... 54 per cent.

From this statement it appears, that there are very great profits arising from this traffic, even if we admit, that the price of copper, and expence of coinage, should be considerably higher than the Committee have stated them.—*Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York, 1787, page 78.*

#### THE BIRMINGHAM PIECE.

The London *Morning Chronicle* of the 16th of March, has the following article:—"A correspondent observes, that the paragraph which has lately appeared in several papers, respecting a copper coinage in America, is not true. The piece spoken of, bearing the inscription, "*Libertas et Justitia, &c.*" was not made in America, nor by the directions of Congress. It was coined at Birmingham, by order of a Merchant in New York, many tons were struck from this die, and many from another; they are now in circulation in America, as counterfeit half pence are in England."—*The Daily Advertiser, New York, May 26, 1786.*

#### GENUINE AND BOGUS.

When the American copper coin is to be struck, it will be necessary, that the genuine British half pence, or coppers, should pass current here, at  $11\frac{1}{2}$  to the dollar, or 15 to the shilling; which is only  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. more than the rate at which they circulate in Britain. The circulation of the Birmingham and other counterfeit and base copper coin, should be totally suppressed, whereby an end would be put to the iniquitous trade of im-

porting into this country (or manufacturing here) such base coin, and purchasing gold and silver with it, of near four times its intrinsic value (comparing their nominal sums) for exportation; a trade which is carried to a most alarming height, and attended with very dangerous consequences.—*The Columbian Magazine, (April, 1788,) page 200.*

#### WHO WAS THE FIRST FEDERAL COINER?

NEW YORK, November 12. Yesterday sailed the ship *Grace*, Captain Armor, for Amsterdam. In her went passengers, the Chevalier John Paul Jones, and Mr. Jarvis, Contractor for supplying the United States with Copper Coin.—*The Daily Advertiser, New York, November 12, 1787.*

#### THE AMERICAN DOLLAR.

The Congress dollar contains 375 64-100 grains of fine silver, and 34 15-100 of copper. The only standard Spanish dollar discovered by Sir Isaac Newton, is the old pillar piece of eight which contains of fine silver 385 72-100, and of alloy 31 75-100 grains.—*Gazette of the United States, July 4, 1789.*

#### V.—ROWAN-COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, IN 1774.

By PROFESSOR E. F. ROCKWELL.

##### I.

THE ROWAN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY, AND ITS ACTION ON THE TEA-TAX, ETC.

On the dissolution of the Royal Government, it became necessary for something to succeed it. Accordingly, a Provisional Government was established, until order could be restored. This was in the shape of a "Committee of Safety," as it was called. There were different Committees, however—District, County, and Town.—The first was to consist of thirteen, the second of twenty-one, and the last of seven members, except in three of the largest towns, of fifteen.

Martin's *History* contains all the information we have at hand on this subject, and he says, "The County and Town Committees were to meet monthly, at the Court-house. The latter were permitted to sit jointly, or be consolidated with the Committee of the County."

They were invested with various high and extensive powers, as we learn from history and from journals. With few exceptions, however, the Records of their proceedings have perished. We have a part of those of the Rowan Committee: it is known that a portion of them was taken to Raleigh for a certain purpose, some years ago, and deposited in one of the offices of the State;



but it has not since been seen, unless very recently. A gentleman better acquainted with the early history of the State, probably, than any other in it, in a Letter dated August 8, 1848, remarked: "of the various District, County, and Town Committees organized in the Province, from 1774 to 1776, the Records of the Wilmington Committee, printed in 1845, and those of the Rowan Committee, are the only ones the existence of which is known to me."

The following is the first action of the latter:

"At a meeting of the Committee, August 8, 1774, the following Resolves were unanimously agreed to:

"1. RESOLVED, That we will, at all times, whenever we are called upon for that purpose, maintain and defend, at the expense of our lives and fortunes, His Majesty's Right and Title to the Crown of Great Britain and his dominions in America, to whose Royal person and Government we profess all due obedience and fidelity.

"2. RESOLVED, That the right to impose taxes or duties to be paid by the inhabitants within this Province, for any purpose whatsoever, is peculiar and essential to the General Assembly, in whom the Legislative authority of the Colony is vested.

"3. RESOLVED, That every attempt to impose such taxes or duties by any other authority, is an arbitrary exertion of power, and an infringement of the constitutional Rights and Liberties of the Colony.

"4. RESOLVED, That to impose a tax or duty upon tea by the British Parliament, in which the North American Colonies can have no representation, to be paid, upon importation, by the inhabitants of the said Colonies, is an act of power without right: it is subversive of the Liberties of the Colonies, deprives them of their property without their own consent, and thereby reduces them to a state of slavery.

"5. RESOLVED, That the late cruel and sanguinary Acts of Parliament, to be executed by military force and ships of war, upon our sister Colony of Massachusetts Bay and the Town of Boston, is a strong evidence of the corrupt influence obtained by the British Ministry in Parliament; and a convincing proof of their fixed intention to deprive the Colonies of their constitutional Rights and Liberties.

"6. RESOLVED, That the cause of the Town of Boston is the common cause of the American Colonies.

"7. RESOLVED, That it is the duty and interest of all the American Colonies firmly to unite in an indissoluble union and association, to oppose, by every just and proper means, the infringement of their common Rights and Privileges.

"8. RESOLVED, That a general association between all the American Colonies, not to import

"from Great Britain any commodity whatsoever (except such things as shall hereafter be excepted by the General Congress of this Province) ought to be entered into and not dissolved till the just Rights of the said Colonies are restored to them; and the cruel Acts of the British Parliament, against the Massachusetts Bay and Town of Boston, are repealed.

"9. RESOLVED, That no friend to the Rights and Liberties of America ought to purchase any commodity whatsoever, except as shall be excepted, which shall be imported from Great Britain after the general association shall be agreed upon.

"10. RESOLVED, That every kind of luxury, dissipation, and extravagance ought to be banished from among us.

"11. RESOLVED, That manufactures ought to be encouraged by opening subscriptions for that purpose, or by any other proper means.

"12. RESOLVED, That the African Trade is injurious to this Colony, obstructs the population of it by freemen; prevents manufacturers and other useful emigrants from Europe, from settling among us; and occasions an annual increase of the balance of trade against the Colonies.

"13. RESOLVED, That the raising sheep, hemp, and flax, ought to be encouraged.

"14. RESOLVED, That to be clothed in manufactures fabricated in the Colonies ought to be considered as a badge and distinction of respect and true patriotism.

"15. RESOLVED, That Messrs. Samuel Young and Moses Winslow, for the County of Rowan, and, for the Town of Salisbury, William Kennon, Esq., be, and they are hereby nominated and appointed Deputies upon the part of the inhabitants and freeholders of this County and Town of Salisbury, to meet such Deputies as shall be appointed by the other Counties and Corporations within this Colony, at Johnson Court-house, the twentieth of this instant.

"16. RESOLVED, That at this important and alarming crisis it be earnestly recommended to the said Deputies, at their general Convention, that they nominate and appoint one proper person out of each District of this Province, to meet such Deputies in a General Congress,\* as shall be appointed upon the part of the other Continental Colonies in America, to consult and agree upon a firm and indissoluble union and association, for preserving, by the best and most proper means, their common Rights and Liberties.

"17. RESOLVED, That this Colony ought not to trade with any Colony which shall refuse to join in any union and association that shall be agreed upon by the greater part of the other

\* The Congress met September 5, 1774.

"Colonies on this Continent, for preserving their common Rights and Liberties."

These Resolves form an important document in the history of Rowan; they plainly contemplate Independence though they do not name it. It will be observed that these Resolutions precede the Mecklenburg Declaration more than eight, and the twenty Resolutions of that County, eleven, months.

## II.

### A LIST OF THE COMMITTEES OF SAFETY IN ROWAN, FROM 1774 TO 1776.

No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.
James McCay,	James Brandon,	John Purviance,
Andrew Neal,	Alex. Osborne,	Alex. Dobbins,
George Cathey,	Grif. Rutherford,	Grif. Rutherford,
Alex. Dobbins,	Wm. Alexander,	Wm. Alexander,
Fr. McCorkle,	Fr. McCorkle,	Francis McCorkle,
Matthew Locke,	James Wilson,	Matthew Locke,
Max. Chambers,	Joseph Dixon,	Josiah Roomifer,
Henry Harmon,	Ninian Steele,	John Archibald,
Abram Dinton,	Jno. Montgomery,	John Montgomery,
Wm. Davidson,	Wm. Davidson,	Wm. Davidson,
Samuel Young,	Samuel Young,	Samuel Young,
John Brevard,	John Brevard,	John Brevard,
Wm. Kennon,	David Caldwell,	G. H. Barringer,
G. H. Barringer,	James Smith,	James Smith,
Robert Bell,	George Davidson,	Moses Winsley,
John Bickerstaff,	Wm. Gant,	David Smith,
John Cowan,	Samuel Harris,	Israel Cox,
John L. Beard,	John L. Beard,	John L. Beard,
John Nisbet,	John Nisbet,	Jonathan Hunt,
Chas. McDowell,	Peter Mull,	Chas. McDowell,
Robt. Blackburn,	Joseph Lowrance,	John Dickey,
Christ. Beckman,	Christ. Beckman,	Christo. Beckman,
Wm. Sharpe,	Eph. McLain,	Wm. Sharpe,
Adlai Osborne*	John Davidson,	Robert Holmes,
Morgan Bryan,	Wm. Cowan, Jr.	Gilbraith Falls,
	Robert Moore,	Robert Moore,
	John Hardin,	John Hardin,
	Josias Black,	Robert King,
	Jacob Nichols,	Samuel Reed,
	Math. Barringer,	Math. Barringer,
	Peter Ayer,	John Lopp,
	T. Blackwelder,	Ha. Montgomery,
	I. Wilcockson,	David Robison,
	Hugh Brevard,	Hugh Brevard,
		William Moore,
		John Sloan,
		Thos. Whitson,

Including the last-mentioned, there are in the list No. 1, twenty-eight names. In No. 2, thirty-four, and in No. 3, thirty-seven, names.

We find a Committee acting on the eighth of August, 1774, and passing the Resolutions already published; but there is on the record no list of the names of that Committee, nor statement of their number. On the twenty-third of September, at Salisbury, they appointed those in the list No. 1, it would appear, as their successors. Twenty-five was the original number on this Committee; and by referring to the list of Militia Companies, afterwards given, we find about the same number of them; and it is probable that they in-

tended to have one member from each Company.

We have no notice of another appointment, but find those whose names are contained in the list No. 2, acting on the twentieth of September, 1775. But, "pursuant to a Resolve of Congress held at Hillsborough, in the Province of North Carolina, on the twentieth of August, 1775, the freeholders and householders in the County of Rowan, appeared in the Court-house in Salisbury, on Tuesday, the seventeenth day of October, in the same year, when the following gentlemen" [*In list No. 3.*] were duly elected members for the Committee in said County." And they were acting when the record in our possession closes, the eighth of May 1776. Martin (ii, 369,) says the County Committee consisted of twenty-one, the Town Committee of seven, and the District Committee of thirteen members; and that the Town Committee was consolidated with the County Committee. If we add then the Committee from Salisbury to that for the County of Rowan, we make up the number of twenty-eight. And if, in No. 2, we add the District Committee to that of the County, we make up the number, in that list, thirty-four. In all there are ninety-nine names: deduct twenty-six repetitions, and we have seventy-three different persons in the three Committees. Of these, here were from Fourth Creek Congregation, as it then was, twelve members, whose names, with one exception, are found on the Map of that Congregation, drawn by William Sharpe, Esq., about 1773.

From Thyatira and Third Creek Congregations, ten members; and the same number from Centre. Sometimes we find William Kennon, Chairman, and Adlai Osborn, Clerk; then Samuel Young occupied the Chair, and James McCoy kept the Records. At another time, Moses Winslow (Winsley is the spelling in the manuscript,) presided: again this office was filled by John Brevard, with William Sharpe, as Secretary.

## III.

### THE WOMEN OF NORTH CAROLINA, IN 1776.

The Minutes of the Committee, in our possession, close on the eighteenth of May, 1776, in this way: "A letter from a number of young Ladies in the County, directed to the Chairman, requesting the approbation of the Committee to a number of Resolutions entered into and signed by the same young Ladies being read,

"Resolved, That this Committee present their cordial thanks to the said young Ladies for so spirited a performance; it looks upon their Resolutions to be sensible and polite; that they merit the honor, and are worthy the imitation of every young Lady in America.

"SAM'L YOUNG, Ch'n.

"WM. SHARPE, Sec."

\* Substituted for Jno. Johnson, who refused to serve. Aug't 1, 1775, Col. Kennon, Mr. Avery, and Mr. Coles were admitted to seats.

- We do not know what these Resolves were; but, as quoted in Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina*, pages 510, 511, Garden, in his *Anecdotes of the American Revolution*, says: "Nor were the ladies of Mecklenburg in any degree inferior in enthusiasm to the male population."

I find in *The South Carolina and American General Gazette*, "from the second to the ninth of February," the following paragraph:—"The young ladies of the best families in Mecklenburg-county, North Carolina, have entered into a voluntary Association, that they will not receive the addresses of any young gentlemen at that place, except the brave volunteers who served in the expedition to South Carolina, and assisted in subduing the Scovallite Insurgents. The ladies being of opinion that such persons as stay loitering at home when the important calls of the Country demand their military services abroad, must certainly be destitute of that nobleness of sentiment, that brave, manly spirit, which would qualify them to be the defenders and guardians of the fair sex."

■ "The ladies of the adjoining County of Rowan have designed the plan of a similar Association, to be drawn up and prepared for signature."

It will be remembered that what was then the part of Rowan-county adjacent to Mecklenburg, is now the County of Iredell; and the "Scovallite Insurgents" spoken of, were the Royalists living between the Broad and the Saluda Rivers, in South Carolina.

We are told that William H. Drayton and the Reverend William Tennent visited the Scovallites, in 1775, and urged them to join the common cause; but their attachment to the British Government was too strong, and they were so far under the influence of certain leaders, that they refused. In the Fall of 1775, the Provincial Congress sent a force under Colonel Richardson and Colonel Thompson against them and subdued them. Nine hundred men, from North Carolina, were engaged in this expedition.

We find a similar spirit among the ladies in the Eastern part of the State, for in the *American Archives*, Vol. I, is found a notice of an Association, signed by fifty-one ladies of "Eden-town, North Carolina, October 25th, 1764." They say, "As we cannot be indifferent on any occasion that appears to affect the peace and happiness of our country, and as it has been thought necessary for the public good, to enter into several particular Resolves, by a meeting of Members or Deputies, from the whole Province, it is a duty that we owe, not only to our dear and near relations and connexions, but to ourselves, who are essentially interested in their welfare, to do everything as far as lies in our power, to testify our sincere adherence to

"the same; and we do, therefore, accordingly subscribe this paper as a witness to our fixed intention and solemn determination to do so."

#### IV.

#### ACTS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY, IN ROWAN.

1.—*They regulated the price of Powder, and, in many cases, took that with the lead and flints found in the possession of merchants, into their own hands.*

At a meeting of the Committee, on the twenty-third of September, 1774, Messrs. John and William Kelly were brought before that body, by its order, "to answer to a charge of having infringed the Provincial Resolves by selling powder at a higher rate than it had been sold at for three months past." They acknowledged that they had sold it for *ten shillings* per pound; when the Committee "resolved that *five shillings* is a sufficient price for powder at this time;" and that any man who would buy or sell it, at a higher price, should be deemed an enemy to his country, and treated accordingly.

On the first of June, 1775, Hugh Montgomery was brought before the Committee on a similar charge, of selling powder at a higher price than that set on it by the Committee, on the first of August, in the same year. The same person, with Maxwell Chambers, William Nisbet, Matthew Troy, and Mr. Mitchell, were required to declare on oath to the Committee what quantity of powder, lead, and flints, were in their possession, and to deliver the same to the order of the Committee. At the same time, Matthew Troy was required to deliver up the powder in his custody that belonged to John Kelly; and a copy of the Resolution on the subject was given to Troy, as the obligation of the Committee to indemnify said Troy for the act.

At the same time, John Work was directed to deliver to the order of the Committee, a quarter-cask of powder and all the lead and flints in his possession; and the Committee pledged themselves to pay for them according to the price set on those articles.

2.—*They brought before them persons suspected of being disaffected to the cause of freedom.*

September 20, 1775, John Olyphant was required to appear before that body "in Salisbury, to render an account of some late conduct in opposition to American measures."

October 17, 1775, it was resolved that "John Perkins has given such an account of his sentiments to American freedom, as is satisfactory."

November 7, of the same year, Jacob Beck was brought to the bar of the Committee "to



"give an account of his political sentiments," when he had till next morning allowed him to consider the matter, and David Smith was surety for his appearance; but he failed to appear, and Smith had to go in search of him. Three days after, it is recorded that he returned with the body of said Beck, who, "from his notorious contempt of this Committee, and opposition to American measures, was immediately committed to jail." But being again brought before the same body, he took the oath and signed the test. — "William McBride being sent for, appeared under guard at the bar of this Committee, for contempt offered the same," when he was "reproved in the name of the Committee, by Mr. Chairman. It appeared also, that he signed an advertisement charging Captain Thomas Whitson, with falsehood: of this they say, that it "is a false and scurrilous performance;" and that "the author thereof ought to be treated with every mark of disrespect."

### 3.—*They appointed a Fast!*

February 6, 1776, we find the following record: "Inasmuch as the judgment of God is at present in an extraordinary manner impending over this Province, Therefore, resolved, that Monday the 14th inst., be and is hereby appointed a day of public fasting, humiliation and prayer in this County; and it is recommended that the same be religiously observed."

What this judgment of God was, is not stated.

### 4.—*No person could take legal measures to collect a debt but by their permission.*

November 8, 1775, James Hemphill had leave to bring suit against Francis Bishop for a debt under five pounds. At the same time, James Hamilton had leave to bring a suit against Thomas Bailie for Assault and Battery.

"RESOLVED, That all suits now depending in the Inferior Court in the County of Rowan, ought to be tried as soon as possible—but no execution issue without leave." At the same time,

"RESOLVED, That any three members of this Committee may give leave to creditors to bring suits, and issue orders to detain the bodies or goods of such as are about to remove out of the County, in the same manner as this Committee could do when constituted. And any three members proceeding as aforesaid, shall make due return in writing to the next ensuing Committee."

November 10, 1775. The Sheriffs had executed goods before the November Term, and the goods were unsold, when it was

"RESOLVED, That the Clerks have leave to issue orders of sale that the Sheriffs may sell such goods as were under execution before said Term."

### 5.—*They endeavored to keep the friends of Liberty on good terms with each other.*

August 1, 1775. "RESOLVED, That John Olyphant, James Patterson, William Neal, and Gilbraith Falls declare, in open Committee, that the determination relative to their dispute falling in favor of either party shall be no let, or cause of derision with them in support of Right and Liberty."

It will be seen at a glance, from these few specimens of their acts (of which we may furnish more at another time,) that the Committee exercised various high and extensive powers: and they can be justified only from the necessity of the case; from the extraordinary circumstances in which they were placed; and from the fact that they were elected and sustained by the People.

## V.

### DUNN AND BOOTE.

At a meeting of the Committee of Safety, on the twenty-third of September, 1774, "an advertisement signed by John Dunn and Benjamin Booth Boote, being read,

"RESOLVED, That the said advertisement contains sundry allegations altogether false, scandalous, wicked, and impertinent; and that the authors thereof justly merit the censure and detestation of their country.

"A paper being read in the Committee, known to be a copy of paper called a Protest, referred to in the above advertisement composed by the said John Dunn and Benjamin Booth Boote; "RESOLVED, That the said paper is in the highest degree false and contemptible, and even bordering upon blasphemy; and that the authors thereof ought to be treated with the contempt which the authors of so infamous a performance deserve, and as enemies of their country.

"RESOLVED, That a copy of the above Resolves respecting an advertisement and paper called a Protest, composed by John Dunn and Benj. B. Boote, be put up against the two posts of the gallows and the whipping post, to demonstrate the contempt in which this Committee hold the author of so infamous a performance."

In Foote's *Sketches*, (page 40,) we see that these two persons opposed the sentiments of the Mecklenburg Resolutions, when they were read at Salisbury by Mr. Kennon; and that they also proposed to detain the bearer, Captain Jack, on his way to Philadelphia. The latter gentleman, however, in his statement, in the *State Pamphlet*, December 1819, does not mention that circumstance, but says he was told by Major William Davidson and Mr. Avery, an Attorney, that they had heard of but one person, (a Mr. Beard,) who did not approve of the Resolutions. (See page 14.)

That was in June, 1775; and at another meet-

ing of the Committee, July 18, 1775, after a Proclamation of the Governor, Josiah Martin, had been read, "Information being made to the Committee, (that) there was a strong suspicion Ben. B. Boote had received letters from his Excellency of the same tenor with said Proclamation: "RESOLVED, *therefore, unanimously*, That Benjamin Booth Boote be summoned before the Committee, and demanded to produce said letters.

"RESOLVED, That if he refuses to produce said letters, or denies the receiving of them, force shall be used, and diligent search made in order to procure them."

"Benj. B. Boote being first invited, and afterward summoned, to appear before the Committee, and continuing obstinate, declaring his resolution neither to appear nor to deliver the letters:

"RESOLVED, *in consequence whereof*, That Wm. Temple Coles, be Captain of the youth in Salisbury, to guard the house of Benj. B. Boote, and that they prevent the conveyance of all sustenance to him, until he deliver the aforesaid letters;\* and that they search all other places suspected to conceal said letters; and that the letters, if received, be given into the hands of Adlai Osborne, Esq., or John Lewis Beard, until the next sitting of the Committee."

What further was done about that matter we are not informed, though these individuals gave further trouble.

August 1, we find the following: "Be it remembered, that the day before, a Petition was presented by Dr. Newnan and others, against the seeming arbitrary conduct of Colonel Kennon and others in the case of Dunn and Boote.

"RESOLVED, That the Petition presented by Dr. Newnan be considered: after a long debate, the question was put.

"1. Whether the malice, &c., charged in the Petition was proved. Answered in the negative.

"2. Whether there was a necessity for taking Dunn and Boote. Answered in the affirmative.

"3. When taken, whether to be removed? Answered in the affirmative.

"4. And if removed, whether to South Carolina? Answered in the affirmative.

"5. Whether the conduct of Colonel Martin and others, be a precedent for the future in all cases of the like nature. Answered in the negative.

"6. Whether the conduct of Colonel Martin and others merited the thanks of this Committee, considering the alarming situation of the Province in general. Answering in the affirmative."

The following November, "A letter from Benj. B. Boote, dated Charleston, October 31, 1775, directed to this Committee, purporting that the general Committee of Charleston has offered to release the said B. Booth Boote and John Dunn, Esq., on condition that the said Boote and Dunn would promise to observe a strict neutrality with respect to the common cause; and also, indemnify the persons most active in sending the said Boote and Dunn, into South Carolina: and further purporting that said Boote and Dunn would not agree to the latter condition: also, desiring the Committee to make provision for his family in case he should not be released.

"RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this Committee that the Resolves of the Provincial Congress communicated to the Committee of Intelligence of South Carolina, respecting said B. Booth Boote, should be observed. That the condition mentioned in said Boote's letter is unnecessary, since this Committee consider the honor not only of this County, but this Province, engaged to indemnify those who conveyed the said Boote out of this Province.

"RESOLVED, That the said Boote's family be provided for at the discretion of the Town Committee of Salisbury."

This is the last record concerning these individuals. Some time after this, a Tory, by the name of Dunn, was at a Hotel in Salisbury, kept by Mrs. Brem, where West's brick house is. He was a great bully; and in an altercation with some Whig, he drew his pistol and snapped it, but it missed fire. The Landlady, a good Whig, being present, seized the poker from the fire place, and struck him so heavy a blow on the head as to lay him at full length on the floor, exclaiming, "*There is a pistol that never misses fire.*"

The Records of the Committee of Safety in Rowan-county, North Carolina, from which the above extracts were taken, and which, as above stated, and those of the Wilmington Committee, are the only ones known to be in existence, were discovered, about twenty years ago, by the present writer, in the hands of Davidson Sharpe, Esq., of Iredell-county, originally a part of Rowan.

E. F. R.

STATESVILLE, N. C.

## VI.—MAJOR JOHN LILLIE.

A LETTER FROM MRS. CAROLINE GILMAN.

COMMUNICATED BY HON. LORENZO SABINE.

43 MOUNT PLEASANT AVENUE,  
BOSTON, Jan. 12, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR:

Mrs. Gilman, (widow of the late Reverend Doctor Gilman, of Charleston, South Carolina,) who, in her day, as you will remember, was a successful authoress, has lately put into my hands a copy of a notice of her kinsman, Major

\* Be it remembered he acknowledged the receipt of letters from the Governor.

Lillie, of the Revolution, addressed to her children. After reading it, I told her it should be preserved, and mentioned *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*. She consented to its publication; and I inclose it.

Beyond all doubt Major Lillie was a man whose memory should be precious to persons of his own lineage, and whose services to his country should be better known to the historian and biographer.

THEOPHILUS LILLIE, a "Tory" merchant of Boston, who wore a wig, gold-lace on his coat, a cocked hat, ruffles on his bosom and about his wrists, and a gold-headed cane, and of whom there is some account in *The American Loyalists*, was a great-nucle of our Whig or "Rebel" Major. The family tradition is, that our "Tory" Lillie was the first Boston Merchant who kept a carriage.

Trusting to contribute something myself, I am, Dear Sir,  
Very Truly Yours,

LORENZO SABINE.

HENRY B. DAWSON, ESQ.,

Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

MY DEAR CHILDREN,

You may remember my having mentioned as among my earliest recollections, at five years of age, in 1799, a dinner party given by my mother, at Watertown, Massachusetts, to several United States officers. I presume my memory on that point is more vivid than upon others, because children are always attracted by soldiers, especially in a small village.

I recollect the long table and its arrangements; how I was allowed to go to the dining-room at the dessert; and how the officers caressed me; but most of all I was impressed by the company's being called upon for toasts and songs, and my mother's singing the old ballad—

"In the downhill of life, when I find I'm declining,"

Then followed a great urging of one of the officers to sing, his refusing a long time, and then beginning—

"John Darling he knew that his father was well,  
"And his father he knew that John Darling was well,"

droning out the tune, over and over, until they begged him to stop, amid shouts of laughter, while I, looking on, liked the fun.

I have often felt curiosity since, to know how my mother, a widow in a small town, could have been on such intimate terms with the military. It is now accounted for by the fact that her brother, Major Lillie, was living at that time, and was probably one of that company; he having been appointed somewhat later to the command of the garrison of West Point, where he died and was buried, in 1801.

My mother died in my childhood, while I, passing from one school to another, had little intercourse with relatives, and heard nothing of Major Lillie but his name. The remainder of my life having been passed at the South, and my impression being that he died in the Revolutionary War, I took no further interest in the subject.

My first knowledge of him was in 1860, when, on a visit to friends in Massachusetts, I met a gentleman who claimed relationship with me, and

informed me that his family possessed a sword presented to Major Lillie by Lafayette. This sword he brought for me to examine. Coupling this fact with my mother's intimacy with United States officers, and thinking that no man of ordinary character could be so complimented, I have, in my present visit to New England, made further investigations, which have been rewarded by interesting results.

The first result of my inquiries is found in the *Biographical Notices of distinguished Men in New England, Statesmen, Patriots, &c., &c.*, BY ALDEN BRADFORD, LL. D., Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Historical Societies of New York, Pennsylvania, and Georgia; and of the National Institute of Science at Washington. "Captain John Lillie was a native of Boston, Massachusetts, born about the year 1753. Soon after the War began, he entered the Revolutionary Army, at the age of twenty-two, as a Lieutenant of Artillery; and at the close of the War held a Captain's commission. He was also sometime Aid to General Knox, who was at the head of the Artillery Department.

The annexed letter, addressed by him to General Samuel Smith of Maryland, his superior officer, a member of Congress, will show the military service of Captain Lillie during the War for Independence and Liberty.

"I fought with you often in the same field, and bore with you the hardships and misfortunes which the incidents of War called us to encounter. It was my lot to be sometimes with a gallant Regiment from Maryland, commanded by the brave Colonel Smallwood, and to see it wasted away by fatigues and hard fightings in defending the country. Too well, and with pain, do I recollect many brave officers of that corps falling by our sides; and it seemed as if we were designated as targets for the enemy to fire at. But, thank Heaven, some of us still live (1799,) to repeat the tale of events and condole with each other, on the past catastrophe. If my services in the action on Long Island, (1776,) and assisting in the retreat from a very formidable British Army; if, with six men in a small boat, after the evacuation of Governor's Island by our troops, I went over, unspiked some of the cannon, fired on the *Roebuck*, of forty-four guns, obliging her to slip her cables and retire to Staten Island, by which means we went over in the night with an hundred men and brought off all the guns and stores to New York; if the service performed with two twelve-pounders, in cannonading the *Rose*, ship, from an open field, when commanded by Commodore Wallis, was of any utility to our cause; if, by assisting with two six pounders in defending Chatterton's Hill, in front of



“White Plains, four hours, in presence of the whole English Army, where you acted well your part, and so many brave men of your Regiment fell by our sides: if, on our retreat through the mire of New Jersey, bootless, and with scarcely a shoe, when the soldiers were so disheartened that a whole Brigade of Militia, to which I was then annexed, deserted me in one night, leaving my artillery without protection except a small band of veterans, which, with some address, I kept together, by my Company: if, on that memorable, that most important, night for America, when her liberty or bondage was vibrating by a single thread, I did my duty at the attack on Trenton; that night which, it may almost be said, sealed the Independence of our country: if, in the advance of the Army to Princeton, almost befooled, over frozen ground, where the brave General Mercer fell, a few feet from my side, in the first of the attack: if, at Chad’s Ford, on the Brandywine, I sustained the heat of the action and brought off my artillery safe: if, on that dark, dismal night, at the Paoli, with General Wayne and twelve hundred men, three hundred of whom were massacred, at the recollection of which the eye of humanity must ever weep, I brought off my artillery through morasses and woods, after having been surrounded by the enemy; and being in front of the column, with General Wayne, in the attack on Germantown, where we drove the Grenadiers and Guards nearly three miles, I supported a soldier’s character through the day: if, on that melting Sunday, in addition to my other duties, at Monmouth, I took the first prisoner by single combat, a Sergeant of Grenadiers, with his arms, and brought him to General Lee, from whom we received early information of the enemy’s position and strength: if, at the close of eight years’ service, as far as I know my own heart, I sheathed a sword without a tarnish by dishonor, which had been the companion of my toils during that period: if, still retaining an inflexible attachment for my country, its Constitution and laws, with a desire to defend it, when necessary, against all its enemies: if there is any merit in these transactions, I would only claim my little share, by having done the duty assigned me on the theatre of the late War.”

“This statement of Captain Lillie,” continues Mr. Bradford, “was true to the letter, without undue boasting or high coloring. Major Lillie soon after received an appointment as commanding officer of the military post at West Point, but his death shortly followed.”

The next extracts are from the *Memoir of Major Shaw*, by Josiah Quincy, of Boston. Shaw

and Lillie were cousins, and both Aids to General Knox.

Page 36.—After a notice of the Battle of the Brandywine, Major Shaw, in a letter to his father, September 13, 1777, writes, “Please tell Mrs. Lillie that John is safe, after being in as much fire as a salamander would choose.” Page 90.—In a letter to his father, dated 13 May, 1781, he writes on the subject of his brother Nathaniel’s wish to enter the American Army, “I propose placing him with Captain Lillie, whose reputation as an officer is second to none of his rank in the service.” Page 93.—On the same day, Major Shaw writes to his brother, “Under the guidance of Captain Lillie, I think you cannot fail of getting a competent knowledge of duty; and I am sure your own good qualities and his friendship for your brother will induce him to manifest the utmost attention to your welfare.”

Two daughters of Major Lillie still survive. One has long since passed the term usually allotted to man; from the other, Mrs. Mary Ann Woodward, of Palmyra, New York, now in her seventy-fourth year, I have received the following interesting details, dated January 15th, 1868: “My father was appointed Captain of Artillery and Engineers, the only military stationed at West Point at that time, and proceeded there early in the Spring of 1801. Of course, he commanded the Garrison. My mother, with us, her children, arrived a few weeks previous. He died suddenly on September 20th, and the Artillery and Engineers were disbanded soon after his death.

“The building for the Military Academy was put in order by my father. It was about as large as a country school-house, and I well remember going to see it. The seats and forms were painted green: it impressed me, as I had never seen a school-room painted.

“When my father was Aid to General Knox, who resided previously at West Point, he was in the General’s family. They lost a little daughter, who was buried on the Plain. When my father went to West Point, in command, eight or ten years after, he found the grave sadly desecrated. He restored it; placed a neat, white picket fence around it; and planted a weeping willow. He died soon after, and was buried in the same enclosure.

“In 1827, my sisters visited West Point; but they could find no trace of my father’s grave.

“On inquiring for some of the old residents, they were directed to Mrs. Kingsley and her son, Lieutenant Kingsley, who were at my father’s funeral, who informed them that the spot was now a gentleman’s garden. They called on the owner, who told them that there were some graves at the foot of the garden. They visited the spot identified by Lieutenant Kingsley.

"In course of years, my sisters died. Some of our relatives renewed the examination, at a later period, but could find no trace of my father's burial place. Thus his grave, like that of Moses, 'is a sealed book.'"

"While arranging my lot, in our beautiful cemetery at Palmyra, New York, where my only child was buried, I thought I would erect a monument to my father. The inscription on it is this :

"JOHN LILLIE,

"BORN IN BOSTON, 1753; DIED AT WEST POINT, 1801:

"Drew his sword for liberty and his country, 1775;

"Sheathed it, unsullied by dishonor, while aid to General Knox, 1783.

"Over his ashes Valor and Patriotism shed tributary  
"tears."

"The first part, you will notice, is nearly in his own words, in his letter to General Smith, written 1799. The last sentiment accompanied a notice of his death, in a paper of 1801, inserted by a brother officer.

"On the reverse of the monument is: 'A tribute of filial affection by his daughter, 1847.'"

"My brother John was entered a Cadet at West Point, at my father's death, December 24th, 1801, although much younger than prescribed by rule. This was effected by the application of the officers to General Knox, then Secretary of War, and a dear and intimate friend of my father. My brother graduated in 1805. My father took a great interest in the establishment of the School, although the people were few, and the studies scarcely commenced when he died. Among the Cadets, I remember General Joseph Swift, who recently died at Geneva, Totten, and two sons of General Gates."

In addition to the above statements of Mrs. Woodward, I learn from several sources, that the name of John Lillie, is among the early signers of the Cincinnati, an association exclusively formed of officers, who had served in the War, General Washington being one of the members.

On obtaining the preceding information, it seemed to me prudent to send my manuscript to the West Point authorities for their inspection, before showing it to my relatives. I forwarded it about January 12th, 1868. The reply, dated January 23d, 1868, was prompt and sympathetic. Major Edward C. Boynton, Adjutant Military Academy, who is also the historian of West Point, writes: "The destruction of all our records, which were numerous, by fire here, in 1838, and the burning of our archives at Washington, by the British, in 1814, leaves me without material to aid you in resuscitating Major Lillie's public career.

"A half a century ago, the work of depopulating the old Continental graveyard commenced; and later years have swept away every

vestige of it. The former site is now covered by a stately pile of buildings. The oldest inhabitant here now, dates back only to 1815; and no living person at West Point has any knowledge of 'the little, white picket-fenced enclosure.' Tradition, however, still repeats that, near the Cadet Barracks, a little daughter of General Knox lies interred; and I can proceed to the spot, in the garden, where it is alleged the graves existed."

Major Boynton speaks of the "patriotism and noble career" of Major Lillie; laments that not only his memory, but that of many others, should have been neglected by the Republic; invites me courteously to visit West Point; and requests permission to place my letter among the manuscripts in the Library."

Major Boynton encloses also a paper, which may, hereafter, be of great importance, if the various branches of the Lillie family, now widely extended, should desire to avail themselves of it, worded thus:—

"UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY,

"WEST POINT, N. Y., January 24th, 1868.

"Permission is hereby granted to the descendants of Major John Lillie, of the Army of the Revolution, to erect a monument to his memory, in the cemetery at West Point, N. Y.

"T. G. PITCHER,

"Brevet Brig-General, U.S.A.

"and Superintendent Military Academy."

And now, my dear children, in closing my letter, which contains only a portion of the interesting correspondence arising from this topic, you will see how the *Song of John Darling*, and my *Mother's Ballad*, have come vibrating along the wires of memory for nearly two-thirds of a century.

Your loving mother,

CAROLINE GILMAN.

January 23, 1868.

## VII.—"WHO TOOK TICONDEROGA?"

COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM KELBY, Esq., OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

[In the recent discourses on this subject, the abilities of Vermont's favorite hero have been doubted; but I think the most zealous supporters of the "New School of History" will agree with me, after a perusal of the following documents, from *The New York Packet*, of July 1, 1779, that Ethan Allen was capable of taking anything. W. K.]

From the CONNECTICUT COURANT:

MESSRS. PRINTERS,

It will be remembered, that there appeared in your *Courant* of the 9th of February last, a paper signed, JOHN FASSETT, JUN., Commissioner of Sequestration, alledging, that the subscriber

was an enemy to his country, and of course notifying the seizure of my estate, by direction of a pretended Court of Confiscation in the State of Vermont. To this base and inhuman attack and procedure, I asked a suspension of the public opinion, until the dark, flagitious design might be developed, and my character vindicated. To this purpose, let the following find a place in your paper:

Know then, that some time since, my brother, Col. Ethan Allen, (if he merits that title,) controverted with me for some lands in Vermont; that I gave him my obligation to give him a Deed of the same, provided he paid me the monies agreed for within a certain time limited, which he elapsed. . . . That lately, from what principle the world will judge, he pretended to make a tender of the nominal sum in bills, and to insist upon the Deed; this I thought fit to refuse him upon the old maxim, "he that would have equity must do equity." The consequence was, in my absence without delay of Law or Equity, which is hardly mature in the new district, he contrived the sure and convenient remedy of confiscation, an excellent institution for a *blooming State!* To affect the scheme to the best advantage, the Court must be imposed upon, and the Commissioners fooled. . . . This was easily done, but, that some shew of formality might usher in the solemn process. At any rate, I must be published an enemy to my country, and submit to an enquiry. . . . A most unlucky prerequisite this! I happened to hear of it, though it was not intended I should (for just at that time, I was to proceed on a journey to Virginia) how then, was this ingrate of a brother abashed and defeated, when he found me on the spot the day appointed, with my Counsel and Exhibits, ready to encounter every insinuation that malice had invented? The truth is, neither Court or Commissioner, Jury or Witnesses, ever appeared at Arlington, or any where else, to accuse, hear, or enquire of the matters charged in Mr. Fassett's splendid notification; but the whole turned out a piece of solemn mockery, fraud and deceit, instigated by the said Ethan and his coadjutors, under color of Law, to ruin my reputation, and rob me of my estate.

Is it possible? Can this be the man, for whom so many were ready to drop a tear while he endured chains and captivity for his oppressed country? Or is he no sooner at liberty, than unmindful of his benefactor, like the serpent in the fable, he would sting him to the heart? Let him confess, let his letters shew who it was that laboured by continual application for his relief and enlargement? Can he forget my voyage to Halifax, afterwards to New York, and the insults, imprisonments, and sufferings sus-

tained, and the cash advanced, merely to restore him to his country and friends? But I will go no further, and only refer the public to the following affidavits, certificates, and letters; and, without any comment, leave them to judge of my private as well as public character, and of the designs and demerits of those who have attempted my ruin.

LEVI ALLEN,

DUTCHESS COUNTY, STATE OF NEW YORK,  
March 20, 1779.

[PAPERS REFERRED TO.]

1.—MAJOR BEEBEE'S DEPOSITION.

*The Deposition of Bezaleel Beebe of Litchfield, in the State of Connecticut, is as follows:*

That while the Deponent was a prisoner in New-York, and sick with the small pox, (on or about the first of January, 1777,) Mr. Levi Allen came to his quarters, and upon the said Mr. Allen's being informed by the Deponent and other American officers, of the deplorable condition of the American prisoners in that City, he, the said Mr. Allen, attended to their distresses, and spared neither pains nor money in relieving them, by day and night; and disregarding all risks of passing the English guards set over the prisoners, was once confined, (as I understood). And this Deponent further says, that to his certain knowledge, the said Mr. Allen, at one time, took near twenty American prisoners out of the most filthy gaols, stripped them of their old lousy rags, and at his own expense clothed and fed them, and got them into private lodgings, and procured for them a physician, medicines, and many other costly articles for their comfort; which acts the Deponent says he was fully acquainted with, as he gave his receipt for said prisoners upon their being released from said gaols. This Deponent also says, that the said Mr. Allen was at that time indefatigable in providing for other American prisoners in that City, until his money was exhausted; and that he then understood, that Mr. Allen procured on pledges a farther sum, to expend for the same charitable purposes; and that this generous conduct of Mr. Allen was much talked of, and greatly applauded by the American officers in the City of New York, who drew up a strong recommendation and petition to General Washington, praying his Excellency to appoint said Mr. Levi Allen, procuring agent for said distressed prisoners, in New-York and Long Island, and that said petition was generally signed by said officers.

This Deponent also says, that after said Mr. Allen left New-York, he saw an Order signed by a British Colonel, in the hands of one of the Serjeants, to arrest the said Allen, and carry him



prisoner to New-York. The Sergeant was seen by this Deponent, searching with a guard for Mr. Allen on Long Island.

CONNECTICUT, February 24, 1779.

Then personally appeared, Major Bezaleel Bebee, the above mentioned Deponent, and made solemn oath to the above narrative. And I hereby further certify, that I have a personal acquaintance with the said Major Bebee, and know that he is a man of undoubted honor and veracity.

Certified by

OLIVER WOLCOTT, Assistant.

2.—GENERAL WOLCOTT'S CERTIFICATE.

CONNECTICUT, February 24, 1779.

I hereby certify, that I have known Mr. Levi Allen since the present War with Great Britain, render his personal service in favour of the American contest; and that I fully believe the said Mr. Allen is firmly attached to the liberties and independance of this country.

OLIVER WOLCOTT.

3.—COLONEL PORTER'S CERTIFICATE

SALISBURY, LITCHFIELD COUNTY,

March 4, 1779.

These certify that I have been acquainted with Mr. Levi Allen, for many years, and particularly so ever since the present War with Great Britain; and so far as my knowledge extends, he hath been called a friend to the American cause by all his acquaintance.

JOSHUA PORTER.

4.—COLONEL SHELDON'S CERTIFICATE.

SALISBURY, February 26, 1779

I fully believe Mr. Levi Allen is firmly attached to the liberties and independance of this country.

ELISHA SHELDON

5.—COLONEL BURRAL'S CERTIFICATE.

CANAAN, February 26, 1779.

These may certify all it may concern, that I have long been acquainted with Mr. Levi Allen of Salisbury, and have always conceived him to be an uncommon and enterprising genius; and since our present contest with Great Britain, have ever esteemed him to be a real friend to the cause of our country; nor have I ever heard that he was thought to be otherwise, until I saw an advertisement in a late Hartford paper, signed, "John Fassett, junior," and was really surprised at the contents.

CHARLES BURRAL.

6.—MAJOR STODDARD'S DEPOSITION.

Luther Stoddard, of lawful age, testifieth and saith, that the next morning after Col. Ethan Allen returned from his captivity, he waited on him,

and among other sayings, told him it was a great pity his brother Levi was gone from home, as he had often heard said Levi express great desire to congratulate said Ethan on his return, etc. Colonel Allen replied, "God damn his lukewarm soul." Being surprised at this answer, told him his brother Levi was esteemed one of our warm Whigs. Said Ethan replied, "I do not think him an enemy to his country, but he ought to have taken a more active part, and have commanded a Regiment by this time."

Question asked by Mr. Allen:

What is your opinion of my political principles respecting the present contest?

Answer:

Always friendly to the American cause.

LUTHER STODDARD.

7.—COLONEL ALLEN'S LETTER.

NEW LOTTS, LONG ISLAND, July 27. 1777.

DEAR BROTHER:

I do hereby certify you, that I have wholly recovered my constitution; have a clear exercise of reason, and enjoy a philosophic serenity of mind under the circumstances of imprisonment. —I retain a just sense of your friendship, manifested in your unwearied search after me. The cash was a very seasonable relief; and provided an exchange does not soon take place, shall need further assistance. The death of my little boy closely affects the tender passions of my soul, and by turns gives me the most sensible grief. Do not fail to have an eye on the condition of my family; see that the girls be well schooled.

I perceive that Ticonderoga, like other tenements and possessions of this changeable world, is snatched from hand to hand. I am, with respect, your affectionate brother and humble servant,

ETHAN ALLEN.

To Mr. LEVI ALLEN.

VIII.—MARRIAGE ALLEGATIONS, AT LONDON.

MILTON, WARD AND DRAKE.

COMMUNICATED BY JOHN WARD DEAN, Esq., OF BOSTON.

Colonel Joseph L. Chester, of London, England, who has been engaged for some time in editing the Register of Burials, etc., in Westminster Abbey, has had many repositories of documents freely thrown open to him which are usually closed to inquirers, except by the payment of large fees. Among the records which he has been allowed to consult, are the Old Marriage Allegations, in the Bishop of London's Register. Upon these Colonel Chester spent

several weeks last Summer, and was able to secure no less than three thousand five hundred valuable extracts. Of two of these, which have an interest to American genealogists, he has sent abstracts to this country. As they settle some doubtful points in regard to the marriages of two persons who afterwards emigrated to New England. I give them below. The first was sent to me and the second to Samuel G. Drake, Esq., of Boston.

1636, May 24, "W<sup>ch</sup> daie appeared p<sup>sonally</sup> "John Ward of the parish of "Hadleigh ad Castrum in the "County of Essex, Clarke, and a batchelour, "aged about 26 yeares, and alledged that he intendeth to marrie with Alice Edmonds of the "parish of Olkham in the County of Kent, spinster, aged about 24 yeares and with the Consent "of hir father Nicolas Edmonds. And the truth "of the premises, as also that he knows noe lawfull let or impediment by reason of anie precontract, consanguinity, affinity or otherwise, "to hinder this intended marriage, he made faith & desires licence to be married in the "parish church of St. Leonard in Foster lane, "London.

"JOHN WARD."

1641, March 25. Nathaniel Drake, of Colchester, County of Essex, "Comer," a Bachelor, aged about twenty-nine years, alledged that he intended to marry Sarah Demham, of the parish of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, in the County of Middlesex, a widow, aged about twenty-four years. Licence was granted to marry at St. Faith's or St. Bennet's, Pauls Wharf, in London.

In regard to the first Allegation, Colonel Chester writes to me; "This will interest you, both "as being the marriage of your ancestor, and as "settling one or two points which I see you "leave in doubt.\* There can be no doubt of the "marriage, though we can never obtain the record "of it, as the Register of St. Leonard's, Foster Lane, previous to 1666, were destroyed in the "Great Fire of that year.

"There is a serious discrepancy as to the age; "and although John Ward signed the Allegation, and ought to have read it, yet the figures "26 may have been a clerical error. I find such "discrepancies common in these entries. In "many cases, the expression 'above 21' is used "in reference to persons who may be 40. 'About "26' ought to mean 26 last birthday. It is "possible that Ward did not read the document "carefully before he signed it."

It is not impossible but that the date of Rev. John Ward's birth given by Mather, November 5. 1606,† may be an error. If so, and the age

in the Marriage Allegation be correct, it is probable that he was not the John Ward, whose name Mr. Savage finds on the Registry of Emmanuel College, as having entered Cambridge University, in 1622.\*

"Olkham" is no doubt intended for *Alkham*, a parish is Kent, in the vicinity of Dover.

"I have searched," Mr. Chester writes, "at the "Herald's College in vain, for the name of Edmonds in Kent; and it is quite clear that the "family could not have been one of note. I find a "Nicholas Edmonds, who signed the Subscription "Book at Oxford, in 1613; but his name does "not occur in the Matriculation Register, and "his signature does not give his address—only "his bare name."

In regard to the Allegation of Nathaniel Drake, Colonel Chester writes to his friend, S. G. Drake, Esq.: "Now, this must be the Nathaniel Drake, "apparently eldest son of your ancestor, Robert. "You say that his wife, Jane, was probably his "second wife; and here is his first. The age, "too, agrees, for if 29, in 1641, he would have "been born in 1612, as you state. Besides, it also "confirms the Colchester origin of your family. "You say that he emigrated with his father, before 1643. This shows that it was after 25 "March, 1641; and you thus get an approximate "date for his emigration."

The place from which the Drake family emigrated to New England, was long sought for, without success, by Mr. Drake; but, in 1867, a friend sent him a copy of a deposition found in Martha's Vineyard, which indicated that they came from Colchester, in Essex. This deposition, Mr. Drake published in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xxi, 316.

Since the preceding was written, I have seen a copy of the London *Athenaeum* for Saturday, November 7, 1868, containing a communication from Colonel Chester, dated November the second, in which he shows from another Marriage Allegation, that the mother of the poet Milton was a daughter of Paul Jaffray. I copy the article entire.

"MILTON'S MOTHER.

"The parentage of the mother of the poet "Milton, has been, I believe, until the present "time, a matter of great uncertainty. Prof. "Masson, in 1859, was unable to determine "from the conflicting testimony whether she was "originally a Jefferys, a Caston, or a Bradshaw; "or whether, one of these being her maiden "name, she had, before becoming the wife of "the poet's father, borne by prior marriage one "or both of the others. His conclusion was, "however, that her maiden name was Bradshaw; "and the conflicting testimony was reconciled

\* See my *Memoir of Rev. Nathaniel Ward*, page 191.—J. W. D.

† Mather's *Magnalia*, Book iii, Chap. xxxi, Section 2. HIST. MAG. VOL. V. 15

\* *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, xxxi, 248, 249.

"by supposing that she might have married a  
"Jefferys or a Caston, or both, before becoming  
"the wife of the scrivener of All Hallows, Bread  
"Street.

"A discovery recently made by me, while  
"searching among the old Marriage Allegations  
"in the Bishop of London's Registry, enables me,  
"I think, to set this question at rest. The  
"record, stripped of its mere verbiage, is briefly  
"as follows :

"On the twenty-eighth of August, 1602, Wil-  
"liam Truelove, of Hatfield-Peveril, in the  
"County of Essex, gentleman, aged about forty  
"years, and who had been a widower about  
"seven years, alleged that he intended to marry  
"Margaret Jeffraye, of Newton Hall, in Great  
"Dunmow, in the County of Essex, a maiden,  
"aged about twenty years, the daughter of  
"Paul Jeffray, of the parish of St. Swithin's,  
"London, merchant tailor, deceased, with the  
"consent of her mother, Ellen Jeffraye, widow,  
"whose consent was attested by John Milton, of  
"the parish of All Hallows, Bread Street, London,  
"who married the sister of the said Margaret.

"Unfortunately the early Parish Registers of St.  
"Swithin's are hopelessly lost; and I have search-  
"ed in vain for the will of Paul Jeffray, not only  
"among the Records of the Prerogative Court of  
"Canterbury, but also among those of all the  
"minor Courts of Probate of the period. His  
"widow—of course, the one whose consent is  
"mentioned in the foregoing Allegation—was  
"buried, as is well known, on the twenty-second  
"of February, 1610-11, as Mrs. Ellen Jefferys,  
"the mother of Mr. John Mylton's wife; but  
"she also appears to have left no will.

"The variations in the orthography of the name  
"are unimportant; and, taking this Burial Record  
"and the Marriage Allegation together, nothing,  
"I think, can be clearer than that the poet's  
"mother was the daughter of Paul Jeffray (or  
"Jefferys), merchant tailor, of St. Swithin's, who  
"died before 1602, and of Ellen his wife, who  
"survived him, and was buried at All Hallows,  
"in 1610-11.

"It is barely possible that before marrying the  
"poet's father she may have already been a wife;  
"though the age of her sister, Margaret, militates  
"against the suggestion that she had been twice  
"married before 1600 (the probable date of her  
"marriage, to John Milton, the elder); but, if  
"necessary to pay any regard to the greatly con-  
"fused traditions concerning this point, it seems  
"more reasonable to suppose that it was her  
"mother, and not herself, who was originally  
"a Caston or a Bradshaw, or had married a  
"Bradshaw or a Caston before becoming the wife  
"of Paul Jeffray,

"JOSEPH LEMUEL CHESTER."

The readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE who

would like to know something about Colonel  
Chester's history, will find a biographical sketch,  
with a list of his publications to that date, in the  
Supplement to *Duyckinck's Cyclopadia of Ameri-  
can Literature*, page 88.

It may assist in giving an idea of the extent of  
his manuscript collections of materials, to state  
that he has a complete copy of the Matriculation  
Registers of the University of Oxford, from 1564  
to 1750, which he was permitted, a few years ago,  
to make. There are here more than a hundred  
thousand entries of name, parentage, residence,  
age, etc., The list is invaluable as it will never  
be printed. He has also commenced a copy of  
all the early Registers of the parishes in London;  
and has completed about half of them.

BOSTON, MASS.

J. W. D.

## IX.—PRINCE WILLIAM HENRY, IN NEW YORK.

COMMUNICATED BY COLONEL THOS. F. DE VOE.

The following interesting historical anecdote, taken  
from my notes and references, originally appeared in the  
*London Athenæum*. I send it to you for the MAGAZINE, as  
I think it may interest some of your many readers. It  
is the narrative of a plan for capturing His Royal Highness  
Prince William Henry, during his visit at New York, in  
1782, in which are found several extracts from Washington's  
letters on the subject.

T. F. D. V.

When his present Majesty, William IV., served  
as a Midshipman in the British Navy, he was, for  
some time, on the coast of the North American  
Colonies, then in a state of *revolution*, and passed  
the Winter of 1782, in the City of New York.  
He is still borne in lively recollection by many of  
the older inhabitants of that City, as a fine bluff  
boy of sixteen; fresh, cheery, and affable; and  
there are anecdotes still told of his frolicsome  
pranks on shipboard. Among them, is a rough,  
though favorite, nautical joke, which he played  
off upon a sailor-boy, in cutting down a ham-  
mock while asleep. The sturdy sea-urchin resent-  
ed this invasion of his repose; and, not knowing  
the quality of his invader, a regular set-to of fist-  
icuffs took place in the dark. In this, it is said,  
the Prince showed great bottom and equal gener-  
osity on the following morning, when he made  
the boy a handsome present of money. His con-  
duct, on this boyish affair, is said to have gained  
him the hearts of all his shipmates.

The Prince manifested, when on shore, a decid-  
ed fondness for manly pastimes. One of his  
favorite resorts was a small fresh-water lake,  
(*Kolch-pond*,) in the vicinity of the City, which  
presented a frozen sheet of many acres, and was  
thronged by the younger part of the population,  
for the amusement of skating. As the Prince  
was unskilled in that exercise, he would sit in a  
chair fixed on runners, which was pushed forward  
with great velocity by a skating attendant; while



crowds of officers environed him; and the youthful multitude made the air ring with their shouts for Prince William Henry. It was an animating scene, in the bright sunny winter days, so common in that climate, and, probably, still retains a place in his Majesty's memory.

While the Prince was thus enjoying himself, in the City of New York, a daring plan was formed by some adventurers, partisans of the Revolutionary Army, to pounce upon him and carry him off from the very midst of his friends and guards. The deviser of this plan was Colonel Ogden, a gallant officer who had served with great bravery in the Revolutionary Army from the commencement of the War, and whose Regiment, at that time, was in the Province (now the State) of New Jersey.

The present statement is drawn up from documents still preserved by the family of Colonel Ogden, a copy of which has been obtained from one of his sons. The Prince, at the time, was living on shore with Admiral Digby, in quarters slightly guarded, more for form than secrecy, no particular danger being apprehended. The project of Colonel Ogden was to land secretly on a stormy night, with a small but resolute force; to surprise and carry off the Prince and the Admiral to the boats; and to make for the Jersey shore. The plan was submitted to General Washington, who sanctioned it, under the idea that the possession of the Prince would facilitate an adjustment of affairs with the Mother country, and a recognition of the United States as an independent nation.

The following is a copy of the letter to Colonel Ogden. The whole of the original is in the handwriting of the General:—

"TO COLONEL OGDEN OF THE 1ST JERSEY REGIMENT.

"SIR: The spirit of enterprise so conspicuous in your plan for surprising, in their Quarters, and bringing off, the Prince William Henry and Admiral Digby, merits applause; and you have my authority to make the attempt, in any manner and at such time as your judgment shall direct.

"I am fully persuaded that it is unnecessary to caution you against offering insult or indignity to the persons of the Prince or Admiral, should you be so fortunate as to capture them; but, it may not be amiss to press the propriety of a proper line of conduct upon the party you command.

"In case of success, as soon as you get them to a place of safety, treat them with all possible respect; but, you are to delay no time in conveying them to Congress and reporting your proceedings, with a copy of these orders.

"Given at Morristown, this 28th day of March, 1782.  
GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"NOTE—Take care not to touch upon the ground which is agreed to be neutral—viz: from Rahway to Newark, and four miles back."

Before relating the particulars of this plan, it may be expedient to state that the City of New York is situated on the point of an island which advances into the centre of a capacious bay. A narrow arm of the sea, vulgarly called the East River, separates it, on the left, from Long or Nassau Island; and the Hudson, commonly called the North River, separates it from New Jersey. The British Army was in possession of the City, and was strengthened by a fleet; but the opposite bank of the Hudson, which is about two miles wide, was under the power of Congress; and the Revolutionary Army was stationed at no great distance in New Jersey, in a winter encampment of wooden huts.

The party that should undertake this enterprise would have to embark in boats from the Jersey shore; and it was essential that the whole affair should be accomplished between sun and sun.

The following is the plan intended to be observed, copied from the original, in the handwriting of Colonel Ogden:—

"It will be necessary to have four whale-boats (which can be procured without cause for suspicion;) they must be well-manned by their respective crews, including guides, etc.; besides these, one Captain and one Subaltern, three sergeants and thirty-six men, with whom the boats can row with ease. N.B. It is known where the boats are, and that they can be collected without suspicion, with the oars-men; and, it is taken for granted, the owners will not object, though for fear of giving the least cause of alarm, nothing has as yet been said to them.

"The time of embarkation must be the first wet night after we are prepared: the place is not yet agreed on, as it will be necessary to consult those skilled in the tides, previous to determining, which must be put off until we are as nearly ready as possible, for fear of inferences being drawn from our inquiries. We must, however, set off from such part of the Jersey shore, as will give us time to be in the city by half-past nine. The men must be embarked in the order of debarkation.

"The Prince quarters in Hanover-square, and has two sentinels from the Fortieth British Regiment, that are quartered in Lord Stirling's old Quarters, in Broad-street, two hundred yards from the scene of action. The main guard, consisting of a Captain and forty men, is posted at the City-hall; a sergeant and twelve, at the head of Old Slip; a sergeant and twelve opposite the old Coffee House—these are the troops we may be

"in danger from, and must be guarded against. The place of landing at *Coenties-market*, between the two Sergeant's guards, at the head of the Old Slip and opposite the Coffee House.

"The order of debarkation to agree with the mode of attack, as follows:

"FIRST—Two men with a guide, seconded by two others, for the purpose of securing the sentinels—these men to be armed with naked bayonets, and dressed in sailors' habits. They are not to wait for anything; but immediately execute their orders.

"SECOND—Eight men, including guides, with myself, preceded by two men, each with a crow-bar, and two, each with an axe. These are for the purpose of forcing the doors, should they be fast, and to be followed by four men entering the house and seizing the young Prince, the young noblemen, Aides, etc.

"THIRD—A Captain and eighteen to follow briskly, form, and defend the house until the business is finished, and retreat a half gun-shot in our rear.

"FOURTH—A subaltern and fourteen, with half of the remaining boat's-crew, and form on the right and left of the boats, and defend them until we return—the remainder of the crews to hold the boats in the best possible position for embarking.

"NECESSARY—Two crowbars, two axes, four dark lanterns, and four large oil-cloths.

"The manner of returning, as follows:—

"Six men, with guns and bayonets, with those unemployed in carrying off the prisoners, to precede those engaged in that business, followed by the Captain, (joined by the four men from the sentry), at a half-gunshot distance, who is to halt and give a front to the enemy, until the whole is embarked in the following order:—

"FIRST—The prisoners, with those preceding them.

"SECOND—The guides and boatmen.

"THIRD—The subaltern and fourteen.

"FOURTH—The rear."

Such was the daring plan laid for the capture of the Prince, and which, even if not fully successful, might have placed His Royal Highness in a most perilous predicament. It appears, however, from a fragment of a letter, addressed by General Washington to Colonel Ogden, and apparently written almost immediately after the preceding one, that some inkling of the design had reached Sir Henry Clinton, then in New York, and Commander-in-chief of the British forces. General Washington communicated, in his letter, the following paragraph from a secret dispatch, dated the twenty-third of March, which he had received from some emissary in New York:—

"Great seems to be their apprehension here. About a fortnight ago, a great number of flat-

boats were discovered by a sentinel from the bank of the river, (Hudson's) which are said to have been intended to fire the suburbs, and, in the height of the conflagration, to make a descent on the lower part of the City, and wrest from our embraces, His Excellency, Sir Henry Clinton, Prince William Henry, and several illustrious personages, since which, great precautions have been taken for the security of those gentlemen, by augmenting the guards, and to render their persons as little exposed as possible."

In another letter, dated, Newburgh, April 2d, 1782, General Washington observed:—"After I wrote to you from Morris Town, I received information that the sentries at the door of Sir Henry Clinton was doubled at eight o'clock every night, from an apprehension of an attempt to surprise him in them. If this be true, it is more than probable the same precaution extends to other personages in the city of New York, a circumstance I thought it proper for you to be advised of."

This intelligence of the awakened vigilance and precautionary measures of the British Commander, effectually disconcerted the plans of Colonel Ogden; and His Royal Highness remained unmolested in his Quarters, until the sailing of the squadron.

## X.—BRIEF SKETCH OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF DETROIT.

PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF THE CITY AUTHORITIES, BY C. I. WALKER, TO BE DEPOSITED IN THE CORNER STONE OF THE NEW CITY HALL, AUGUST 6, 1868.

Although Detroit, as a commercial city, is entirely of modern growth, yet its eventful history had its origin in the dim transparency of the far past. The Detroit river was visited by French voyagers and missionaries in the early part of the seventeenth century, who expressed, in unmeasured terms, their admiration of the fertility of the soil, the beauty of the scenery, and the grandeur of the forests. It is probable that, towards the close of that century, there was a temporary trading or military post at this point; but its permanent settlement dates from 1701. Its founder, to whom it owes not only its origin but its preservation for ten years thereafter, was Antoine de la Motte Cadelliac, a man of noble birth, gallant courage, and great capacity, who was inspired by an ardent love of adventure and a restless ambition. He had been in command at Michilimackinac, then the most important post West of Montreal, from 1694 to 1697; and, while there, became deeply convinced of the importance of this point, both for the purposes of trade and for the

protection of French interests in the North-west, against the designs of the Iroquois and of the English. He visited France in 1699; and, in 1700, obtained, directly from Louis XIV., through his minister, Count Ponchertrain, the authority to establish a Colony here. He left Montreal on this enterprise, on the fifth day of June, 1701, with fifty soldiers and fifty traders and private citizens, and landed at Detroit on the twenty-fourth of July thereafter; and immediately proceeded with the construction of a fort, on the banks of the river, near the spot where the Michigan Exchange now is, which he called Ponchertrain, in honor of his great patron. His influence with the Indians around Michilimackinac enabled him to gather around the new fort a large Indian population, and thus at once to establish a lucrative trade in furs, greatly to the injury of the latter place, and to more effectually protect the new settlement against the Iroquois and the English.

From the very first, this enterprise of De la Motte was looked upon with jealousy and dislike by the French officers at Montreal and Quebec, especially as the authority for it did not come through them, but directly from the King; and it required the utmost vigilance and skill of De la Motte, and all his influence with his patron, to resist the attempts made to destroy it. It had also other dangers to encounter. In 1706, in the absence of the commandant, the Ottawa Indians besieged the fort, in which there were then only some fifteen soldiers. One soldier and a priest were killed. The Indians were, however, repulsed, and humbly sued for peace.

In the Spring of 1712, De la Motte finally left Detroit, having been appointed the first Governor of Louisiana. He was succeeded in command by M. du Buisson. During the following Summer, the very existence of the little settlement was seriously threatened by the Fox Indians, who in a large body besieged it. The friendly Indians of the vicinity, who were absent at the time, returned, and in turn besieged the Foxes; who, after a display of great courage and wondrous endurance, finally fled to the banks of Lake St. Clair, where they were again besieged, captured, and for the most part cruelly destroyed. From this time, for nearly half a century, there is nothing to record in the history of Detroit, except its peaceful increase and prosperity. The fur trade was extensive and profitable; and emigrants from sunny France settled upon the banks of our beautiful river and made the wilderness to blossom as the rose.

The victory of Wolfe, on the Plains of Abraham, on the fourteenth of September, 1759, led to the complete overthrow of the French dominion in Canada, and by the subsequent capitulation of the eight of September, 1760, this, together with all the other French posts, were to be surrendered

to Great Britain. On the twenty-ninth of November following, the last French commandant of Detroit, Captain De Beleter, yielded it up to the celebrated Major Rogers, who had been sent by General Amherst, with two hundred and fifty "Rangers," to take possession of these western posts. By the Peace of 1763, Canada, including Michigan, was ceded to Great Britain.

In that same year (1763) occurred the siege of Detroit by that most famous of all Indian warriors, Pontiac. It is, perhaps, the most interesting event in its history; and is described with graphic power by Parkman. It lasted for nearly four months; and was full of incidents of the most stirring character. The besiegers displayed a comprehensiveness of plan, a skill in execution, and a persistence of purpose, that finds no parallel in Indian warfare; while Major Gladwin, who was in command of the town, won imperishable renown by the skill, ability, and calm, unflinching courage with which, with his small force, he resisted the wily and powerful foe.

During the War of the Revolution, Detroit was the center of British power in the North-west. Here were planned, and from here were sent forth, Indian expeditions, to harass and destroy the new settlements of Kentucky and Western Virginia. Governor Hamilton, then in command, went forth from here with a force of British and Indians, in the fall of 1778, to protect British interests on the Wabash; and was, with his whole force, captured at Vincennes, on the twenty-fourth of February, 1779, by General George Rogers Clarke. About this time, and because of the danger apprehended from the Expedition of Clarke, a new fort was built near the corner of Fort and Shelby-streets, and called Fort Lenault, in honor of Major Lenault, who succeeded Hamilton in command. It was, during the War of 1812, named anew, Fort Shelby, in honor of General Shelby, of Kentucky.

Although by the Treaty with Great Britain, of 1783, Detroit became rightfully a portion of the United States, it continued in the possession of the British until after Jay's Treaty of 1794. Possession was actually taken by United States forces, and the American flag raised over the fort, on the eleventh of July, 1796. It, with the rest of Michigan, formed a part of the old North-western Territory, of which Chillicothe was the capital, and remained a part thereof until Ohio became a State, on the twenty-ninth of November, 1802. It was the county-seat of Wayne-county, which commenced at the Cuyahoga-river, and included a large part of North-western Ohio, Northern Indiana and Illinois, Eastern Wisconsin, and most of Michigan. Elections were held here to send Delegates to the Territorial Legislature. When Ohio became a State, that portion of the old North-western Territory not included in



Ohio, was organized into the Indiana Territory, of which General Harrison was the first Governor; and Detroit continued to be a part of Indiana Territory, until Michigan was formed into a Territory, by the Act of Congress of the twelfth of January, 1805. General Hull was the first Governor of the new Territory, the Government of which was organized on the first of July, 1805. On the eleventh of June previous, the entire town, within the pickets, extending from Griswold to Wayne-street, and from the river to Congress-street, was destroyed by fire. Not a dwelling was left standing.

When the War of 1812 broke out, Governor Hull was furnished with troops for the defence of this frontier; but, on the sixteenth of August, 1812, he shamefully surrendered Detroit to an inferior British force. The British continued in possession until the twenty-ninth of September, 1813, when, as one of the results of Perry's victory on Lake Erie, on the eleventh of September, General Harrison raised the American flag in Detroit. In the following October, General Cass was appointed Governor of the Territory, and civil government was restored. From that time, the history of Detroit has been one of steady progress in population, in commerce, in manufactures, in wealth, in the facilities for education, and in all those elements that constitute a truly great and prosperous city.

Its population at different periods for the last half century has been as follows:

In 1820.....1,442	In 1850.....21,019
1830.....2,222	1860.....46,079
1840.....9,102	1868.....68,827

#### MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION.

The town of Detroit was first incorporated on the eighteenth day of January, 1802, by the Territorial Legislature sitting at Chillicothe. The first Board of Trustees consisted of John Askin, Sen., John Dodemead, James Henry, Charles Francis Girardin, and Joseph Compau. By an Act of the Governor and Judges, passed the sixteenth of September, 1810, *all* the Statutes previously in force in the Territory, except those enacted by themselves, were repealed. This, in effect, repealed the Act incorporating Detroit; and there was no other municipal organization thereafter, until 1815, when the same body repealed so much of the Act of 1810, as repealed the Act of the eighteenth of January, 1802, incorporating Detroit, thus re-incorporating it under the original Act. Judge Solomon Sibley was chairman of the first Board of Trustees, under the Act of 1815, and Thomas Rowland, Secretary.

On the twenty-fourth of August, 1824, Detroit was incorporated as a City, and General R. Williams was elected first Mayor. The Charter has been from time to time amended; and by an Act of the Legislature, of the fifth of February, 1857,

it was entirely revised. Until this revision, the Mayor was elected for one year, and served without compensation. Since then he has been elected for two years, and is entitled to a compensation of twelve hundred dollars per annum.

The following persons have held the office of Mayor since Detroit was incorporated as a City. Their names are in the order in which they first held the office, as several of them were re-elected, and some of them more than once:

JOHN R. WILLIAMS.	JAMES A. VAN DYKE.
HENRY I. HUNT.	FREDERICK BUHL.
JOHN BIDDLE.	CHARLES HOWARD.
JONATHAN KEARSLEY.	JOHN LADUE.
MARSHALL CHAPIN.	ZACHARIAH CHANDLER.
LEVI COOK.	JOHN H. HARMON.
CHARLES C. TROWBRIDGE.	OLIVER M. HYDE.
ANDREW MACK.	HENRY LEDYARD.
HENRY HOWARD.	JOHN PATTON.
AUGUSTUS S. PORTER.	CHRISTIAN H. BUHL.
ASHIER B. BATES.	WILLIAM C. DUNCAN.
DEGAIRMO JONES.	KIRKLAND C. BARKER.
ZINA PITCHER.	MERRILL I. MILLS.
DOUGLAS HOUGHTON.	WILLIAM W. WHEATON.

A careful study of the municipal history of Detroit will show that for the most part, its municipal affairs have been conducted with marked prudence, ability and integrity, and that many of its wisest and best men have taken part in their administration. In this respect, as in all others, may its future be as honorable as its past.

#### XI.—FIRST CELEBRATION OF WASHINGTON'S BIRTH DAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1784.

[We are indebted for this series of Notes, on the first known celebration, in public, of Washington's Birthday, to our friend, WILLIAM KELNY, Esq., of the N. Y. Historical Society.

Some of our readers will be interested with the record of the day which, during the General's lifetime, was celebrated as "Washington's birthday."—ED. HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

##### I.

NEW YORK, *February 11. 1784.* There is, perhaps, no sensation of the soul that does more honor to human nature than gratitude. Gratitude, with respect to God, is the foundation of the most delightful part of religion; with respect to our fellow creatures, it is a source of the most friendly intercourse. I can venture to assert, that he who has never felt the starting tear of gratitude in his eye, is a stranger to some of the most exquisite feelings of the soul. Not to be tedious on a subject which every person will agree carries its delightful evidence with it, I shall ask one question of my fellow citizens:—After the Almighty Author of our existence and happiness, to whom, as a people, are we under the greatest obligations? I know you will answer "To Washington." That great, that gloriously disinterested man has, without the idea of pe-

cuniary reward (on the contrary, much to his private damage) borne the greatest and most distinguished part in our political salvation. He is now retired from public service with, I trust, the approbation of God, his country, and his own heart. But shall we forget him? No: rather let our hearts cease to beat, than an ungrateful forgetfulness should sully the part any of us have taken in the redemption of our country. On this day, the hero enters into the fifty-third year of his age: shall such a day pass unnoticed? No: let a temperate, manly joy express the sense we have of the blessings that arose upon America, on that day which gave birth to Washington. Let us call our children around us, and tell them the mighty blessings they owe to him and to those illustrious characters who have assisted him in the great work of the emancipation of our country; and urge them, by such examples, to transmit the enjoyment of freedom and independence to their posterity.

To contribute to the hilarity of a day which, I hope, will be annually observed, I herewith send you a song, made in this city for the entertainment of a select Club of Whigs, who had assembled (and mean again to assemble this evening) according to their annual custom, to celebrate the birth day of General Washington, February the eleventh, 1784.

[TUNE—*God bless America.*]

AMERICANS rejoice,  
While songs employ each voice,  
Let trumpets sound.

The thirteen stripes display,  
In flags and streamers gay,  
'Tis WASHINGTON's birth day,  
Let joy abound.

From scenes of rural peace,  
From affluence and ease,  
At freedom's call;  
A hero from his birth,  
Great Washington stands forth,  
The scourge of George and North,  
And tyrants all.

The silver trump of fame,  
His glory shall proclaim,  
Till Time is done.  
Genius with taste refin'd,  
Courage with coolness join'd,  
'Bove all, an honest mind,  
Has WASHINGTON.

Those mighty chiefs of old,  
Caesars and heroes bold,  
Who realms have won;  
Smit by his brighter blaze,  
Hide their diminished rays,  
And yield the palm of praise  
To WASHINGTON.

Long may he live to see  
This land of Liberty  
Flourish in Peace;  
Long may he live to prove  
A grateful people's love,  
And, late, to Heaven remove,  
Where joys ne'er cease.

Fill the glass to the brink,  
WASHINGTON's health we'll drink,  
'Tis his birth-day.  
Glorious deeds he has done,  
By him our cause is won,  
Long live great WASHINGTON,  
Huzza! Huzza!

CIVIS.

—*New York Gazetteer* February 11, 1784.

## II.

NEW YORK [*Friday*] February 13. Wednesday last being the birth day of his Excellency General WASHINGTON, the same was celebrated here by all the true friends of American Independence and Constitutional Liberty, with that hilarity and manly decorum ever attendant on the sons of freedom. In the evening an entertainment was given on board the East India ship in this harbour, to a very brilliant and respectable company, and a discharge of 13 cannon was fired on the joyful occasion.—*Pennsylvania Packet*, Philadelphia, Tuesday, February 17, 1784.

## III.

RICHMOND, (Va.) [*Saturday*] February 14. Wednesday last being the anniversary of the birth of His Excellency Gen. WASHINGTON, was celebrated here with the usual demonstrations of joy. In the evening an elegant entertainment was provided at the Capitol, at which was a large and respectable company.—*Pennsylvania Packet*; Philadelphia, Tuesday, February 24, 1784.

W. K.

## XII.—SLAVE MARRIAGES IN MASSACHUSETTS.

"Conjugium vocat; hoc prætexit nomine culpam."

ÆNED: II. 172.

It has been claimed for Massachusetts, that slavery was greatly mitigated there under the benign influences of that Puritan legislation, which promised the slaves such protection as the Hebrew scriptures seemed to enjoin; and even Mr. BANCROFT has not hesitated to say that "this brought about a total modification of the character of "negro slavery" by giving to the slave, the rights "of marriage and of family." The value of the right to marry, said to have been secured to slaves

by the Provincial Statute of 1705, is fully discussed in *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*; but some additional illustrations which have come to light, since that volume was published, are so curious and interesting in themselves, as to deserve a place here; apart from their positive historical significance and value in the discussion.

The Rev. Noah Hobart, in his *Serious Address to the Episcopal Separation in New England*, published in 1748, challenged the want of flexibility in the forms of the Liturgy of the Church of England, as tending "to introduce 'Irreligion and Profaneness'—especially in the use of the Office of Matrimony for marriages contracted between slaves. "Thus Marriage is, according to the *Canon*, to be celebrated in the 'Church, in time of divine service; and, I think 'it is allowed on all Hands, that the *Subscription* required by the thirty-sixth *Canon*, obliges 'to the use of the Forms in the Common Prayer 'Book, in all public Administrations in the 'Church. But now if one of your Ministers, 'joining a couple of *Negro Slaves*, in Marriage, 'shall teach the Man to say to the Woman, *With all my worldly Goods I thee endow, in the 'Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*; when he and all present know, 'that neither of them have, or are capable of 'having Property in anything whatever; the 'looser Part of the Auditory would probably 'look upon it as a *Solemn Farce*, and be hardened in Impiety and Profaneness by it; while 'all who have a proper *Reverence* for that sacred 'Name in which they were baptized, must find 'Grief and Horror arising in their Minds on 'hearing it thus *abused*, even in the Time and 'Place of divine Service, and so exposed to the 'Contempt and Ridicule of the profane Part of 'Mankind. I hope that this Specimen may convince Mr. *Wetmore* that the Immorality, Atheism and Profaneness, of the present Age is in 'some Measure owing to Defects in the Church 'of England, and therefore shall wholly omit 'many other Instances which might be produced 'under this Head." Pp. 77-78.

In reply to Hobart, Dr. John Beach took up this alleged source of wickedness, responding in substance that as a Slave was capable of being made free, and so of having property in a large estate, there was "no profaneness in the Man's 'solemnly promising to make his Wife Copartner 'with him in all his worldly Goods, if ever it 'should please God to bestow an Estate upon him." *Calm and Dispassionate Vindication*, etc. P. 39.

Whatever may be thought of the state of the argument between these reverend champions, there can be no doubt that in a community like that of Massachusetts during the time when slavery prevailed there, some thoughtful and considerate

men must have felt the absurdity of solemn religious sanction for such connections, governed as they were by the humor or interest of masters or mistresses, the owners of the slaves. And in proportion to that reverence for marriage and the sanctity of the marriage-tie\* which has always been credited to Puritan orthodoxy, there must have been some repugnance to profaning the solemn rites by which "God's first ordinance, confirmed by Christ's first miracle," has always been guarded in all Christian countries. The simplest forms in use for such a ceremony were profaned, when mutual pledges of enduring love and fidelity were given and taken by those who were liable to separation at any time, at the will of their owners.

It is true that marriage in Massachusetts, for many years after the first settlement, was regarded as a mere civil contract entered into before a magistrate; but it is no less certain that the prayers proper for the occasion, which were made by the magistrate upon giving the covenant to the parties, were as sacred to the Puritans and no more to be lightly profaned than the solemn ritual of their fathers, which they had rejected as savoring of Popery and elevating marriage into a sacrament. And when, in the next generation, the ministers began to resume the practice of performing the marriage ceremony, there can be no doubt that they regarded their simple service as substantially holy and deserving all the reverence ever claimed for any Protestant ceremony of the kind.

How then was it that Parsen Hobart, in 1748, could put his Episcopal brother to the blush for profaning the marriage service in the manner alleged, unless the more accommodating spirit of his own sect enabled him to adapt its formulas, at discretion, to the cases which came before him? The inference is obvious, and sustains the tradition, that in Massachusetts, the marriages of slaves, while they were unquestionably more formal in some cases than merely "jumping a broomstick," had in reality little more practical significance in their obligations, limited as these were in extent and duration by the necessary conditions of servitude. This tradition is now corroborated by contemporary documentary evidence, which proves beyond doubt that the kind of wedlock in which Sambo and Dinah, Pompey and Chloe, became nominally husbands and wives, under Massachusetts laws, was very uncertain and precarious; and its religious celebration in very truth, "a solemn farce."

One of the most accomplished historical scholars in the country, Mr. J. WINGATE THORNTON,

\* Mr. PALFREY has given it as his opinion, that "From the reverence entertained by the Fathers of New England for the nuptial tie, it is safe to infer that slave husbands and wives were never parted." *History of New England*, II. 30, note.



of Boston, has recently discovered the form of negro-marriage prepared and used by the Reverend Samuel Phillips of Andover, Massachusetts, whose ministry there, beginning in 1710 and ending with his death in 1771, was a prolonged and eminently distinguished service of more than half the eighteenth century. His immediate successor was the Reverend Jonathan French (1772—1809) in the family of whose son, Mr. THORNTON found

the document at North Hampton, N. H. on the thirty-first of December, 1868. I am indebted to his liberal courtesy for the opportunity to make use of it at the present time.

It is copied exactly from the original now before me, and the italics are as marked by the author himself, whose work could certainly have been none other than of the most approved and orthodox pattern. *Ex uno disce omnes.*

"A FORM FOR A NEGRO-MARRIAGE.

"You S: do now, in the Presence of God, and these Witnesses, Take R: to be your *Wife* ;

"Promising, that so far as shall be consistent w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup>. Relation w<sup>ch</sup> you now sustain, as a Servant, you will Perform y<sup>e</sup> Part of an *Husband* towards her: And in particular, you Promise, that you will *Love* her: And that, as you shall have y<sup>e</sup> Opport<sup>y</sup> & Ability, you will take a proper *Care* of her in Sickness and Health, in Prosperity & Adversity:

"And that you will be True & Faithfull to her, and will Cleave to her *only*, so long as God, in his Provid<sup>ce</sup>, shall continue your and her Abode in Such Place (or Places) as that you can conveniently come together:—Do You thus Promise?

"I then, agreeable to your Request, and w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Consent of your Masters & Mistresses, do Declare, that you have Licence given you to be conversant and familiar together, as *Husband and Wife*, so long as God shall continue your Places of Abode as afore-said; And so long as you Shall behave your-Selves as it becometh Servants to doe:

"For, you must, both of you, bear in mind, that you Remain Still, as really and truly as ever, your Master's Property, and therefore it will be justly expected, both by God and Man, that you behave and conduct your-selves, as Obedient and faithfull Servants towards your respective Masters & Mistresses for the Time being:

"And finally, I exhort & Charge you to beware lest you give place to the Devil, so as to take Occasion from the Licence now given you, to be lifted up with *Pride*, and thereby fall under the Displeasure, not of Man only, but of God also; for, it is written, that God resisteth the Proud, but he giveth Grace to the humble.

"I shall now Conclude w<sup>th</sup> Prayer for you, that you may become good Christians, and that you may be enabled to conduct as such; and in partic<sup>l</sup>, that you may have Grace to behave snitably towards each Other, as also dutifully towards your Masters & Mistresses, Not w<sup>th</sup> Eye-Service, as Men-pleasers, but as y<sup>e</sup> Serv<sup>ts</sup> of Chr<sup>t</sup>, doing y<sup>e</sup> Will of God from y<sup>e</sup> heart &c.

[ENDORSED]

"NEGROE-MARRIAGE."

Thus the mutual pledges of these poor creatures were formally in terms made subordinate to their relations as slaves; their personal fidelity to each other to depend on their respective places of residence for the time being; and their matrimonial privilege, or "*license to be conversant and familiar together, as Husband and Wife*," was to continue as long as they lived in the same neighborhood and during good behavior. Both these conditions were of course determined by the owners.

But such a formula of marital obligation as this

"You R: do now, in y<sup>e</sup> Presence of God, and these Witnesses, Take S: to be your *Husband* ;

"Promising, that so far as your present Relation, as a Servant, shall admit, you will Perform the Part of a *Wife* towards him: And in particular,

"You Promise, that you will *Love* him; And that, as you shall have the Opport<sup>y</sup> & Ability, you will take a proper *Care* of him in Sickness and Health; in Prosperity & Adversity:

"And that you will be True & Faithfull to him, and will Cleave to him *only*, so long as God, in his Provid<sup>ce</sup> shall continue his & your Abode in Such Place (or Places) as that you can conveniently come together:—Do You thus Promise?

"I then, agreeable to your Request, and w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Consent of your Masters & Mistresses, do Declare, that you have Licence given you to be conversant and familiar together, as *Husband and Wife*, so long as God shall continue your Places of Abode as afore-said; And so long as you Shall behave your-Selves as it becometh Servants to doe:

"For, you must, both of you, bear in mind, that you Remain Still, as really and truly as ever, your Master's Property, and therefore it will be justly expected, both by God and Man, that you behave and conduct your-selves, as Obedient and faithfull Servants towards your respective Masters & Mistresses for the Time being:

"And finally, I exhort & Charge you to beware lest you give place to the Devil, so as to take Occasion from the Licence now given you, to be lifted up with *Pride*, and thereby fall under the Displeasure, not of Man only, but of God also; for, it is written, that God resisteth the Proud, but he giveth Grace to the humble.

"I shall now Conclude w<sup>th</sup> Prayer for you, that you may become good Christians, and that you may be enabled to conduct as such; and in partic<sup>l</sup>, that you may have Grace to behave snitably towards each Other, as also dutifully towards your Masters & Mistresses, Not w<sup>th</sup> Eye-Service, as Men-pleasers, but as y<sup>e</sup> Serv<sup>ts</sup> of Chr<sup>t</sup>, doing y<sup>e</sup> Will of God from y<sup>e</sup> heart &c.

needs neither comment nor explanation! It speaks for itself! and furnishes an illustration which epitomizes and emphasizes the whole story of Slavery in Massachusetts. How long it would take such a guarantee to the Slave of "the rights of marriage and of family," to bring "about a total modification of the character of negro-slavery," must be left to the research of the historian or the imagination of the reader.

GEORGE H. MOORE.

NEW YORK, February, 1869.

### XIII.—“PRIVATELY-PRINTED BOOKS,” IN AMERICA.\*

Our readers are acquainted with the various “Book-Clubs” of America, which have issued, or are preparing to issue, “Privately-printed” books, so called, in small editions and for special circulation; and they have seen, in the increased and intelligent demand for “fine books,” which has recently sprung up in their midst, some of the fruits of the labors of those Clubs and of the spirited gentlemen of whom they are mainly composed. There have been other influences however, which have been silently co-operating with the “Book-Clubs,” in this great and good work, chief of which are the parallel movements of amateur and professional publishers, by several of whom small editions of what are familiarly known as “Privately-printed” books have been frequently issued to their friends and especial customers; and to all of these classes of publishers, and to both classes of publications—the Clubs, the amateurs, and the professional publishers; the books which have been offered for sale and the books which have been privately circulated—we propose to devote a limited space in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

It will be seen that there are two classes of “Privately-printed books”—FIRST: those which are sold by those who issue them, but only to such as have subscribed therefor. SECOND, those which are really “private” issues, by gentlemen of fortune, for their own use and that of such of their friends as they may be pleased to give them to. Among the latter may be considered the publications of Messrs. JAMES LENOX, GEORGE W. RIGGS, and GEORGE LIVERMORE, and some of those of Mr. FRANCIS S. HOFFMAN, THE BRADFORD CLUB, Doctor W. ELIOTT WOODWARD, etc.; among the former may be considered the principal issues of the greater number of the “Book-clubs,” and those of Messrs. JOEL MUNSELL, HENRY B. DAWSON, CHARLES I. BUSHNELL, J. SABIN, WILLIAM VEAZIE, JOHN CAMPBELL, WIGGIN and LUNT, etc. The latter of these are *always* scarce and obtained with difficulty: the former not unfrequently become so, although when first issued they may generally be purchased from the publisher, at moderate prices. The volumes of both these classes are generally printed in small editions; sometimes of more than one size; seldom in any other than a very superior style. They are not offered, when offered at all, to “the Trade;” nor are they often seen for sale, even second-hand, on the shelves of the book-sellers, throughout the country.

\* We commenced this series of papers in August, 1866, but it was interrupted by difficulties experienced in obtaining information on the subject referred to therein. We begin again, with, we hope, better prospects of success.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

In discharging the duty which we have assigned to ourself, in the preparation of a brief description of the various works which have been issued in small editions, outside of “the Trade,” we propose, FIRST, to notice those which have been issued to subscribers; and, LAST, to refer to those, most properly styled “Privately-printed,” which have been printed for private circulation only, the latter of which, from their character, being probably the smallest in number but most eagerly sought for.

#### I.

##### BOOKS ISSUED TO SUBSCRIBERS.

One of the earliest of those who issued “fine books,” in small editions, to subscribers only,—what are generally, but improperly, known as “Privately-printed” books—was Mr. JOEL MUNSELL, of Albany, N. Y., a printer with historical tastes and a proficient in his art; and he may properly be considered as one of the pioneers in this branch of the business.

We propose, therefore, to commence our notices of “Privately-printed books, in America,” with a sketch of Mr. MUNSELL’s experience, as a printer of that class of works; and we are sure that, in common with ourself, our readers will welcome the following, prepared at our request by Mr. Munsell himself, for this work:

“In the year 1855, Doctor F. B. Hough, having found some early papers relating to the Island of Nantucket, among the archives in the office of the Secretary of State at Albany, the Hon. J. V. L. PRUYN suggested to me the idea of printing them in the types of the last century, now familiarly known as *Old Style*. I objected to it the argument that we should aim to go *forward* in typography, and not backward. But he favored the old style of type as appropriate to the ancient style and orthography of the Manuscripts.

“There were then no suitable types to be had in this country. Messrs. FARMER, LITTLE, & Co. had a Great Primer and a Long Primer in Roman only. The indispensable Italics, Superiors, and other necessary sorts, could only be procured in England. Therefore, the types were ordered from the foundry of the Messrs. CASLON, so long celebrated for the production of this style of types. The founts being rather small, the progress of the work was necessarily slow, the more so as I undertook to filch time from my business to set the types myself, and did compose the whole work with my own fingers. I could not then find suitable paper, nor get a paper-maker to understand what I wanted by a cream-white of the right shade. One of them, who seemed to catch a glimpse of the art, exclaimed, ‘Oh! yes, I see, you want some dirt in it!’ It was hard printing upon

"the porcelain surfaces of the paper which composes the first volumes, although we know how to do it much better now.\*

"Having the types on hand, I sought for something to use them upon, and was advised by Doctor O'CALLAGHAN to publish an *Orderly Book of the Campaign of General Amherst, in 1759*, the manuscript of which was in his possession, having been written, apparently, by Commissary Wilson, whose name was on the cover.

"This volume was edited by Doctor O'CALLAGHAN, who added all the Notes and the Index. But, receiving very few orders, after announcing it in Circulars to such persons throughout the country as were thought to take an interest in such matters, at two dollars and fifty cents a copy, I offered the whole edition to General J. WATTS DE PEYSTER, the owner of the Manuscript. He took sixty copies at two dollars, which, with the twenty subscribed for, paid the cost of printing in those cheap times.

"It attracted no particular notice until 1864, when all my copies having been disposed of at the subscription price, they began to be sought for, first at five dollars, then at ten dollars, and finally at forty dollars and upwards; and, at FOWLE's sale in Boston, a copy was knocked down at sixty dollars.†

"Doctor HOUGH now brought me *A Narrative of the Causes which led to King PHILIP's Indian War, of 1675-76*, by JOHN EASTON, which had been found among the Manuscripts in the Secretary's office at Albany, where it seems to have laid more than a century and a half. Mr. DRAKE was supposed to have collected pretty much everything that was likely to turn up respecting King PHILIP and his War; but, although he had found an allusion in MATHER to this narrative of EASTON, he regarded it as lost to the world. Considering how long the Manuscripts in the Secretary's office were used for packing purposes, it is a miracle, almost, that it did not perish. This document, with others entirely new, derived from the same source, with Introduction and Notes by Doctor HOUGH, formed the second volume of what I had now resolved to call my *Historical Series*.

\* This volume is entitled *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket*, With Documents relating to the Original Settlement of that Island, Martha's Vineyard, and other Islands adjacent, known as Dukes County. While under the Colony of New York. By Franklin B. Hough, Albany, 1856.

† It embraces eight preliminary pages, and a hundred and sixty-two of the text; and is illustrated with a map.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

† This volume bore the following title: *Commissary Wilson's Orderly Book. Expedition of the British and Provincial Army, under Maj. Gen. Jeffrey Amherst, against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. 1759*. Albany, 1857.

It embraces twelve pages of preliminary matter, and two hundred and twenty pages of text; and is illustrated with a map.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

"The usual Circular brought about twenty responses only, the price, two dollars and fifty cents, and the limited number of copies printed, which was one hundred for sale, and twenty-five to the Editor, was regarded and complained of as an aristocratical mode of publishing, which it was thought proper not to countenance. The Hon. JOHN V. L. PRYNN, learning the poor encouragement of the work, gave me a subscription for twenty-six copies, which he distributed gratuitously. Before the book was finished, I received from the Honorable J. R. BARTLETT, of Providence, about twenty-two names of persons which had been obtained in Rhode Island.

"By slow sales and donations, this volume finally went off; and in due time it rose in the market to over one hundred dollars.

"I cannot refrain from mentioning that, despairing of selling the large-paper copies, of which ten were printed, and the small ones being dispersed, I cut them down to a saleable size, and received two dollars and fifty cents a copy for them. Six copies went to London at two dollars each, four of which I received back as unsaleable.\*

"I next fell in with an *Orderly Book of the Northern Army at Ticonderoga, under Wayne*, which I annotated myself, it being a new subject to me. It went off by the help of a subscription by Mr. PRYNN.†

"Mr. JOHN RUSSELL SMITH, of London, now offered me a manuscript *Diary of the Siege of Detroit, by Pontiac, 1762*. He had begun to print it; but discovering at the end of the second sheet that the binder had transposed the sheets so that he had begun to print in the middle of the Diary, he abandoned it. A large number of Documents were found among the State archives relating to the same period, by Doctor HOUGH, who undertook to edit the work for a few copies. It extended to three hundred and four closely-printed pages, and it was thought to be rather an expensive luxury at three dollars. Yet the subscriptions had somewhat increased since the first volumes were issued; and Mr. J. CARSON BREVOORT, a liberal patron

\* This volume bore the title, *A Narrative of the Causes which led to Philip's Indian War of 1675 and 1676*, by John Easton of Rhode Island. With other Documents concerning this Event in the Office of the Secretary of State of New York. By Franklin B. Hough. Albany, N. Y.: 1858.

† It embraces twenty-three pages of preliminary matter and two hundred and eight of text; and is illustrated with a map.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

† This volume is entitled *Orderly Book of the Northern Army, at Ticonderoga and Mt. Independence, from October 17th, 1776, to January 8th, 1777*; with Biographical and Explanatory Notes and an Appendix. Albany: 1859.

It is uniform in size and style with the preceding volumes of the series; contains eight pages of preliminary matter and two hundred and twenty-four of text; and is illustrated with a map.—Ed. Hist. Mag.



"of literature, and widely known as an amateur of Science, lent a hand to lift it from the press. "Mr. PARKMAN was thought to have garnered "pretty much all that would ever be known of "PONTIAC'S war; but here was a large addition "to the stock of knowledge on that great episode "in American history."\*

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

#### XIV.—ANCIENT PROPHECIES CONCERN- ING AMERICA.

COMMUNICATED BY HENRY C. VAN SCHAIK, ESQ.  
OF MANLIUS, N. Y.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

Having noticed in several numbers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, some ancient prophecies about America, I am induced to send you, at foot, copies of two old prophecies in regard to the *American Revolution*. They came to me in manuscript, among many other ancestral papers; and are on one sheet of paper, without any spaces between them, and in the order here given. They are in the hand-writing of a nonagenarian, who was curious to preserve his papers, and who died in 1823. They were evidently copied by him, in whole or in part, many years before his death.

Having never seen these predictions in any other form than this manuscript, they may be as new to others as they have been to me. If any explanation can be given to either of them, I should be glad to see it in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

H. C. V. S.

MANLIUS, January, 1869.

MR. PRINTER:

The people of England at this time seem persuaded that the American revolt will be quashed in the year 1786; and, under that idea, it is likely will prosecute the War with vigor for some time to come. This infatuation principally owes its birth to a Prophecy of one John Cozens, who lived in the reign of the second Charles, importing that a certain trans-Atlantic insurrection and the kirk of Scotland, will both fall to the ground in the year above mentioned. Cozens's predictions are as follows, taken from the *Royal Gazette*, of the thirteenth of February, 1782.

"When a branch of the thistle gets over the Atlantic,  
"And in a new world the root shall be planted,  
"And when it doth arrive to a degree of perfection  
"It surely will breed a great insurrection.  
"In the year seventy and four the root will be polish'd,  
"And in eighty and six it will be quite abolish'd;  
"The lilly and the thistle in that year will noite,  
"But the Lyon and the dun Cow will put them to flight;  
"The Eagle will eagerly joine in the fray,  
"But Luna will clip both their wings in a day.  
"O thistle! O thistle! thy wounds will be sore,  
"Kirk & Kirk-Government will be no more,  
"And you'll be abrig'd of all civil power."

To show that America has not been wholly

destitute of oracular sages in past times, I send you the following *choice words*, or prophetic hints, of an illiterate fisherman, who died about thirty years ago, at his habitation a few miles above the mouth of the Susquehannah. I discovered the paper containing them, by mere accident, in tumbling over the leaves of an old book, at an inn near that place. If you think the lines worth inserting in your paper they are at your service.

"When a certain great King whose initial is G.  
"Shall force stamps upon paper, and folks to driak tea,  
"When these folks burn his tea & stamp'd paper like stables,  
"ble,  
"You may guess that this King is then coming to trouble.  
"But when a petition he treads under his feet,  
"And sends over the ocean an army and fleet;  
"When that army half starved, & frantic with rage,  
"Shall be coop'd up with a leader whose name rhymes with  
"cage;  
"When that leader goes home dejected & sad,  
"You may then be assured the King's prospects are bad;  
"But when B. & C.\* with their armies are taken,  
"The King will do well if he saves his own bacon.  
"In the year seventeen hundred & eighty & two,  
"A stroke he shall get that will make him look blue;  
"In the year eighty three, eighty four, & eighty five,  
"You hardly shall know that the King is alive.  
"In the year eighty six, the affair will be over,  
"And he shall eat turkeys that grew in Hanover.  
"The face of the Lyon shall then become pale,  
"He shall yield fifteen teeth & he sheared of his tail.  
"O King! my dear King! you shall be very sore,  
"The stars & the Lilly shall run you on shore,  
"And your Lyon shall growl, but not bite any more."

#### XV.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. HIST. MAG.]

MAJOR ANDRE.

[One of our exchanges furnishes us with some extracts from a letter written in the American camp, at the time of Major Andre's death, which will be found interesting, not only to students of American history, but to the general reader. The letter was written by Jeremiah Fogg, a native of Kensington, New Hampshire, who graduated at Harvard College, in 1768; entered the Army as an officer of Colonel Poor's Regiment, in 1773; and served until the close of the Revolution.

Our correspondent says, that some years since, he found in Windsor, Vermont, an old soldier on his death-bed, who said he was one of the guard at the execution of Major Andre; and his account seems to confirm and explain the letter. He said that "Major Andre took out two white handkerchiefs, and asked an officer to take one and bind his arms, and the other to blindfold his eyes. He was a very handsome man, and in full uniform. As he stood in the common "Army-cart, under the gallows, he said, "Officers and soldiers, I am reconciled to my death, but not to the manner." "I wish you to remember that I die like a brave man."—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

CAMP ORANGE TOWN, Oct. 2, 1780.

DEAR SIR:—Rec'd your packet by Maj. Wiggins. I have written repeatedly, but what or by whom it is out of memory. The last, I think, was concerning the Plot—since which the said

\* This work is entitled *Diary of the Siege of Detroit in the War with Pontiac. Also a Narrative of the principal events of the Siege, by Major Robert Rogers; a Plan for Conducting Indian Affairs, by Colonel Bradstreet; and other Authentick Documents, never before printed.* Edited with Notes by Franklin B. Hough. Albany, N. Y.: 1860.

It embraces twenty-six pages of preliminary matter and three hundred and four pages of text; and has no illustrations.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

\* Burgoyne and Cornwallis.

Maj. Andre, Clinton's Adj't. Gen'l, has been condemned, and was to have been executed yesterday, but a flag concerning him prevented.

Gov. Robinson with two able attorneys landed, with a letter, from Arnold, provoking and insolent, directed to his Excellency. Genl. Green received them, broke open the letter and returned it with due contempt. The purport was, that Andre was not a spy; but meant only to meet him within the British lines, but, by accident blundered within our sentries, and had a passport from Maj. General Arnold—and if he was hanged the severest retaliation might be expected.

What can be done? The law must be satisfied. He is a spy, and notwithstanding what he (Andre) calls the futile arguments of his friends, says he deserves death by the law and usage of nations, as he was taken within the lines.

He is a man of elegant form, education, sense, and honor; and has done no more than any friend to his cause would. Our contracted ones speak of him as a villain, without discrimination; but such of us as have seen the devil, or possess liberal sentiments, ache in heart and wish for some pretext to save him. He begs no questions will be asked, except of his personal conduct, and will die like a hero.

But Arnold! shocking, shocking!—and the poor wretches in York, who acted as spies for Arnold, are all in confinement by his information. Is not this worse than treason? And to say no more of him, he is a d—d perjured rascal.

4 Clock P. M.

Well, poor Andre is gone. You have read of martyrs, &c., but cannot figure to yourself more fortitude in any man. He was hung in his uniform, but shew no more discomposure than if going to a ball. Some of our sensibiles are distracted at the sight. I am much cooled down since I saw his fool hardiness (alias fortitude)—am quite out of humor and unfit to write. Besides, the long roll calls me to the parade.

J. Fogg.

#### ORIGINAL LETTER FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON.

[The original of the following letter, from George Washington to General James Mercer, is in the possession of Colonel George Hancock, of Jefferson County, and was recently copied by us for publication with his permission. It is written in the clear, flowing hand of the distinguished writer; and is marked with the peculiar neatness, ease of composition, and care in punctuation which characterize all his writings. The portion relating to private business is valuable only as illustrating the close attention given by him to all such matters, and the excellent judgment with which he conducted his private as well as public affairs. The latter part of the letter possesses valuable historic interest as relating to a subject in which the fate of the Republic was so intimately concerned. The Convention to remodel the Federal system had been appointed to meet in May; and yet, on the fifteenth of March, it will be seen, Washington, though appointed by Virginia at the head of her delegation, had declined all entreaties to attend. Within a fortnight after, however, in response to the urgent voice of Virginia, through the Governor, and to letters

from friends in various States, he consented to go. On the twenty-eighth of March, he addressed a letter to the Governor of Virginia (Randolph), in which, after stating the reasons which had influenced him to decline attending the Convention, the influence of which he still felt, he added: "However, as my friends, with a degree of solicitude which is unusual, seem to wish for my attendance on this occasion, I have come to a resolution to go if my health will permit; provided, from the lapse of time between your Excellency's letter and this reply, the Executive may not have turned their thoughts to some other character." Of his attendance upon the Convention, his election as its presiding officer, and the happy results which followed, history bears full record.

General James Mercer, to whom the letter is addressed, was the brother of General Hugh Mercer, who served with Washington in the Indian wars, terminating in 1763, and who fell in the battle of Princeton, while commanding one of Washington's Divisions—*Frankfort (Ky.) Freeman*, Aug. 22.]

#### LETTER FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON TO GENERAL JAMES MERCER.

MOUNT VERNON, 15th March, 1787.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the tenth came duly to hand, and with very sincere concern I read the account of your ill-health; but if your other complaints have left you, the asthma, though troublesome and distressing, is not a dangerous one. I will hope, therefore, that the agreeable season, which is fast approaching, will perfectly restore you to good health.

Under cover with this you will receive the original deed for the lands on Four-Mile Run, which you will please to return when your purposes are answered by the reference to it for drawing the deed of confirmation; for your justice in offering which, and kindness in drawing it, I pray you to accept my warmest acknowledgments.

The mode suggested by you to obtain the bond which I passed to Messrs. McCoull & Blair, is, in my judgment, the only proper one; so far as it respects you or the representatives of your father, (if the credit is to be applied to that account), it is precisely the same whether you account with me or them, for the principal and interest of the sum which was to have been paid for the land under the circumstances of your claim—because if the right is determined to be in you, so much will have been discounted from my demand on the estate; if in them, it is only paying to them, as Attorneys of Linds & Cozenova, what otherwise would have been demanded of me. The case with me would be widely different, for if I allow this sum with the interest in a final settlement and my bond remains unretired, I am open to a prosecution thereon; and may be greatly distressed by the actual payment after having allowed it in a discount, before I can have any redress, which would very illy accord with the present state of my finances. Should Mr. McCoull refuse to accede to your proposal, it would imply strongly, his intention of resorting to me for payment.

However desirous I am, and always shall be,



to comply with any commands of my country, I do not conceive that I can, with consistent conduct, attend the proposed Convention to be holden in Philadelphia, in May next. For besides the declaration which I made in a very solemn manner when I was about to retire, of bidding adieu to all public employment, I had, just before the appointment of delegates to this Convention, written and dispatched circular letters to the several States' Societies of the Cincinnati, informing them of my intention not to attend the general meeting which was to take place, about the same time, and in the same city,—and assigned reasons which apply as forcibly in the one case as the other. Under these circumstances, to attend the Convention might be considered disrespectful to a worthy set of men, for whose attachment and support, on so many occasions, I shall ever feel the highest gratitude and affection.

It is unnecessary, I hope, to assure you of the pleasure I shall always receive at seeing you here, whenever business or your health will permit. The latter, possibly, might be benefited by the change of air.

With sincere esteem and regard, I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

GEN. JAMES MERCER.

A REMINISCENCE OF HENRY CLAY. A distinguished citizen of San Francisco, who was a member of Congress from one of the older States, as long ago as 1842, and who was, that year, a mess-mate of Henry Clay in Washington, is in possession of a memorandum, in Mr. Clay's writing, which curiously illustrates his neatness and precision in the minor affairs of life. It is simply a programme for the cook to follow, which was written rapidly, off-hand, in very neat characters, and indorsed "H. Clay's mem., for 'the session.'" To show what were the tastes of "the great commoner," we copy the bill of fare in full:

"SUNDAY—Roast or boiled turkey, an old ham of bacon, a mutton chop, a pair of canvass-back ducks and vegetables.

"MONDAY—Cold bacon ham, roast beef, stewed oysters, and a leg of mutton, boiled, with vegetables.

"TUESDAY—A boiled piece of corned beef (brisket), a goose, partridges, and mutton chops, with vegetables.

"WEDNESDAY—A rock fish, an old ham of bacon, turkey, boiled fowls, and veal cutlets, with vegetables.

"THURSDAY—Cold ham, roast mutton, stewed oysters, and a beefsteak, with vegetables.

"FRIDAY—Corned beef (brisket), mutton

chops, goose, ham of veal, with vegetables.

"SATURDAY—Cold corned beef, rock fish, roast fowls, leg of mutton, boiled, and birds.

"Soup au julien, to be given as often as convenient—every day if so."

When the above was written, Mr. Clay was about sixty-two years of age. His fondness for ham and rich meats, even on Friday, is noticeable. It will be seen, also, that he ranks Sunday as the first day of the week.—*San Francisco Bulletin*.

#### ORIGINAL LETTER FROM ROBERT FULTON.

[The following letter was addressed by Robert Fulton to Andrew Brink, the Captain of the *Clermont*, the first steamboat that ever ploughed the waters of the Hudson-river.

The boat was named *Clermont*, in honor of the town, bearing that name, in Columbia County, where resided Chancellor R. R. Livingston, who furnished the funds to enable Fulton to construct the boat. The *Clermont* was one hundred and thirty feet long, eighteen wide, and seven deep.

On the morning of the seventh of August, 1807, Fulton, with a few friends and mechanics, and six passengers, leaving on the shore an incredulous and jeering crowd, started from New York, with the *Clermont*, for Albany. The distance, one hundred and fifty miles, was made at the speed of nearly, and on his return, of full, five miles an hour. As the speed was less than had been anticipated, the boat was lengthened to one hundred and forty feet keel, and being otherwise altered, was, early in the year 1808, placed for regular trips on the Hudson, between the cities already named.

The original letter is in possession of Persen Brink, Esq., of the town of Saugerties, Ulster County; and a copy of it was sent to the *Kingston Argus* for publication.—*Albany Argus*.]

NEW YORK, Oct. 9, 1806.

CAPT. BRINK,—

SIR:—Inclosed is the number of voyages which it is intended the boat should run this season. You may have them published in the Albany papers. As she is strongly made, and every one, except Jackson, under your command, you must insist on each one doing his duty, or turn him on shore and put another in his place. Every thing must be kept in order—every thing in its place, and all parts of the boat scoured and clean. It is not sufficient to tell men to do a thing, but stand over them and make them do it. One pair of good and quick eyes is worth six pair of hands in a commander. If the boat is dirty or out of order, the fault should be yours. Let no man be idle when there is the least thing to do; and make them move quickly.

Run no risque of any kind: when you meet or overtake vessels beating or crossing your way, always run under their stern, if there be the least doubt that you cannot clear their head by fifty yards, or more.

Give the amount of receipts and expenses every week to the Chancellor.

Your most obedient,  
ROBERT FULTON.



## XVI.—NOTES.

## THE JOHN-STREET METHODIST CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.

[At the Centennial Anniversary of this Church, celebrated on Sunday, the twenty-fifth of October, 1868, the Pastor read the following "Historic Notes," which we are glad to preserve in the pages of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for the benefit of those who shall come after us. ED. HIST. MAG.]

We meet to-day to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the dedication of this Church, the first dedication having taken place on the last Sunday in October, 1768. Previous to that date, the Methodist meetings (opened in the Autumn of 1766) were held first in Philip Embury's private dwelling, located in what is now Park Place; and three months afterward, in a larger rented room, in that neighborhood; and still later, in a rigging house, in William-street, the room being sixty by eighteen feet.

The site in John-street at first consisted of two lots, each twenty-five by ninety-five feet. They were obtained on a lease from Mrs. Mary Barclay, widow of Reverend Henry Barclay, the second Rector of Trinity Church. The lease bore date the twenty-ninth of March, 1768, and was made to the first Board of Trustees, namely, Philip Embury, William Lupton, Charles White, Richard Souse, Henry Newton, Paul Hick, Thomas Taylor, and Captain Thomas Webb.

The lease continued for over two years, when the lot was purchased for the sum of six hundred pounds. The deed was dated the second of November, 1770, and was made by Joseph Forbes (then owner) to the Reverends Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor, Pastors; William Lupton, merchant; Thomas Webb, gentleman; John Southwell, merchant; Henry Newton, shopkeeper; and James Jarvis, hatter. On the twelfth of March, 1786, the Trustees purchased other property adjoining the first lots.

On one of the original lots stood a small, plainly-built, frame dwelling, which, for a long time after the completion of the Church, was occupied as a Parsonage. It was located, in part, in front of the Church.

The church edifice was first built of stone, and the front covered with a blue plaster, presenting the appearance of durability as well as of simplicity. Its dimensions were sixty by forty-two feet. There were galleries, but no stairs, the people ascending to them by means of ladders. For a considerable time, even the seats in the lower floor were without backs. Of this first edifice, Barbara Hick was architect,—the plan, as she believed, having been impressed upon her mind in answer to prayer,—and Philip Embury was the builder. The subscription list embraced the names of numerous persons outside of the congregation, some of them occupying prom-

inent places in social life. Mr. John Wesley contributed fifty pounds toward the building fund. The exact cost is not known, but the early records show that the first subscriptions amounted to over four hundred and eighteen pounds; and that, after the first of August, 1769, and up to the seventeenth of January, 1771, the Treasurer received seven hundred and thirty-three pounds toward paying for it.

The first edifice stood until the thirteenth of May, 1817, when the walls were demolished, and the corner-stone laid, by the Rev. Daniel Ostrander, Pastor, for a larger and neater structure, which was dedicated by the Rev. Nathan Bangs, on the fourth of January, 1818. The second edifice was sixty-two by eighty-seven feet and cost about thirty thousand dollars.

The present edifice was dedicated by Bishop Hedding, on the twenty-seventh of April, 1841. The dedication service of the first Church, on the last Sabbath in October, 1768, was conducted by Philip Embury, the first Pastor, a local preacher, his text on the occasion being Hosea, x, 12: "Sow to yourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy; break up your fallow ground; for it is time to seek the Lord, till he come and rain righteousness upon you."

For a full hundred years the worship of God has continued at these altars; from this pulpit his word has been proclaimed, and from this table the holy sacraments have been dispensed. On the first Sabbath of the new century, we meet again. The memory of the fathers and of the "early times" is precious this day. The Pastor and members of the Church and Congregation greet with a hearty welcome the former Pastors, members, and friends of this old and loved Church. We all congratulate each other on the history of American Methodism. All our hearts go out in earnest, glowing with thank-givings to Him, "our Father," from whom alone "cometh every good and perfect gift."

FALSE HISTORY CORRECTED. In the ancient records of Providence, which the writer examined some years ago, is the following: "We, whose names are hereunder, desirous to inhabit it in the town of Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active or passive obedience, to all such Orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body, in an Orderly way, by the major assent of the present inhabitants, Masters of families, incorporated together into a town-fellowship, and such others whom they shall admit into them, only in civil things.

RICHARD SCOTT, THOMAS + ANGELL,  
WILLIAM + REGNOLDS, THOMAS + HARRIS,  
JOHN + FIELD, FRANCIS WICKES,

"CHAD. BROWN, BENEDICT ARNOLD,  
 "JOHN WARNER, JOSHUA WINSOR,  
 "GEORGE RICKARD, WILLIAM WICKENDEN,  
 "EDWARD COPE."

The Reverend James D. Knowles, in his *Memoir of Roger Williams*, (page 120,) referring to this document, says, "Every inhabitant was required to subscribe the following covenant: " \* \* \* This simple instrument, which combines the principles of a pure democracy and of unrestricted religious liberty, was the basis of the first Government in Providence. It was undoubtedly drawn up by Roger Williams." Professor Gammell has more recently published a *Life of Roger Williams*, in which he substantially reiterates the assertion of Knowles.

It will be seen that, instead of every inhabitant subscribing the covenant, there are but thirteen names to it, and, by examination of the original, a marked resemblance will be observed between the hand-writing in the document and the first signature. It has no more resemblance to the fac-simile writing of Roger Williams, (furnished by Knowles), than black letter has to modern English.

It was, no doubt, a voluntary record of Richard Scott and his associates, who joined Roger Williams, in 1637-8, to define their position and fix the terms upon which they joined the Colony; and, being in accordance with the principles adopted by Roger Williams, it was satisfactory to him.

It is noticeable, that neither the name of Roger Williams, nor that of either of the twelve men he first conveyed his purchase to, is among the thirteen names to the covenant.

M. B. S.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, Nov. 19th 1868.

## XVII.—QUERIES.

### SULLIVAN'S CAMPAIGN.

I have been searching for and gathering documents, relating to Sullivan's Expedition against the Western Indians.

Journals were kept during that Expedition, by the following persons:

1. John Jenkins, Lieutenant in Captain Spalding's Independent Company.
2. George Grant, Sergeant-major, Third New Jersey Regiment.
3. Thomas Grant.
4. Daniel Livermore, Captain, Third New Hampshire Regiment.
5. Adam Hubley, Lieutenant-colonel, Pennsylvania Regiment.
6. Theodosius Fowler, Captain.
7. William Barton, Lieutenant, Maxwell's Brigade.

8. Ebenezer Elmer, Surgeon, Second New Jersey Regiment.

9. Thomas Blake, Lieutenant, First New Hampshire Regiment.

10. James Norris, Major.

11. Peter Gansevoort, Colonel.

12. —Newman, Clinton's Brigade.

Narratives have been written by the following persons who were in the Expedition:

1. Reverend John Gano, Chaplain to Clinton's Brigade.

2. Nathan Davis, Private, First New Hampshire Regiment.

3. Moses Van Campen, Ensign, Captain Hunter's Pennsylvania Regiment.

4. —Maxwell, Major.

5. John Salmon, in Mary Jemison's *Narrative*; and, in addition to these, there is a Narrative by Luke Swetland, who was a prisoner in the hands of the Indians, and released by the Army, on the fifth of September, at Candia, or Kanadia.

Is there any person who knows of any other Journal or Narrative, by any other person connected with that Expedition? If so, I would be pleased to hear from him through the Magazine.

STEBEN JENKINS.

A BOOK LOST. I write this notice for the purpose of tracing a lost book, and with the intent that it shall serve the purpose of a common advertisement, and with a hope that it may achieve what a very large amount of common advertising could not very well do. If the book be yet in existence, it will naturally have found its way into some library, where it will have been preserved, and will have come, perhaps, under the notice of some one who reads THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. If this note shall be read by any one who has seen the book, he will please make known the present place of it, either to the Publisher or the undersigned.

The Book referred to, is a volume of newspapers, *The Freeman's Journal, or North American Intelligencer*, published in Philadelphia, by Francis Bailey. The above series had been carefully bound in three volumes. The first number of the paper bears date, the twenty-fifth of April, 1781; and the publication was continued weekly, until the second of May, 1792, at which date, the file in my possession ends. Francis Bailey was the grandfather of my children; and the file I have is the office copy and the family copy. The first volume, bound with leather back and sides, embraces the numbers from the twenty-fifth of April, 1781, to the twelfth of April, 1786. The second one, the volume lost, embraced the time between the twelfth of April, 1786, to the seventh of January, 1789; on which

date the third volume begins. This latter volume is also full-bound in leather, flesh-side out.

When the family of Mr. Bailey removed to Cincinnati, after his death, they brought these volumes with them; and during their residence there (and about 1828), the missing volume was lent to the Honorable George Turner, who then had an apartment in the United States Land Office, under the care of Peyton S. Symmes, the Register. He had become poor and was then quite aged. He had been a Captain in the Continental Army, during the Revolutionary War; and, in 1789, he was appointed by General Washington as one of the Judges of the General Court of the North-western Territory, to succeed James Mitchell Varnum, who had died in August of that year. On his coming to the Territory, Judge Turner fixed his residence at Cincinnati, where he always dwelt. He had a taste for Architecture, and sometimes furnished drawings; and for some of the earliest military operations he furnished maps. He spent some time compiling a statistical work relating to the West, which was advertised but never published.

Toward his last days, by an Act of Congress, for the benefit of officers who had served like himself, he received an amount of money which made him comfortable; and he went to reside elsewhere,—I think in Newport, Kentucky,—with a daughter, who came to join him. I do not know the time nor place of his death; and I have an impression that the daughter returned to Philadelphia. The volume of *The Freeman's Journal* was still in his possession when he left Cincinnati, and probably went with him. The missing volume is so material to the series, that I have a strong desire to see them brought together again, if it has not fallen a prey to that modern barbarism of selling old newspapers to the paper-mill.

I might make a note of Mr. Bailey as an early publisher, but will defer it.

JOHN H. JAMES.

URBANA, OHIO, 10th August, 1868.

#### XVIII.—REPLIES.

MARRIAGES IN THE UNITED STATES. This Query of H. Tiedman, (H. iii. 180.) as to the laws of marriage in the different States of the United States, induces the belief that the American Barrister, was misapprehended by the Reporter for the English papers. The statement is recapitulated thus:—"that, in some of the States, marriages before a clergyman were valid in every case, whether they took place in a church, in a house, or in the open air; without consent of the parents, without witnesses, and without

"being registered in the Parish, or any other Register." This is too broad: such a marriage by a clergyman, merely as of his own authority, without witnesses, and without a register, would be a nullity everywhere.

In all the States, marriages is purely a civil contract and dependent on the State laws, which all have a provision to this effect: that a license to marry, naming the person, must be procured from the office of a Court, or, that the intention of the person to be married shall be declared before some religious society according to its rule. While the laws of the several States may differ as to the persons who may perform the marriage service, they all have one trust, that of giving ready means of solemnizing marriage and preserving the evidence of it. Newly-settled States would often have neither Churches nor Ministers for long distances; and, in such States it was the uniform rule to give to judicial officers, including Justices of the Peace, the power of solemnizing marriages. But, they could act only on the production of a license from a public office, authorizing the marriage of the person named in it. This license could be obtained by any person of full age, on the payment of a small fee; and there had to be proof that the person to be married was of proper age, otherwise, the written consent of parents was required. The fee was generally less than one dollar, varying from seventy-five to eighty cents. Ministers of religion, as such, had no power to act in marriage; but on producing to a County Court, evidence of their being duly ordained Ministers of a Church, (any Church,) they could receive a license to act in the marriage ceremony. Any authorized person, on being presented with a marriage license, might perform the service for the person named in it; and this might be in any place the party chose. The person performing the service, retained the license, and was required by law to make a return to the Court from which the license issued, that he had solemnized the marriage; and a record was made of the certificate, which thus became a public record, and as such, valid as evidence in all the States. The law also provided, and, it is believed, uniformly provided, that marriages solemnized according to the rule of any religious society, should also be valid, and thus would dispense with the procuring of licenses. This embraced Quaker marriages and Catholic marriages, which are not returned to any public office. It may be observed that as the country becomes older, marriages are more generally solemnized by clergymen, rather than by municipal officers.

In this note it is not necessary to state the price of marriage license, except to show the facility given for obtaining it. But, being men



tioned, it will serve to hang a joke upon. It was the habit of a Clerk of Court, in Mason-county, Kentucky, when asked by the applicant for a license, the price of it, to answer that the law allowed five shillings, but gentlemen always gave him a dollar. The tradition is that he generally got the dollar. In Ohio, the fee has always been seventy-five cents. On one occasion, when the Legislature was making a display of retrenchment in the fees of public officers, some wags of Dayton sent up a petition, setting forth that owing to the hard times some of them were deterred from entering on matrimony; but, if the Legislature would reduce the fee for marriage licenses, from seventy-five cents to fifty cents, some of them might enjoy the comforts of this blessed state.

J. H. S.

URBANA, OHIO.

### XIX.—BOOKS.

#### RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MOORESBURG, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SORNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

#### A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*An Impartial and Authentic Narrative of the Battle Fought on the 17th of June, 1775, between His Britannic Majesty's Troops and the American Provincial Army on Bunker's Hill, near Charles Town, in New England. With A True and Faithful Account of the Officers who were killed and wounded in that memorable Battle. To which are added, Some particular Remarks and Anecdotes which have not yet transpired. The whole being collected and written on the Spot. The Second Edition, with Extracts from Three Letters lately received from America: And all the Promotions in the Army and Marines, since the said Battle.* By John Clarke, First Lieutenant of Marines. London: Printed for the Author. MDCCLXXV. [Re-printed, "for Private Distribution," at the Bradstreet Press, New York, November 1, 1863.] Octavo, pp. ii, 36. Privately printed.

This exceedingly beautiful volume is a careful re-print, evidently in *fac-simile*, of one of the rarest of the pamphlets which were sent out by the British press during our Revolutionary struggle; and the subject of which it treats commends it to the notice of all who are interested in the history of that eventful period.

There are some portions of this work which are so evidently erroneous, that we sometimes incline to the belief that it was originally written to order, by some literary hack, for some enterprising bookseller who thought to profit by the excitement occasioned by the receipt of the despatches concerning this battle; and we rather suspect that our suspicions, in this case, are really the truth. At any rate, the authorities, both English and American, directly contradict more than one of its averments; and there are several others for which we should be very much pleased to find

reliable vouchers. If it was, really, the work of an officer, "on the spot," as it purports to have been, that officer was certainly very easily satisfied with his subject, since not more than a dozen lines are occupied with his description of the action; and he managed, also, with much readiness, as we have said, to accumulate an unusual proportion of what is known to be fiction, in his very feeble effort, if indeed he made an effort, to present a very few facts. It forms, however, a portion of the literature of the War of the Revolution; and, as such, it is interesting, even if it is not important.

The re-print before us is probably a *verbatim* copy of the original, since it contains an unusual number of typographical inaccuracies; and it is printed with all the beauty of workmanship which marks so much of the production of the Bradstreet Press. It carries with it, also, another feature of that Press—the absence of the modern title-page, preceding the *fac-simile* of the original, which all mere re-prints should always possess.

The edition numbered ninety-nine copies, on Whatman's drawing-paper; and the work was printed for T. Bailey Myers, Esq., of New York, exclusively for private circulation.

2.—*The origin of the Expedition against Ticonderoga, in 1775.* A paper read before the Connecticut Historical Society, January 5, 1869. By J. H. Trumbull. Reprinted from *The Hartford Daily Courant*, January 9, 1869. Hartford, 1869. Octavo, pp. 15. Privately printed.

In the December number of *The Galaxy*, our good friend, the Rev. Mr. DeCosta—one of the best natured of men—kicked over a historical hornets'-nest; and from all over the regions of earthly bliss, where nothing but Truth is said to have ever seen day-light and Error has had no more chance for its life than a tad-pole would have in the Dead Sea, we hear little else than "lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning"—indeed, as it was in Ruma of old, so is it now in New England; Rachel weeps for her children, whom Mr. DeCosta has smothered, and will not be comforted, because they are not.

Professor Benedict of Burlington, Mr. Spofford of St. Albans, and Mr. Hall of Rutland, Vermont, *The Boston Daily Advertiser*, *The Salem Gazette*, and we do not know how many more of the existing powers of Yankeeedom, have either tumbled, or are preparing to tumble, on to the head of our adventurous Domine, all the contents of all their phials of indignation; and Ethan Allen has become, among these, *all at once*, as pure as modern New England's theology deems necessary to salvation, and as patriotic as New England's loyalty, in any age, has deemed necessary in any of her enterprising children.

Last of the excited ones, who are filling the air with their music, much to our amazement,—*not as an endorser of Ethan Allen, however, nor as a surety for the integrity of ancient Vermont*—is Mr. Trumbull of Hartford; and he insists that Mr. DeCosta has made a mistake, in this, that he maintained in the *Galaxy*, that John Brown, of Pittsfield, originated the idea of assaulting Ticonderoga; that that gentleman communicated the project to Messrs. Hancock and Adams; that the latter, while on their journey to the Congress, stopped at Hartford, and, in concert with the Governor and Council of Connecticut, organized the expedition; etc.; while the evidence shows that the matter really originated with Benedict Arnold, while on his way to Boston; that he communicated the subject to Samuel H. Parsons, whom he met on the road; that the latter, with some others, on his arrival at Hartford, borrowed the money on their personal credit, organized, and despatched an expedition on their own account, without either consulting or seeking the assistance of either the Governor or the Council; and that John Brown played only a second fiddle, in any part of the programme.

All this is very nice; but if Mr. Trumbull had turned to Note 3, Column 2, Page 31, of our *Battles of the United States*, published ten years ago, he would have seen our comparison of the various blunders of the various wise men of that and preceding periods, on this vexed subject, and our conclusion that "it appears unjust to deprive Arnold of the credit of originating this movement, when a comparison of the contemporary authorities so clearly establish it." We need say no more to illustrate our views concerning this subject, at that time; and we have seen no reason for changing our opinion, since we wrote these words, in 1859.

This tract is very neatly printed, for private circulation; and the edition numbered fifty copies.

3.—*Address at the dedication of the Town-house at Jamaica Plain, West Roxbury.* By Arthur W. Austin. Boston: 1868. Octavo, pp. 39. For private circulation.

And now comes our friend, Arthur W. Austin, Esq., and presents the case of the Town of West Roxbury, Massachusetts, opening, of course, the Colony Records for 1636, when the limits of Roxbury were defined, and glancing, as he proceeds, at the most notable events, relative to that portion of the old Town which is now West Roxbury, as he hurries to the period when that Town was divided.

The causes which led to this division of Roxbury are clearly indicated; and the process by which it was accomplished—the result, by the way, of Mr. Austin's judicious and self-sacrificing services—are minutely described. The

unusual prosperity of the new Town is also recorded; and we are glad to perceive that our honored friend has not hesitated to defend himself from the aspersions of divers town-men of his, the "petty malice of whose petty minds" belittled even their own nothingness by offering a personal insult to him after he had retired to private life, from public services of long continuance and unusual importance.

As a personal memorial, *per se*, this tract is interesting to all who are privileged to number the author among their personal friends; as a personal memorial of public affairs, it is of the highest importance to those who shall hereafter look into the history of either the Town of West Roxbury or the City of Boston: as a mere "local," there are few collectors who can afford to do without it.

It is very beautifully printed; and the edition numbered three hundred copies.

4.—*Virginia Company of London.* Extracts from their Manuscript Transactions: with Notes, by Edward D. Neill. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1868. Octavo, pp. 17. For private circulation.

It is not generally known that the original Records of "The Virginia Company of London," the great head of the Southernmost Colony in America, are in the Library of Congress; although Mr. Thornton brought the subject before the historical world, several years ago, in a tract devoted to that subject.

Mr. Neill, in this pamphlet, follows in the footsteps of Mr. Thornton, and goes beyond him so far as to offer to annotate these ancient and exceedingly important Records and carry them through the press, *without remuneration*, if Congress will provide him with copyists and provide for the printing of the work; and to illustrate their importance, he prints a dozen or so pages, and annotates them as he proposes to annotate the whole.

Mr. Neill generally does his work well, whenever he undertakes a task of this character; and we have no doubt that this, too, would be faithfully annotated; yet we should earnestly protest against any process of modernizing the language of the Records themselves, or even of changing the orthography of them, as has been done in these specimen pages: and we hope he will change that portion of his programme.

We are not advised of the progress which he has made in his projected undertaking.

5.—*The Congregational Church in Westminster, Vt.: its Pastors and the native Ministers.* By Pliny H. White. [Reprinted from the *Congregational Quarterly*, for January, 1866.] Cambridge: 1869. Octavo, pp. 20. For private circulation.

In August, 1867, we published the Centennia

Sermon, preached by Mr. White, at Westminster, in commemoration of the close of the first century of the existence of this Church; and in this little tract, we have a synopsis of the history of the same Church, with sketches of its Pastors and of those of its members who have become preachers.

This work is purely historical, statistical, and biographical in its character; and it is marked, in every line, with the precision of statement and profusion of details which distinguish all the writings of its excellent author. Whether considered, therefore, as a mere Church Manual or as an important element in the "local" history of Westminster, we must regard the tract as an important one.

6.—*History of the Congregational Churches in Orleans County, Vt., with biographical notices of the Pastors and native Ministers.* By Pliny H. White. Rutland: 1863. Octavo, pp. 61. Printed for private circulation.

The author of this work, the President of the Vermont Historical Society, is occupied on a history of the Congregational Churches in Vermont; and this volume embraces that portion of his projected History which relates to Orleans-county. It is issued for the purpose of indicating to his countrymen what he is doing and how he is doing it; and for the purpose of affording an opportunity to correct errors or supply omissions.

The remarks which we made in the preceding notice, concerning Mr. White's tract on the Westminster Church, are equally and exactly applicable to this: it is a necessary portion of the History of Orleans-county.

7.—*History of Newspapers in Orleans County, Vt.* By Pliny H. White. *Sine loco, sine anno.* Octavo, pp. 4. For private circulation.

One of the excellent contributions to the history of Vermont, which Mr. White is so liberally scattering over that State.

It seems to embrace every item of information, concerning the Press of Orleans-county; and, like the History of the Churches there, which we referred to in the preceding notice, there seems to be little room for improvement by any one who shall follow.

8.—*A presentation of causes tending to fix the position of the future great city of the world in the central plain of North America;* showing that the centre of the World's Commerce, now represented by the city of London, is moving westward, to the city of New York, and thence, within one hundred years, to the best position on the Great Lakes. By J. W. Scott. Toledo: 1863. Quarto, pp. 28.

An elaborate argument, abundantly sustained by tabular statements, to show that what London is now, commercially, New York soon will

be; and that, "within one hundred years," *Toledo will strip New York of her honors, and become the mistress of the commercial world!*

We wonder what is to become of Boston, about that time.

9.—*A brief sketch of the life and character of the late Matthew S. Temple, M. D., Prof., &c., &c.* By Samuel R. Barlow, M. D. Delivered before the Faculty and Students, October 18, 1867. New York: 1863. Octavo, pp. 13.

A very interesting and appropriate Address, commemorative of the life and character of Professor Temple of the Homeopathic College of New York, who died in May, 1867.

10.—*The Davis Family Record.* Edited by Charles H. S. Davis, M. D. A Monthly Journal devoted to the History and Genealogy of the Davis Family. Vol. I. Nos. 4, 5, 8.

The title of this work indicates its character and objects. It relates to nothing except the tribe of DAVIS; and concerning that subject nothing seems to have been overlooked.

We have not seen any other numbers than those above-named.

11.—*Letter on National Finances, from George Opdyke to Hon. Roscoe Conkling.* New York: 1869. Octavo, pp. 47. For private circulation.

Prominent among the Political Economists in the United States, stands, of right, the author of this tract; and we turned to it, therefore, with confidence that it would be found to be able, even if it was not convincing.

Mr. Opdyke commences with an interpretation of the party-platform of the incoming administration which he, himself, evidently does not believe to be a fair one. Indeed, he evidently distrusts his own expressed views concerning that platform, and promptly excuses himself for having expressed them in that particular form—a conclusion concerning his paraphrase of that platform, which is exactly the same as our own, and one which must perfectly coincide with the recollections of every one who cares to turn back to the frauds of the recent canvass.

On this very remarkable foundation, for such a work, however, Mr. Opdyke proceeds to construct his argument in opposition to an immediate resumption of specie payments, and to argue for the adoption of such a policy as will defer it for seven or eight years. It is indeed true that Mr. Opdyke, like many another preacher of strange doctrines, very soon forgets his text, which is the Chicago platform, and falls back on "facts and figures;" but the uncertainty which he manifested in the beginning is evident throughout the entire letter.

There is no doubt that a day of financial



trouble is rapidly approaching; and that it will crush beneath its ruins the millions who shall have lingered by the way and failed to reach the open fields which are ever ready to receive them. It is a mere matter of time; and it matters little to the country, whether it shall overwhelm the fathers or the children—whether it shall occur in this year or when Mr. Opdyke shall be seven or eight years older. *It must come, sooner or later*; and it seems to us that those who have danced, during the past seven or eight years, should not seek to leave to their children the unpleasant duty of paying the fiddler.

#### B.—PUBLICATIONS OF SOCIETIES.

12.—*Historic Progress and American Democracy*; an address delivered before the New-York Historical Society, at their Sixty-fourth Anniversary, December 16, 1868, by John Lothrop Motley. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. 74.

This is the official edition of the Anniversary Address, delivered before the Historical Society, a few weeks since, by Mr. Motley, which attracted so much attention and produced for its author so much local renown.

It is, indeed, a most elegant production, worthy of any scholar, and not less honorable to the Society that called it forth; and, we are told, the author's delivery did not mar its beauties nor destroy the effect, on his audience, of his well-turned and well-considered sentences. But, it would have been just as appropriate before a Society in Pekin as before one in America; and a female academy or a country lyceum would have been just as aptly addressed in these words, as was The New York Historical Society.

We were not insensible of the fact that of our more prominent countrymen, there is not one who is so completely ignorant of the history of his own country as this same Mr. John Lothrop Motley—his celebrated letter to *The London Times*, before he was sent to Vienna, revealed that exceedingly ugly fact—but we were not before aware how much could be said, nor how well, about “American Democracy,” without saying scarcely one word *concerning* it, whether considered in its birth, its infantile struggles, its manhood, or its decline. Indeed, Mr. Motley gives no evidence that he knows anything about either of these matters—he certainly confesses his entire ignorance of the last.

We have been amused at Mr. Motley's reckless use of the term, “State-rights,” as applied to some of the German nationalities, in their struggle against the centralizing power of Prussia or that of Austria—a use of the term which is just as reckless, when applied to the efforts of a *Prince*, who is struggling for his *prerogatives*, without caring a whit, either one way or other,

for his *People*, who alone forms the STATE, as was a similar use of it, by Governor Strong and the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, in August, 1812, when they claimed for the former the right, in both law and morals, to withhold the quota of troops which that State was called upon to furnish, to oppose Great Britain, in time of public War (HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, II, i, 18) and vastly more reckless than was modern Massachusetts' opposition to the Fugitive Slave Act, or John Jay's earnest opposition to the Federal authorities in Pennsylvania, when Judge Grier persecuted, without due warrant in law, one Passmore Williamson—but, we suppose, he needed spice for his pottage; and that was evidently the handiest. We have been amused, also, and amazed, too, that Mr. Motley could gravely announce that “American Democracy” originated in the *Declaration of Independence*; and that the only struggle of that Democracy which was worth his notice was that with Southern Slavery, without a word on the worse than Southern Slavery which, generation after generation, disgraced New England and debased her negroes; or one word about that terrible contest between “American Democracy” and those great men of New England who held that “Democracy is the eldest child “of the Devil;” or about that still more terrible treatment which, to-day, even Massachusetts is meting out to her resident poor—the aged, infirm, friendless poor—which she “farms out,” at so much per head, to those who will take most, for their compensation, out of the sorry carcasses of Massachusetts' victims and least out of her treasury.

If Mr. Motley wanted to tell The New York Historical Society something about “Human Progress” and “American Democracy,” why did he not do so? If either Cesar or Constantine, Sydney Smith or John von Herder, Midas or Pactolus, Cæsar or the mummy of Natchez, Ephraim Jenkinson or Moses, Cicero or Demosthenes, King Alfred or Hamlet, Herman or Arminius, War-man or Ger-man, Shakespeare or Cadmus, Lord Bacon or Sir Thomas Browne, Pharaoh or Ptolemy, Corebus or Henry Beauchere, Roger Bacon or Doctor Faustus, Luther or Calvin, Charles or Ferdinand, Louis or Peter, Columbus or Plato, Thucydides or Tacitus, Gibbon or Macaulay, Buckle or Prescott, Læurgus or Draco, Doctor Johnson or William the Conqueror, Charlemagne or Voltaire, Francis Deák or Baron Beust, Count Andrassy or the Emperor of Austria, Froissart or Philippe de Comines, Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Disraeli, Queen Victoria or Andrew Johnson, Tsin-Shee-Hwang-Tee or the Cardinal Richelieu—all of whom, successively, occupied his attention—had the least earthly concern with either “American Democracy” or “Human Progress,” Mr.

Motley most certainly failed to show it in this Address; and his very elaborate description of the internal struggles of the *Princes of Germany* and those of the *Magyars, of Hungary*, in opposition to the Emperor of *Austria*, had just as little to do with either "Human Progress" or "*American Democracy*," or any other "*Democracy*," as had his graphic account of the geography of the planet Mars or that of the climate of Jupiter.

The fact is, this Address was evidently a "show address," prepared for a specific purpose outside of the Society—as his London letter was written—and we shall see, very soon, how much the bid has been valued at, by him at whom it was thrown.

The pamphlet is a very fine specimen of typography, from the press of John A. Gray & Green of New York.

P. S.—Since the above was written, the world has been advised, "with the advice and consent of the Senate," that President Grant, also, has appraised the merit of this Address at a very low figure, and, rather than the elegant expositor of "Human Progress and American Democracy," has delighted to honor the more homely conqueror, in Billingsgate, of Ignatius Donnelly.

13.—*The Andros Tracts*: being a collection of pamphlets and official papers issued during the period between the overthrow of the Andros Government and the establishment of the Second Charter of Massachusetts. Reprinted from the Original Editions and Manuscripts. With Notes and a Memoir of Sir Edmund Andros, by W. H. Whitmore. Boston: The Prince Society. 1868. Small quarto, pp. [x] liv, 215.

This is understood to be the first volume of *The Andros Tracts*, although no mention of that fact is made on the title-page.

The administration of the Government of New England, by Sir Edmund Andros, has been very much talked of and very much misrepresented by every genuine New Englander, from the days of John Nelson to those of William Frederic Poole; and it seems proper, therefore, that a New England Society should furnish some material from which the truth may, in some degree, be protected from the contaminating influences of its own countrymen. In this very commendable work, we should expect to find some whose names are on the cover of this volume, if any were thus engaged; and if the reckless slanderers of this able ruler and of the faithful historian who treated of him, in *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, a few months since, would follow their example, they would serve others besides themselves.

In this volume, we supposed we should find a tolerably complete collection of the materials for history, concerning the Andros Administration in New England, yet that paper which of all others is most important in that connection

—the Commission which, on the third of June, 1686, James II. gave to Andros, as "Capt. General and Govr. in Chief," of New England—is most singularly omitted.

This omission, it strikes us, is peculiarly unfortunate in view of the bad faith which, within the past few years, has been fastened so firmly upon so many of New England's historical writers, and of the propensity which they have so often displayed, while treating of matters pertaining to New England's history, to conceal or misrepresent whatever makes against her and whatever is calculated to disprove the pretensions on which her inhabitants have rested so boldly in their arrogant treatment of their neighbors. We are sure the excellent Editor of this volume has been influenced by no such unworthy motives; but we regret that room has been thus unwittingly left for those who may say, with seeming justice, that New England has preferred to keep out of sight, Sir Edmund's Commission, which was the standard of his legal authority, in order that the wickedness of New England's pretensions concerning his official conduct might not be made so perfectly manifest to the world. We pray that it may be permitted to find a place in the next volume; and if Boston cannot furnish a copy for that purpose, Morrisania will be happy to do so.

The text of this volume opens with Mr. Byfield's *Account of the Revolution*—its third republication, if we do not mistake, in less than a quarter of a century—and this is followed by Mr. Palmer's *Impartial Account. The Revolution in New England justified*, follows,—its second re-appearance within twenty-five years—and some minor papers complete the volume.

We must say that we expected more that is not readily accessible, in this long looked-for volume; and we were disappointed when we found that more than one-half of its contents was already on our shelves and readily accessible to every other student in New York, in every well-appointed library in the city. We hope that we shall have no occasion to repeat our expressions of disappointment on the appearance of the second volume; and in order to guard our Boston friends against such a contingency, we beg leave to suggest that, since they have begun to reprint recently reprinted tracts, there is one, originally issued in July, 1689, with the title *A Brief Relation of the State of New England from the Beginning of the Plantation to this Present Year, 1689*, from which some extracts, at least, might be usefully copied for the illustration of this general subject.

Mr. Whitmore's Memoir of Sir Edmund Andros, noticed in our last number, introduces the *Tracts*; and a rather scanty Index brings up the rear.

The volume is a very handsome one, and was printed for the members of the Society only. The edition numbered twenty copies on large paper, and one hundred and twenty on small, both being quartos.

14.—*The Cornell University. Second General Announcement. Second edition, with additions.* Albany: 1868. Octavo, pp 27.

We have watched the progress of this institution with considerable interest, because Ithaca was once our home and is still the home of our father and sister; and because, in our youth, we knew the respected founder of the University and many who are now its local Trustees. We have had many misgivings, however, concerning the practicability of some of the theories on which is was original based and is, probably, still generally conducted; and our faith in human nature improves so slowly, if it improves at all, that we still distrust some of its distinctive features, as well as some of its processes. We have great confidence, however, in the strong, practical common sense of Mr. Cornell, which will enable him both to discover the mistakes into which he has been seduced and to remedy them at the very earliest possible moment; and that confidence is strengthened by the knowledge which has reached us, that one of the best of men, and most discreet of counsellors, and judicious of businessmen—Mr. William A. Woodward, of Orange-county—has been called to Ithaca, as the confidential friend and adviser of the founder, and as financial agent of the University.

The University and all who serve it have our best wishes, while they have also our earnest entreaties to keep the *practical* purposes of its organization always within sight, even if those which are *ornamental* and merely *theoretical* shall be temporarily obscured and those who promote them temporarily put out of temper.

15.—*Essays on Political Organization*, selected from among those submitted in the competition for the prizes offered by the Union League of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: 1868. Octavo, pp. 106.

In May, 1867, the Union League of Philadelphia offered four prizes—eleven hundred dollars—"for essays on the legal organization of the "people to select candidates for office;" and this neat tract contains the successful productions.

The first, by W. E. Barber of West Chester, Pennsylvania, opens with a repetition of the recently exploded ideas that "the People" is "the foundation of all political power," in a Nation; that "the Government" is made by it, constituted "for it," and "answerable to it"—in other words, is its creature and its agent, for the discharge of certain specified duties;—and on

that basis, it proceeds to propose a plan by which, *under State law*, political parties "may be legally empowered to select candidates for office," at a formal election held for that particular purpose, by each particular party in the State.

The second, by Charles G. Came, of Boston, proposes to place boxes, with lists of voters, in some public place in each town, into which, respectively, the several members of the different parties shall drop their votes, registering their names and party affiliations, and leave their ballots to their fate.

The third, by C. Goepp, of New York, is by far the most elaborate and scholarly production of the series, and, most certainly, was entitled to a more advanced position on the scale of merit. It proposes that "the entire *State* shall divided "into hundreds"—bodies of about a hundred voters each;—that these shall be grouped into Counties; that these hundreds, *as pure Democracies*, as far as is possible, shall transact their own business, appoint and discharge their own legislators—or where that is not possible, by delegates from each hundred forming the constituency;—that legislators, therefore, shall hold their seats only "at the will of organized constituencies;" that the chief executive of the nation shall hold office "at the will" of the legislature; etc. He proposes, also, that "a clear "majority" shall be always required to elect an officer; that all "subaltern executive officers" must be tested by examination, hold their positions "at the will of their immediate superiors," and be pensioned when no longer servicable.

The fourth, by Lorin Blodget, of Philadelphia, is a sensible *expose* of the practical defects of the existing forms of political action, without proposing any plan for remedying them.

The purpose of the League in instituting this inquiry is very evident; and everything which proposed to keep the control of the several members of the party within the control of the members themselves or their immediately local organizations met small favor at its hands. With every Republican in Pennsylvania on a string and the ends of that string in the hands of such tools as the Philadelphia League could easily afford to purchase, the lease of power which that body would at once secure would make it a power in the State and the Union which would be more potent than either the State or its Government. It is well, therefore, that there is so little reason to suppose that Pennsylvania will be seduced by this political jumbo from her old and well-settled lines of political action.

#### C—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

16.—*Manual of the Common Council of the City of Brooklyn, for 1867.* Compiled by Henry McCloskey, City Clerk. Brooklyn: 1863. Octavo, pp. 472, li.



*Manual of the Common Council of the City of Brooklyn, for 1868.* Compiled by William G. Bishop, City Clerk, Brooklyn: 1868. Octavo, pp. 483.

Brooklyn follows rapidly and zealously in the foot-steps of her more distinguished neighbor; and in the two portly volumes before us, we have a striking evidence of the truth of our remark.

"Corporation Manuals" are peculiar to this vicinity; and New York has become somewhat noted in this connection, because of the extended series of these annual volumes, through which Mr. Valentine and his many able friends have been accustomed to present to the world, year after year, very much historical material concerning the City of New York, which, but for these volumes, would have been irrecoverably lost.

In the two volumes referred to, above, we have two installments of Brooklyn's contribution to the same field of literature; and, although we find less in them of general interest—and, even of local interest,—historically considered, than we are accustomed to find in such *Manuals*, we are not disposed to find fault with what was evidently issued with the best intentions, and without any undue pretension of importance or merit.

In the first-named volume, that for 1867, we find an exceedingly important list of the Marriages in the Reformed Dutch Church of Brooklyn, from 1660 until 1696—the result of the careful and judicious work of the Hon. Tannis G. Bergen—curiously and carefully, but unfortunately, sandwiched between the Charter of the City and the Report, on her Finances, of her Department of Finance, where it will certainly be overlooked by many who shall look for it. There are, also, in the close of the same volume, a historical sketch and a pictorial view of the ancient Presbyterian Church at Jamaica, which "is confidently" claimed as the oldest of that sect in the country, by Mr. Field, who wrote the article; and, in the same article, are also some remarks concerning the death of General Woodhull, in 1776.

Concerning the Presbyterianism of the Church at Jamaica, we think the Act of Assembly under which the money was raised to build the meeting-house would have thrown some light on the subject, which Mr. Field might have studied usefully; and, if the peculiar faith of Mr. Prudden, its Pastor, as early as 1678, forms any part of the subject, a reference to the Records of the State, at Albany, (Volume XXVII, Page 133, and Volume XXXIII, Page 55, and Volume XXXVIII, Page 69, for instance) should not have been overlooked—of William Urquhart, a subsequent Pastor, and his peculiar *Presbyterianism*, we will not insult our readers by making particular mention.

Concerning General Woodhull's death, much has been said and much written; but there is much more to be said on the same subject, one of these days, which, without detracting an iota

from the honest fame and high character of the General, will "put" the subject more truthfully before the world and bring mortification on those who have so earnestly endeavored to bring censure on those men to whom, probably, no censure belongs.

"The old Suydam house," on New Bushwick Lane; the Redoubt at "the Battle Pass;" Freck's and Denton's Mills, at Gowanus; Denyse's Ferry Landing, at Fort Hamilton; and the De Hart house, are also duly chronicled—we know not by whom—with all the profusion of historical material which careful writers of History always covet, but very seldom find, and writers of Fiction never seek and yet never fail to secure and enjoy—a profusion, the exact whereabouts of which induce us to envy those earnest and careful writers of History who happen to live in Brooklyn.

In the volume for 1868, the public Parks of Brooklyn enjoy the lion's share of the literary portion of its contents; while the Bushwick town-house, school, and church; the Indian, Dutch, and English names of localities in Brooklyn; the Rising-sun tavern and the Rockaway Pass; and the Tide-mills of Brooklyn, are duly and elaborately chronicled—all, except the last, by Mr. Field; the last by Mr. Field and Mr. Bergen, jointly.

Both these volumes contain, of course, complete statistical records of the Government of the City of Brooklyn, with her Charters, Benevolent and Literary Institutions, etc., etc., etc.

17.—*Public Education in the City of New York: its history, condition, and statistics.* An official Report of the Board of Education, by Thomas Boese, Clerk of the Board. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Octavo, pp. 228.

In our last number, we glanced at the subject of Education by the State; and, with this volume for notice, we seem to be invited to continue the inquiry.

We are happy in the knowledge that we are "a Public School-boy," of an older growth; that our associations, nearly thirty-five years ago, were with Mr. Seaton and his associates; and that the "Society" needs no one, either for an apologist or a defender, because of anything which it has done or failed to do, as a public educator. We regret to see, therefore, what we conceive to be, a disposition to underrate the work of the Public School Society; and a corresponding disposition to overrate the State, in its usurped capacity as the great public educator.

In the volume before us, our friend, Mr. Boese, opens with a three-page glance at the educational arrangements of the Dutch, in New Amsterdam; and this is followed by a four-page survey of "Schools during the English Colonial period, 1664-1776." Four pages more are occupied with the educational history of New York, from

1776 to 1805, when "The Free School Society" was organized, chiefly, by the leading members of the Friends' Society, for the education of those who were not attached to the various Church Schools scattered throughout the City.

Of this "Society," De Witt Clinton was the first President; the Mayor and members of the Common Council were Trustees, *ex officio*; and any citizen could become a member of it, by paying eight dollars per year. It depended entirely on "affluent and charitable Christians, of all denominations, for the necessary assistance;" and "a full year was spent in raising money enough "to make a practical beginning by opening a "school"—as may well be understood when it shall be remembered that the *poor* of the City, at that day, was at Bellevue, duly provided for, already; while "the middle classes" and the wealthy were not yet so debased that they could willingly become paupers, in securing, *at the expense of others*, that education for their children which they were amply able to pay for, themselves.

Mr. Boese next traces the history of the Society, from 1805 until its dissolution in 1853—its humble beginning, in May, 1806, in Bancker-street; the zeal of its earnest members; its agreement to educate *all the pauper children of that day*, as an equivalent for property valued at eleven thousand, five hundred dollars—what a contrast for the tax-payers: in 1807, eight hundred and five dollars for educating paupers; in 1867, what?—the visit of Mr. Lancaster; the gradual extension of school accommodations, in the face of an unsuccessful application for assistance to the amount of five thousand dollars per year, for ten years; its contests with the Baptists, Episcopalians, and Reformed Dutch; its attempt to introduce payments for particular studies; the contest between the Lancasterian, Pestalozzian, and Monitorial systems; the gradual rise of the system of Education by the State, at the expense of the tax-payers; the grossly unjust operations of the Board of Education, under the new system, *to prevent the Society from educating*; etc., being hurriedly glanced at.

The Board of Education next presents itself, with all its cumbrous, and expensive, and unprofitable machinery; and in this, of course, Mr. Boese's facilities have enabled him to do his work admirably.

There is one matter, more than all others, however, which Mr. Boese should have noticed, but has not: we refer to the statistics of his subject. He should have contrasted the cost of educating each child *actually attending school*, under the Society, year by year, with that of each child *actually attending school*, under the State, year by year. He should have exhibited, by comparative returns of the Police and Criminal Statistics, how much since the abolition of the old and less-

expensive Society's system, the "virtue," produced by the system of State Education, has reduced the Vice and Crime of the City, which the Society did not overcome. He should have told us, comparatively, just how many "private "schools," and how many "charity schools," and public schools existed, the year before the Board of Education was organized (say, in 1841) and in 1867; just how many scholars were educated in each; and at exactly what cost, during each of the designated years. He should have contrasted the men—merchants, mechanics, and professional—who were educated by "the Society" with those who have been educated by "the Board;" and pointed out the superior points which the latter display, as a class, over those which the former present. In short, if the State has really shown talent as an effective, thorough, and economical educator, let us see the evidence of it, in order that steps may be taken to employ the same great power as our shoemaker, also, and as our butcher, and our tinker, and our parson, and our dentist, also.

We say, we do not believe that the Education of to-day is practically as useful to the pupil as was that of thirty years ago—it is more showy, we admit, but it is, also, more frothy. We say, we do not believe that this modern froth is as cheaply acquired as was the superceded knowledge which the Society taught its scholars, thirty years ago—there is inferiority of quality, when the cost of each is compared; and there is uselessness, also, in much which is taught, now-a-days, the time to acquire which can be ill afforded by those who are about to enter the rush and turmoil of a modern business-man's life. Finally, we say that the ponderous machinery of State Education originated with, and is mainly sustained by, those who have other interests than those of the State in view: that it has displaced other machinery in the State's work-shop, which the State cannot usefully dispense with; and that if the State is to become the author or the promoter of the "virtue" of her citizens, by any process, a State Religion as well as a State fireside will be found quite as indispensable as a State school, whether the latter shall be gilded and disguised as a "Board of Education" or be seen in all its native ugliness.

We have not space to pursue this subject further; and we dismiss it, therefore, with the simple remark that the volume before us is a very neat one, carefully illustrated, and worthy of a place in any collection.

13.—*State of Vermont. Annual Directory for the use of the General Assembly*: containing the Rules and Orders of the Senate and House, together with the Constitution of the State and that of the United States, and a list of the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Departments of the State, State Institutions, their locality and officers; and other his-

torical and statistical information. Prepared pursuant to an Act of the General Assembly, by Geo. Nichols, Secretary of State. *Manual of Parliamentary Practice* by Henry Clark, Secretary of the Senate. Montpelier: 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 218.

Very little need be said of a volume which, like this, tells its own story, on its own title-page; and we shall attempt to say no more, therefore, than that the whole has not been said of its contents, in that very elaborate description.

It is a most perfect hand-book of Vermont, past and present; and it is seldom that so much information can be found in so small a compass.

19.—*Roll of Honor*. (No. XVII.) Names of Soldiers who died in defence of the American Union, interred in the National and Public Cemeteries in Kentucky; and at New Albany, Jeffersonville, and Madison, Indiana; Lawton, (Millen) and Andersonville, Georgia; (Supplementary.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1868. Octavo, pp. 516.

In our last number, we noticed the preceding issues of this very important series of volumes; and we refer to that notice and to the full title, given above, for a general description of the work.

We are indebted to General Meigs, Quartermaster-general of the Army, for the volume before us, which contains the name, rank, Regiment and Company of which he was a member, date of death, original place of interment, and the Section, Range, and number of the Grave in which he now lies, of each of thirteen thousand, five hundred, and seventy-three soldiers, now buried, as stated in the title-page.

We can conceive of no more sadly interesting or important memorial of the War, than this series of volumes; and its interest will increase with the progress of time.

20.—*The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut from August, 1639, to May, 1706*. Transcribed and Edited in accordance with Resolutions of the General Assembly, by Charles J. Hoadly, Librarian of the State Library. Hartford: 1868. Octavo, pp. vi, 574.

Three volumes of these ancient Records, ending with the Session of June, 1689, have already appeared, under the editorial supervision of Mr. Trumbull; and the series is continued, in this volume, to the close of the May Session, 1706, completing the third manuscript volume of the Colony Records, as they now stand in the Secretary's office. The *Council Journal*, from the last of May, 1696, until May, 1698,—all that remains of it, for the period embraced in the volume before us—is also inserted in its appropriate place; and various omissions from the original Records are supplied from contemporary and authentic manuscripts.

Mr. Hoadly is well-known as the careful and exact Editor of the New Haven Colony Re-

cords; and every student of the history of Connecticut, will know that neither he nor his works need any commendation from us.

It is very evident that the Editor has exercised his usual care in the preparation, for the press, of this volume; and, although he has not found room for all his annotations and illustrative papers, he has introduced many which add materially to the value of the Record, as it is now re-produced. An excellent Index closes the volume; for which every reader will be grateful.

The volume is printed uniformly with the former issues of the series; and no collection of books concerning Connecticut, and none which pretends to any completeness on the Colonial history of the United States, can pretend to do without it.

21.—*Navy Register of the United States, for the year 1869*. Printed by order of the Secretary of the Navy, in compliance with a Resolution of the Senate of the United States, of December 13, 1815. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1869. Octavo, pp. 159.

We are indebted to the Honorable Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, for this volume, containing a complete Register of the officers of the Navy, both those on the Active-list and those who are on the Retired-list. It contains, also, a Register of the Marine Corps; a list of Resignations, Deaths, and Dismissals, during the past year; a Register of officers of the Volunteer Navy, now in the service; a list of Discharges and Resignations therefrom; and lists of Navy Yards, Shore-stations, Squadrons, Vessels in the Navy, and vessels sold therefrom, since the last issue of the *Register*.

As a work for reference, in all matters pertaining to the Navy, it will be found to be very useful.

22.—*Annual Report of the Board of Inspectors of the Massachusetts State Prison, together with the Annual Reports of the Warden, and other officers of the Institution*. October, 1868. Boston: 1869. Octavo, pp. 38.

We are indebted to the Hon. Gilbert Haynes, Warden of the Prison, for a copy of this Report, from which it appears that, during the past year, one hundred and eighty convicts were received, and one hundred and fifty-six discharged; and that, at the close of the year, five hundred and fifty-eight remained, of whom fifty were negroes. *The Prison afforded a profit to the Commonwealth of twenty-seven thousand, six hundred, and forty-six dollars during the year*; and the Warden proudly states, that he sees nothing in the future to prevent that success from being continual and permanent.

The Chaplain shrewdly suggests that the corner-stone of another prison should be laid immediately.



## D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

23.—*My Campaigns in America*: a journal kept by Count William de Deux-ponts, 1780-81. Translated from the French Manuscript, with an Introduction and Notes, by Samuel Abbott Green. Boston: Wiggen & Lunt, 1868. Octavo, pp. xvi, [2] 176.

We are indebted to Doctor Green, the Editor of this work, for a copy of it; and have examined it with great interest.

It appears that the Doctor, during a recent visit to France, picked up, on one of the quays in Paris, a manuscript narrative of the Campaign in America, of the Count William Forbach des Deux-ponts, who was Lieutenant-Colonel, under his brother's superior command, of the Royal Regiment des Deux-ponts, which was one of the French Regiments which served in the American service, under General Rochambeau, and assisted in the capture of York and of General Cornwallis and his command. This narrative, for it is not a journal, has been carefully printed with as careful a translation: and to these the Doctor has added, with excellent judgment, such illustrative Notes as he has considered useful to the reader. Every thing which throws light on the operations of the Armies of the Revolution is welcome to every student; and no more acceptable service can be rendered than in the publication of such authoritative material for history as this. The Introduction, in which the Doctor has traced the history of the two brothers, Forbach,—who were known, also, as "Deux-ponts" and "Zwei-brück"—is written with great care, after a most careful search for authentic information; and, as we said, the Notes which have been added to the text, are really illustrative of the text, and therefore useful rather than ornamental.

The typography of the volume is excellent; and it will secure for the work as permanent a place among fine books, as its historical worth will secure for it in the working library of the plodding student.

24.—*The Hymns of Hilbert and other Mediæval Hymns*, with Translations. By Erasmus C. Benedict. A new and enlarged edition. New York: A. S. Randolph & Co. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 143.

Mr. Benedict has done a good work in bringing before the public, twenty of the most celebrated of the Hymns of the period which we are accustomed to call "the dark ages," in the letter and type in which they were first given to the world. Upon the opposite pages, we have, from the pen of Mr. Benedict, a metrical translation—line by line—of each hymn.

The translator has evidently labored to give the most exact and literal rendering which a due regard to harmony and rhythm would permit. With less latitude of expression, we think Mr. Benedict has produced quite as much rhythmical beauty,

as any former translator of these hymns. Of the many translations of the *Dies Iree* we recall but one—that of Isaac Williams—which, as a whole, we prefer to either of the three renderings given us in this volume. We only regret the translator did not select the best lines from each and give them in a single version. We should then, without doubt, have had the best translation of these hymns yet produced.

But, aside from their historical value, these hymns contain little that we can commend. They are replete with that view of the Supreme Being which regards him as an avenger of sin, to be appeased only by the most servile homage of His creatures. They afford most striking evidence that Christianity, when imposed upon the Pagan world, met Paganism more than half way. The superstition that led the barbarian mother to cast her infant to the crocodile was but the archetype of that doctrine which teaches that the Eternal Father could be appeased only by the suffering and death of His Eternal Son.

The personal characteristic most conspicuous in the writers of these hymns, is the overbearing desire of each to secure his own personal welfare—in the next world it is true, but still his own personal welfare—regardless, for ought can be seen, of what might be the fate of his fellows. The author of *Stabat Mater Dolorosa* is indeed most anxious to relieve the Divine Sufferer, by taking upon himself the agonies he deplures, for it is to Him he looks to be secured from the "un-  
"quenchable fire." Nor yet is he indifferent to the deep dejection of the *Mater Dolorosa*, of whose intercessory functions the saint of that day was never wholly unmindful. But love to neighbor, good will to man, usefulness in life, are ideas nowhere suggested. The divine teachings are everywhere obscured by what seems to have been thought the still diviner sufferings; and as it was the sufferings and death that were to save the suppliant, so it was the sufferings and death that he accepted for himself, as if he would share the mediatorial honors. It would seem to have required but the ordinary exercise of human reason to have clearly seen that the asceticism of that age was but the profoundest selfishness; and selfishness, if not of the most detestable character, it was because it was less harmful to society than in some of its grosser and more violent manifestations.

While we accept the hymns of every period as the most certain exponents of the received theology of the time in which they were written, it is not for this that we principally value the volume before us. The magistic roll of that grand old Latin verse still has music for our ear; nor do we think, whatever may be the strides of civilization and art, that these hymns, in their original tongue, will ever cease to elevate while they delight the lovers of letters and of song.

W.

25.—*The Story of a Regiment*: a history of the campaigns and associations in the field, of the Sixth Regiment of Ohio Volunteer Infantry. By E. Hannaford. Cincinnati: Published by the Author. 1868. Octavo, pp. 622.

The Battalion of "Independent Guthrie Greys" was well known in Cincinnati and throughout the West, before the War; and it was around that nucleus that the Sixth Ohio was gathered. It marched into Camp Harrison, on the twentieth of April, 1861, and was mustered into the service, seven days later, with Colonel William K. Bosley in command. It was re-organized as a three years Regiment, on the seventeenth of June; on the twenty-eight, it left the Camp for the field; fought at Laurel Hill, Carriek's Ford, Elkwater, Shiloh, Perryville, Stone River, Chickamauga, and Mission Ridge; and, on the twenty-third of June, 1864, it was mustered out of service, with only five hundred and thirty-two men—"a fraction more than one-half the number with which it left the same camp" [Dennison] "just one week less than three years before."

It will be seen that this Regiment performed heavy duty; and Mr. Hannaford has narrated its services in a volume which will be perused with as much interest by the future historian of the War, as by those whose services are therein recorded.

We have seldom taken up a volume of military history, prepared for popular use, which was as well-written as this. There is no straining for effect; no show paragraphs of high-sounding words without meaning; and little confusion or obscurity in descriptions of movements in which the Regiment participated. On the contrary, it is evidently a carefully-prepared narrative of facts; and it will constitute one of the most serviceable original authorities, concerning the War in the West, which will be transmitted to our children as memorials of the services of those who have gone before them.

If we understand it correctly, this volume is sold by its Author, at 38 West Fourth-street, Cincinnati, and by his Agents throughout the country.

26.—*The German-English Guide*, a complete practical Grammar, of the English Language for Germans, and of the German Language for those speaking English; with numerous Exercises for Translation. By Henry Doerner. Part I. Cincinnati: Ehrgott, Forbriger, & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 160.

The author of this *German-English Guide* offers to the public nothing less than a combination of German-English and English-German instruction, systematically arranged into theoretical and practical lessons, giving at the same time the philosophical and mechanical parts of language, interspersed with many exercises in English and German. "It does not," says the author, "appear before the learner with abstract rules, nor discourage him with the paradigms of the declensions and conjugations. Rather it exhibits to his view the laws of language in

"gradual succession by living examples, thus causing him to apprehend those laws by his own observation and reflection; and by numerous exercises in translation, it gives him an opportunity to practise the correct use of the different forms of words and phrases, and to acquire the ability of speaking, reading, and writing both languages with accuracy and facility."

From a more than cursory perusal of the book, we can well appreciate the great difficulties connected with a plan, so combined and yet so excellently carried out in its details. It is a *comparative* Grammar, made comprehensible to the English reader and student by a translation and exposition of the German text, in the form of "Observations," to serve however more as a guide to the teacher than as a lesson to the pupil; whilst the examples are serving as a basis and supplement to the theoretical instructions.

In a country like ours, especially in the West and in the large cities of the East, where the German element has become so numerous and influential, where thousands of children are instructed both in English and German, we must hail with pleasure an elementary work which tends to facilitate the object in view. That it may prove successful, we sincerely wish; but can hardly decide *a priori*. New books, like inventions, are experiments, and must be well adapted to the purpose, to be acknowledged as useful and indispensable. In this respect we have full confidence in the author's professional experience; and predict for *The German-English Guide*, a happy career, the more so, as it makes its appearance in most excellent print and handsome form, and on good paper.

F. S.

27.—*China and the Chinese*: a general description of the country and its inhabitants; its civilization and form of Government; its religious and social institutions; its intercourse with other nations; and its present condition and prospects. By the Rev. John L. Nevius, ten years a Missionary in China. With a map and illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 456.

The very full title-page of this volume leaves very little to be told concerning its contents. It seems to have left literally nothing untouched, concerning China and the Chinese; and it treats of them thoroughly and, apparently, with the greatest candor and fidelity.

The relations of China and the United States are now so intimate, that it seems proper that each should understand the other, as perfectly as possible; and the long continued residence, in China, of Mr. Nevius has enabled him to understand, more perfectly than a stranger could do, the various traits of the Chinese character. His descriptions, therefore, are undoubtedly more correct than usual; and his volume will be more acceptable to those who seek information on this subject.

The illustrations are well executed woodcuts: and the volume, as a whole, is a very neat one.

28.—*Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska, formerly Russian America—now ceded to the United States—and in various other parts of the North Pacific.* By Frederick Whymper. With Map and Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 353.

The title-page scarcely does justice to the contents of this volume. Not only is Alaska described in detail; but British Columbia, Vancouver's Island, Siberia, Kamchatka, and California receive the author's attention and, to some extent, are carefully noticed.

The author seems to be an Englishman recently employed by the Russo-American Telegraph Company; and some of his allusions and comparisons are indicative of his nationality; yet he has made an exceedingly interesting volume, in view of the recent change of ownership of Alaska and the complete ignorance of all that relates to that country, which prevails throughout the Union.

The narrative is carefully illustrated with excellent woodcuts; and the general appearance of the volume is very good.

29.—*The Poetical Works of Charles G. Halpine* (Miles O'Reilly) consisting of Odes, Poems, Sonnets, Epics, and Lyrical Effusions which have not heretofore been collected together. With a Biographical Sketch and Explanatory Notes. Edited by Robert B. Roosevelt. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 352.

Few writers have acquired a more honest fame than "Miles O'Reilly;" and few have been honored with a more earnest and wide-spread sorrow, at their decease.

The beautiful volume before us is another collection of unpublished poems from his prolific pen; with here and there an addition from an early volume of his writings, long since out of print; and with the addition, also, of a biographical Memoir and a series of Notes, explanatory of the text.

Of the poems themselves, the variety is as great as it is curious; and we find some of the sweetest gems of English verse rudely sandwiched between political effusions which, for sarcastic severity on the opposing factions, out-croak "Croaker & Co.," of the last generation.

If the *Croakers* really form an important element in the politico-historical literature of the days of our father, or *McFingal* in that of our grand-father, how much more must the writings of "the Boy," "Miles O'Reilly," as he beat up the quarters of Fernando Wood and Recorder Hoffman, General Cochrane and Judge McCunn, Tammany and the Board of Supervisors, be worthy a place in every collection which pretends to any degree of completeness in the political annals of the present day.

The volume is one the most tasteful issues of Harper & Brothers' press.

30.—*The Woman's Kingdom. A Love Story.* By the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, &c. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Octavo, pp. 183. Price \$1.

Miss Muloch, the author of this work, stands deservedly high as a writer of fiction. Her writings are marked by their faithful delineation of character, their naturalness and purity of sentiment, the dramatic interest of their plots, their beauty and force of expression, and their elevated moral taste. No current novels can be more highly spoken of; and their brilliancy and vivacity will make them welcome to every reader of this class of works.

31.—*Essays on the progress of Nations, in Civilization, Productive Industry, Wealth, and Population.* Illustrated by Statistics of Mining, Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Coin, Banking, Internal Improvements, Emigration, and Population. By Ezra C. Seaman. Two Series. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. (I.) xxvi. 645; (II.) xvi. 659.

These unpretending volumes contain the result of more intense thought and investigation than a ton of fashionable literature combined; yet we doubt if many know of their existence.

These Essays have been written on the Laws of Nature, and their operations and effects; on Civilization, and its progress; on the Priesthood and Ecclesiastical Government; on Governments; on the nature and constituents of Wealth; on the Metals, their use, etc.; on the origin and progress of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts; on the origin, introduction, uses, etc. of the products of Agriculture; on the precious metals, coin, and bank notes; on Supply and Demand; on Prices and their fluctuation; on Commerce; on the Condition, Productive Industry, and Value of Property, of Great Britain, France, and other countries of Western Europe, at different dates, and those of Mexico, South America, and the United States and the several States, in 1840; on Free Trade; on Roads and Internal Improvements; on Castes, Orders of Men, Systems of Religion, Associations, Political Parties, and Savings Banks; on Distillation and the Manufacture, Consumption, etc. of fermented and distilled Liquors; on the laws of Population, both in the Old and the New World; on the elements and agents which promote the progress of Nations, and those which impede such progress; on Law, Education, and Religious Creeds, and their influence; on different races of men; on the Mahometan countries; on the Mongolian countries; on the several countries, in the East, belonging to Great Britain; on Africa and her inhabitants; on Oceanica and its inhabitants; on the West Indies and their inhabitants; on Catholic America; on the United States; on British North America; and on Europe.



Each of these several Essays—in all, thirty-five—Mr. Seaman has strengthened with great arrays of figures and averments, but, if we may judge of his “facts” by his conclusions, they are not, in many instances, entitled to much credit. There is, nevertheless, very much in these volumes which is worthy of careful thought; and we shall be glad to know that they are widely circulated.

32.—*A Commemorative Discourse delivered on the occasion of celebrating the completion of the tower and spire of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, L. I., December 19, 1867. With Illustrative Notes, By the Rev. T. Stafford Drowne, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's Church. New York: Hard & Houghton. 1868. Octavo, pp. 78.*

We are very well acquainted with the origin of this structure; and the frequent friendly visits of its founder, Mr. Bartow, to our office, many years ago, and his continued friendship during the remainder of his life, are among the cherished recollections of our younger manhood.

The work on this building was commenced in August, 1844; and, in April, 1847, the structure was occupied for public worship, although it was not yet completed. The entire structure was dedicated to the purposes of its erection in 1867; and it stands, to-day, with few equals, for architectural beauty, on this Continent.

In the elegant tract before us, Doctor Drowne has commemorated the completion of the church edifice, and, at the same time, remembered the homage which was due to the memory of Mr. Bartow. He has also added elaborate Notes on the Early Churches in Brooklyn; the history of the Episcopal Churches on Long Island; and the life of Minard Lefever, the architect; and he has given, also, a minute description of the Church, Chapel, and Rectory, in all their parts.

We have seldom seen a more carefully prepared tract; and as a specimen of bookmaking it is worthy of all praise.

33.—*Oratory, Sacred and Secular: or the Extemporaneous Speaker, with sketches of the most eminent speakers of all ages. By William Pittenger. Introduction by Hon. John A. Bingham, and Appendix, containing “a Chairman’s Guide” for conducting public meetings according to the best parliamentary models. New York: Samuel R. Wells. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 223.*

In a country like this, in which nearly every one, sooner or later, is called to participate in associations of some kind, private or public—church meetings or school-district meetings; political meetings or committee-meetings; Lodge, or Division, or club meetings; meetings of fire companies or meetings of military organizations; meetings of Trustees, or of some other officers—there is no power which is generally so effective as the power which is wielded by a ready, effective speaker,

who can present a subject properly, sustain it calmly and gracefully, and meet its adversaries with skill and success.

In the volume before us, we have the best treatise on the art of Oratory, which has ever been brought to our notice. Opening with judicious remarks on the “General Preparations” for *extempore* discourse—in which he considers, successively, the prerequisites and the basis of speech, and the acquirements and the cultivation which are generally necessary to ensure success therein—the author proceeds to discuss, successively, a Sermon, from its foundation to its closing sentence, and Secular Oratory, in all its varied phases. Personal Sketches of distinguished Orators follow; and the volume closes with an Appendix, containing directions “for organizing and conducting public meetings “for organizing and conducting public meetings “and debating-clubs, in parliamentary style.”

All this is done admirably, in all its parts. It is not a book for school-boys, merely, but for all, men or boys, who aspire to either the graces of oratory or the dignity of a presiding officer of an assemblage; and there is no one who cannot find something in its pages which will recompense him for perusing them.

34.—*The Illustrated Annals of Phrenology and Physiognomy for the Years 1865-6-7-8 and 1869, complete in One Volume. By S. R. Wells. With more than 200 Illustrative Engravings. New York: Samuel R. Wells. 1869. Octavo, pp. 41, 45, 58, 66, 65.*

Into one convenient volume, Mr. Wells has collected five of his interesting and useful Annals, each of which is richly laden with stores of information which should be, but probably is not, joyfully received by all thinking persons, men as well as women.

We cannot say much for the typography of this volume; and we fancy that a more attractive dress would secure for it a more hearty welcome and a greater degree of usefulness.

35.—*A History of the New School, and of the questions involved in the disruption of the Presbyterian Church, in 1838. By Samuel J. Baird, D.D. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger. 1868. Octavo, pp. xii, 564. Price \$2.*

All our readers know of the “Old School” and the “New School” Presbyterian Churches in America; but many of them are unacquainted with the history of either, and with the differences which separate them.

We take it that the cause of the division is radical, and by no means of recent origin. It may be traced, we suspect, through the Arminianism of New England, to the earlier days of the Colonies; and of the character of the discord, the character of the separation affords sufficient evidence—it reaches from the root to the

topmost branch; and is as complete as if there had never been an union.

In the volume before us, the author traces the history of the Presbyterian Church in England, from the Westminster Assembly, through the varied policies of the Parliament and of Cromwell, of the Stuarts and of William and Mary, to the Union of 1690; and he notices the laxity of doctrine into which Baxter and Howe, Bates and Williams, Pierce and Lardner, wandered, in England, and Hooker, and Wilson, and Elliot, in America. He traces the origin and progress of the Church in America, as seen in Makemie and Taylor, John Wilson and James Anderson, etc.; and the organization, about 1706, of the first General Presbytery is briefly referred to. He denies that the Presbytery was a compromise between Presbyterians and Congregationalists; and he insists that the New England element found no place in its deliberations. He insists, also, that there was no formal adoption, at that time, of a Confession of Faith, although those who participated and were represented were unqualifiedly Presbyterian in their sentiments.

In 1716, the first Synod was organized, the churches being divided into four Presbyteries; and the Author traces, from their origin in Europe, the gradual progress of what is known as "the liberal spirit," which has steadily worked the overthrow of the primitive faith and practice and the substitution, instead, of doctrines which find no legitimate warrant in the Scriptures. The positive adoption of the Confession and Catechism, by the Synod of 1729, follows; and the half-way adoption of the Directory closes the Chapter. An entire Chapter is devoted to a discussion of the character and effect of this important action of the Synod; and the shyness of some in-coming Ministers to comply with the provisions of this "Adopting Act," is carefully noticed. The subsequently-enacted explanatory Act of 1736 is also discussed elaborately; and this is followed by a Chapter devoted to "the New-side Schism" which followed and marred "the Great Awakening"; to the action of the Synod of 1737, for preventing intrusions on adverse churches, by "the New Lights," as the friends of the Tenents were called; to the subsequent differences between the Synod and "the New Lights," concerning candidates for the ministry; to the separation of the two parties in the Synod of 1741; to the erection, in 1745, of the Synod of New York; etc.

The history of the denomination is further traced, through all its phases, until its re-organization, in 1788, into sixteen Presbyteries and four Synods, and the organization of a General Assembly. The revision of the Constitution, the revival of the New Light schism, under Doctor

Balch, and the Cumberland schism, receive due attention. The New England Churches—both Congregational and nominal Presbyterian—are next considered, as to their origin as well as to their workings. The "Plan of Union," of 1801, is described and discussed, both as to its merits and its effects.

All this, we conceive, has little to do with the real subject of this volume, as expressed in its title-page. It is, indeed, interesting, but we see little real connection with the differences, or doctrinal grounds, which led to the organization, years after, of the two "Schools" of Presbyterianism. The eleventh Chapter, however, opens with the consideration of the influence of Jonathan Edwards on the theology of New England and of America; and this is followed by an examination of the rise, progress, and character of Hopkinsianism. The younger Edwards, also, is noticed in the same connection; and Doctor Taylor, Professor Goodrich, and Lyman Beecher are also successively noticed.

"The Hawes Correspondence," of 1832; Doctor Beecher's letter to Doctor Woods; the establishment of the East Windsor Seminary; the antagonism to the New Haven teachings, of the Seminary at Andover; the advent of Rev. Mr. Finney and a discussion of the doctrine of his *Sermons* and *Lectures*, and of the result of his labors; the Hopkinsian Controversy, originated by Rev. Ezra Styles Ely; the trouble in the Young Men's Missionary Society of New York, occasioned by the unsoundness of Doctor Spring and Rev. Samuel A. Cox, and the subsequent division of that body; the Pastoral Letters of the Synod of Philadelphia, of 1816; the action of the Assembly of 1817, concerning this Pastoral Letter and the case of Mr. Gray; the controversy concerning "the New Test;" the growing uneasiness in the Church, on various subjects of doctrine; the evident determination of "the New England brethren to acquire possession" of the Presbyterian Church, its institutions and "resources"; the Overture of the Synod of Pittsburgh to the Assembly of 1827, and what became of it; the origin, and progress, and operations, of the Mission enterprises and those for the education of young men for the ministry; the systematic invasion of the Presbyterian Church, and the seizure of her resources, by those who were not of her; the trial of Mr. Barnes; the exciting scenes of the Assemblies of 1831 and 1834; and the various phases of the intermediate struggle which terminated only in the disruption of 1838, are successively described with great minuteness and clearness.

We have seldom laid down a volume in the perusal of which we have been more completely interested, than in this instance; and we said to ourself that, with such a record before us of

the doings of those who professed, at least, to be disciples of "the Prince of Peace," of those whose faith and practise were nominally measured by the standard of the Scriptures, what wonder need there be of the irregularities of those who make no such professions and whose conduct and faith are measured, by themselves, by no such standard? What better evidence than this, said we to ourself, also, is needed to prove the absolute truth of the fundamental doctrine of the total depravity of man?

But, not alone because of these peculiarities were we interested in the contents of this volume. We saw in it, or fancied we saw there, a record of the spirit of unceasing aggression, of the untiring effort to secure control over all antagonistic elements, of the constant disregard of the character of means employed to secure its ends, which have marked the Puritanic element in New England, and which indicate the cause of its troubles, while it was yet in Europe, with the Church and the State of the Mother Country. Restless, domineering, unscrupulous, both in Church and State, the Puritans of both Englands, in the olden time and in the new, have never ceased to destroy the peace of every community which they could not control, and to employ any means, no matter how base their character, which promised them a successful termination of their undertakings.

Nor were these the only features of this volume which arrested our attention. The danger of introducing foreign elements, having little sympathy with any other, into any organized body, and the certain destruction of the invaded party, whenever such an introduction is secured, are so distinctly set forth therein, and illustrated in the result of sundry Congregational and Presbyterian alliances, that the effect of a similar introduction of restless adverse elements either into the Reformed Dutch or "the Old School" Presbyterian Church, may be clearly seen beforehand.

36.—*A Course of Systematic and Progressive Drawing.* Prepared for American Common Schools, by Robert Demeker. In Six Parts. Cincinnati, O.: Ehrigott, Forbriger, & Co. Since anno. Octavo, I., (2) 14, and 12 of plates; II., (2) 12, and 12 of plates; III., (2) 12, and of plates; IV., (2) 14, and 15 of plates; V., (2) 12, and of plates; VI., (2) 19, and 18 of plates.

*The Teacher's Guide to the Systematic and Progressive Course of Drawing.* By Robert Demeker, Cincinnati, O.: (1868) Octavo, pp. 14.

These little volumes have been prepared for the younger classes in the Common Schools of our country; and, although we do not consider them as wholly without fault, they are very well calculated for that particular purpose. The preliminary exercises are judicious; and the examples in Part I. are generally well adapted for the purposes of their construction—we say generally, because we think the earlier examples of dots are far more numerous than are necessary,

since every intelligent teacher can multiply such examples at pleasure; and the later exercises, (*Plates 8-12*), we think, would have done better service with lines than with these dots. We conceive, also, that the *first example of a figure* which is presented to the scholar should not have been composed of curved lines (*Part I, Plate 8, Figure 1*) and that the example of shading, on Figure 6, of the same Plate, is entirely too premature.

Parts II-IV, we think, are also overlaid in their earlier examples; not that we resist a thorough training in the fundamental branches of the art; but we conceive that to the intelligent teacher, without whom the pupil will make slow progress, should have been left the duty of multiplying the examples, as occasion shall require. We are not without our fears, also, that the higher grades of examples are too suddenly introduced, without the intermediate examples which are indispensable to the acquirement of sufficient knowledge to usefully employ them.

Notwithstanding these defects, these volumes must become very useful, since the clearness of the terms employed and the beauty of the fine lithographic plates which illustrate the subject are well calculated to bring them into favor, throughout the country.

37.—*Great Britain: a record of travel in 'English-speaking countries, during 1866 and 1867.* By Charles Wentworth Dilke. With Maps and Illustrations. New York: Harper & Eros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 561.

It was a strange conceit of Mr. Dilke to suppose that because "two small islands are, by courtesy, 'styled 'Great,' America, Australia, and India, [*combined*]" "must form a Greater Britain."

It seems that Mr. Dilke crossed the Atlantic to the United States and Canada, and the latter from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Thence he proceeded, successively, to Australia, Ceylon, and Hindostan,—all the time, as he says, "following England round the globe; every where in "English-speaking or in English-governed "lands." Wherever he went, he observed men and matters, generally, with the keen eye of a veteran observer, of the English school; although his "Record" is the record of an intelligent enquirer, rather than that of a pre-determined faultfinder.

As a mere record of a journey, this volume is one of the most interesting; and as its author has treated more minutely of his journey through our Western Country than concerning that in the East, it supplies a want which has been much felt.

It is very neatly printed; and the illustrations are well-executed.

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A number of Book Notices which we had prepared for this number are necessarily laid over for the next.



THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

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MARCH, 1869.

[No. 3,

I.—GENERAL MEADE'S REPORT OF THE  
RAPIDAN CAMPAIGN, MAY 4TH  
TO NOVEMBER 1ST, 1864.

COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM SWINTON, ESQ.,  
AND NOW FIRST PRINTED.

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,  
November 1st. 1864.

LIEUT. COL. BOWERS,  
Asst. Adjt. General.

Hd. qrs. Armies of the United States.

I have the honor to submit for the information of the Lieutenant-general Commanding, and at his request, the subjoined outlines of the movements of the Army since the commencement of the Campaign.

The losses of commands from the casualties of battle and expiration of service, and the continuous operations that have been carried on, almost without interruption, have precluded the possibility of subordinate Reports either being made out or transmitted to these Head-quarters. The following narrative is therefore made principally from memory and from such personal notes and documents as are at hand. It is necessarily brief and imperfect; and will, undoubtedly, in time, be found to contain errors, both of omission and commission. For these I must ask the indulgence of my brother officers and soldiers, with the assurance that when subordinate Reports are received and time is given me, it will be my duty as well as my pleasure to prepare a detailed Report, which shall bear testimony to their gallantry and devotion to their country, so signally exhibited on this remarkable Campaign, which, I think, I can, without exaggeration, pronounce as one unparalleled in military history, for its duration, the character of the operations, and the battles fought.

Early in May, the Army of the Potomac under my immediate command consisted of the Second, Fifth, and Sixth Corps of Infantry, commanded, respectively, by Major-generals Hancock, Warren, and Sedgwick; the Cavalry Corps, under the command of Major-general Sheridan; a Reserve park of Artillery, under the direction of Brigadier-general Hunt, Chief of Artillery, and under the immediate command of Colonel W. S. Burton,

Fifth Regiment, United States Artillery; an Engineer Brigade and Pontoon-train, under Major Duane, Engineers: also a large park of supply-wagons, under the charge of Brigadier-general Rufus Ingalls, Chief Quartermaster.

The Army occupied a position on the North bank of the Rapidan, confronting the Confederate Army under General Lee. The latter, composed of the Corps of Longstreet, Ewell, and Hill, with Stewart's Cavalry, occupied a strong position on the South side of the Rapidan, well protected in front by field-works, with its left flank covered by the Rapidan and the mountains near Orange Court-house, and its right flank guarded by an intrenched line extended from Morton's-ford to Mine-run.

The Lieutenant-general Commanding having decided a movement to turn the enemy's right flank, the Army was put in motion on the fourth of May, as follows: The Fifth Corps, followed by the Sixth, was directed to cross at Germania-ford and advance to the Old Wilderness-tavern, on the Orange and Fredericksburg turnpike; the Second Corps, followed by the Artillery Reserve, crossed at Ely's-ford, and was directed to take position at Chancellorsville. Each column was preceded by a Division of Cavalry that was directed to push well out to the front and flanks, and feel the enemy. The park of supply-trains was assembled at Richardsville, guarded by a Division of Cavalry, and crossed after the troops moving to Chancellorsville. These movements were all executed as directed; and the various Corps of the Army, having crossed the Rapidan without opposition, occupied the several positions assigned them, early in the afternoon of the fourth. It having been determined to turn well the enemy's right flank, to avoid the intrenchments of Mine-run, the Army was put in motion the next day, in the same general relative order.

About seven, A. M., the head of the Fifth Corps column being near Parker's-store, on the Orange and Fredericksburg-plankroad, information was received that the enemy had appeared on the Orange-pike. Orders were immediately sent to Major-general Warren to halt his column; concentrate his command on the Pike; and, when his troops were in hand, to immediately attack any

force in his front. At the same time, the Sixth Corps was ordered to move and take position to the right of the Fifth, taking such wood-roads as could be found, and joining in any attack the latter might make: one Division, Getty's, of the Sixth, was sent to the Orange plank-road, where the Brock-road intersects it, to hold this crossing at all hazards, till the arrival of the Second Corps, ordered up from Todd's tavern.

About noon, Major-general Warren had gotten into position on the Pike and attacked vigorously with the Divisions of Griffin and Wadsworth. This attack was at first quite successful, Griffin driving the enemy (Ewell's Corps) some distance back on the Pike; but as, owing to the dense thicket and want of roads, the Sixth Corps had not been able to get into position, Griffin's flank was exposed as he advanced, which the enemy taking advantage of, Griffin was compelled partially to withdraw, having to abandon two pieces of Artillery. Wadsworth was also driven back.

In the meantime, Crawford's Division, which had the advance in the morning, was withdrawn to the right, towards the Pike, and was formed on the left of Wadsworth—one Brigade advancing with Wadsworth. When Wadsworth was compelled to retire, Crawford was for a time isolated; but was drawn in—not however without the loss of many prisoners.

Getty, on arriving on the Orange-plank, found our Cavalry being driven in by Hill's Corps, and had just time to deploy on each side of the road, delivering a volley into the advancing enemy, which checked his progress till the arrival of the head of Hancock's column, at about two, P. M. So soon as Hancock arrived, he was directed to attack with Getty, which was done, at first successfully, the enemy however offering a stubborn resistance. Mott's Division, Second Corps, gave way; when Brigadier-general Alexander Hays, in going to repair the break in the line, was shot dead, while gallantly leading his command in the thickest of the fight. The enemy's column being seen moving over to the Orange-plankroad, Wadsworth's Division and Baxter's Brigade of the Fifth Corps, were sent in that direction to take position and attack in conjunction with Hancock: they did not arrive, however, in time, before dark, to do more than drive in the enemy's skirmishers and confront him. Towards evening, the Sixth Corps made its way through the dense thicket and formed in connection with the Fifth; but nothing decisive was accomplished by either Corps.

Orders were given, on the night of the fifth, for each Corps to attack promptly, at five, A. M., the next day. I was advised by the Lieutenant-general Commanding, that the Ninth Corps, Major-general A. E. Burnside, was ordered up, and would attack at the same hour, going in between the Orange-plankroad and the turnpike.

On the sixth, the attacks were made as ordered; but without any particular success on the part of either the Fifth or Sixth Corps. On the plankroad, the attack of Wadsworth's and Getty's Divisions and Hancock's Corps was quite successful; and the enemy was driven up the road in confusion and disorder for more than a mile, when, Longstreet's Corps coming up, the tide of battle was turned and our victorious line was forced back to its former position on the Brock-road; the gallant Wadsworth falling, mortally wounded, while exerting himself to rally the retreating columns: the brave Getty was also wounded, early in the action, though refusing some time to leave the field. Soon after Hancock fell back, about two, P. M., Burnside attacked, towards the Orange-plankroad, to the right and in advance of Hancock's position; but the enemy being able to meet the assault with his whole force, Burnside was unable to produce any impression, and, after evening, withdrew, and took position between the Second and Fifth Corps. Just before dark, the enemy moved a considerable force around the right flank of the Sixth Corps, held by Rickett's Division; and, in conjunction with a demonstration in front, succeeded in forcing this Division back in some confusion, making prisoners of Generals Seymour and Shaler and a number of men.

This substantially terminated the battle of the Wilderness; for the next day, the seventh of May, Hancock advancing, found the enemy had withdrawn from his immediate front, and, on pushing forward, found him in a strongly intrenched line near Parker's-store, connecting with his intrenched line on the turnpike.

On the fifth, Wilson's Division of Cavalry moved from Parker's-store, towards the Catharpin-road; and when the Infantry was concentrated to meet the advancing enemy, Wilson became isolated, and was attacked by the enemy's Cavalry. He, however, succeeded in cutting his way through, and rejoining Sheridan. On the sixth, Sheridan held the left flank and rear of the Army, repulsing all of Stewart's attempts to penetrate around our flanks; and, on the seventh, concentrating his command at Todd's-tavern, Sheridan attacked and drove, for some distance, the enemy's Cavalry, inflicting on him serious loss.

The Lieutenant-general Commanding, on the seventh, directing a further movement towards Spottsylvania Court-house, the Army was put in motion on that night—the Fifth Corps, preceded by the Cavalry, moving on the Brock-road, followed by the Second Corps; and the Sixth Corps on the Orange plank and turnpike, preceded by the trains, and followed by the Ninth Corps. In order to clear the roads, it was necessary to move the trains by daylight, which undoubtedly gave notice to the enemy; for, early on the eighth of May, Warren met Longstreet's Corps on the Brock-

road, near the crossing of the Po-river, prepared to dispute the passage. Warren immediately attacked with Robinson's Division—this gallant officer being severely wounded early in the action—pushing the enemy back, and taking position in front of him, near the Block-house.

The Sixth Corps was ordered up to take position on Warren's left, and the Second Corps posted at Todd's-tavern. All the Corps were engaged at different times during the day—Miles's Brigade, Second Corps, repulsing and driving a Brigade of the enemy, who attacked him at Corlyn's-bridge. Wilson's Division of Cavalry succeeded in getting into Spottsylvania Court-house; but it being impossible to get the Infantry up to support him, he had to be withdrawn.

On the ninth of May, the Fifth and Sixth Corps continued pressing the enemy; developing his position; and looking for points to assault. During these operations, the distinguished and beloved Major-general Sedgwick, commanding the Sixth Corps, fell; and Brigadier-general Morris, of the same Corps, was wounded. Early in the day, two Divisions of the Ninth Corps had been moved to the Fredericksburg-road, and finding the enemy in it, had driven him handsomely across the Ny, losing, on the tenth, the distinguished Brigadier-general Stevenson. In the evening, the Second Corps moved up from Todd's-tavern, taking position on the right of the Fifth Corps, and sending Mott's Division to the left of the Sixth Corps.

On this day, the ninth of May, Sheridan with the Cavalry Corps moved southerly, with orders to engage the enemy's Cavalry and, after cutting the Fredericksburg and Central-railroads, to threaten Richmond, and eventually communicate with, and draw supplies from, the force on the James-river.

On the tenth of May, the enemy was pressed along his whole front. Early in the morning, Gibbon's and Barlow's Divisions, Second Corps, were crossed over the Po, with a view of turning the enemy's left flank. He was found, however, so strongly posted and guarded by the Po, those Divisions were withdrawn. Barlow being in the rear, was vigorously attacked by Heth's Division, whom he handsomely repulsed; but in retiring was compelled to abandon a piece of artillery that became jammed in some trees in a narrow road. On the withdrawal of Gibbon, he, together with Birney, in conjunction with the Fifth Corps, assaulted unsuccessfully the enemy's line. During this operation, Brigadier-general Rice of the Fifth Corps, ever distinguished for personal gallantry, fell, mortally wounded.

Late in the evening, Upton's Brigade, Sixth Corps, assaulted and successfully carried the enemy's line in his front, capturing guns and nine hundred prisoners; but not being supported

by Mott, on his left, Upton was compelled to withdraw after dark, abandoning the guns. Mott succeeded in forming connection with the Ninth Corps, which had moved up to his left, from the Fredericksburg-road.

On the eleventh, finding the enemy's left so well guarded, arrangements were made to attack his centre, at a salient point. For this purpose, Wright was directed to extend his left; concentrate on that wing; and be prepared to assault. Hancock, with the Second Corps, was to move, during the night, to the left of Wright, and assault the salient, at daylight. Warren was also to make an assault, to keep the enemy in his lines; and Burnside, with the Ninth Corps, was ordered to assault on the extreme left. At daylight of the twelfth, the Second Corps gallantly assaulted and carried the salient, capturing Major-general Johnston and Brigadier-general Stuart of the Confederate Army, with over three thousand prisoners, twenty guns, and numerous colors. Hancock immediately reformed his command, and was advancing to the enemy's second line, when he was attacked furiously by the enemy, who desperately endeavored, all day, to recover his lost position and guns. In this affair, Brigadier-general A. S. Webb was seriously wounded.

Wright, with the Sixth Corps, on Hancock's right, sustained his share of this battle—one of the bloodiest of the campaign. In view of the great exertions of the enemy, Warren, after failing to succeed in his assault on the right, was moved to the left to the support of Wright and Hancock. Burnside assaulted on Hancock's left, without any other decisive result than keeping occupied a large force of the enemy.

On the thirteenth, it was ascertained the enemy, failing to recover his lost ground, had retired to an inner and shorter line. Having fully settled this fact by reconnaissances, dispositions were made to turn his right flank. During the night of the thirteenth, the Fifth, followed by the Sixth Corps, was moved over to the Fredericksburg-road. The fourteenth of May was occupied in placing these two Corps in position. The enemy was found very strongly posted on the Fredericksburg-road, in front of the Court-house; and it was deemed inexpedient to attack at this point. During this day, Upton's Brigade, of the Sixth Corps, was attacked and compelled to retire from an advanced position it held; but the ground was immediately retaken by Ayres's Brigade, Fifth Corps, in conjunction with supports from Neill's Division, Sixth Corps.

From the fifteenth to the seventeenth of May, the Army was employed in constant reconnoitering and skirmishing, developing the enemy's position, and learning the ground; also in establishing a base at Acquia-creek; sending the sick and wounded there; and drawing therefrom necessary supplies.



On the nineteenth, the Second and Ninth Corps were moved to the left—the former in reserve, the latter taking post on the left of the Sixth. Ewell's Corps, of the enemy, attempted, in the afternoon, to turn our right and get possession of the Fredericksburg-road. His attack was gallantly met by a Division of Heavy Artillery, new troops, under Brigadier-general R. O. Tyler, who, being reinforced by Crawford of the Fifth and Birney of the Second, promptly repulsed and drove Ewell back, inflicting heavy losses on him. Some of Ewell's forces pushing to the rear, on the Fredericksburg-road, met Ferrero's Division, Colored troops, by whom they were checked and repulsed.

On the twentieth of May, the Second Corps, with a small force of Cavalry under Brigadier-general Torbert, was pushed through Bowling Green to Milford. Torbert had a handsome affair with some of the enemy's Infantry, who disputed his passage of the bridge at Milford. Torbert carried the bridge and drove the enemy, capturing over a hundred prisoners. The twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third of May were employed in moving the Army from Spottsylvania Court-house to the North Anna-river. In this movement, the Sixth Corps was the rear guard; and, on the afternoon of the twenty-first, when about retiring from Spottsylvania, the enemy attacked in force, and was handsomely repulsed by Russell's Division.

On the twenty-third, on reaching the North Anna, near the railroad-crossing, Birney's Division of the Second Corps carried some advanced works which the enemy held on the North bank, and secured, intact, the bridge of the telegraph-road. The Ninth Corps confronted and skirmished with the enemy, at Oxford; whilst the Fifth, crossing at Jenck's-ford, was attacked by the enemy, all of whose assaults were repulsed.

The twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-sixth of May were spent on the North Anna—the Second Corps, on the left, having two Divisions on the South side; the Ninth Corps, in the centre, with one Division on the South side; and the Fifth and Sixth, on the South side, extending over to Little-river and crossing the Central-railroad. During this time, portions of the Second, Fifth, and Sixth Corps were engaged in destroying the Fredericksburg-railroad and Central-road.

On the twenty-fifth, the Cavalry Corps joined the Army; Major-general Sheridan having successfully accomplished the object of the expedition for which he was detached. Leaving, on the ninth of May, on the tenth, he reached Beaver Dam-station of the Central-road, destroying ten miles of the road, two locomotives, three trains, and a large amount of stores, estimated at over a million and a half of

rations; and overtaking and recapturing about four hundred of our men, who were being marched to Richmond as prisoners. Crossing the South Anna, at Ground Squirrel-bridge, Ashland-station was captured at daylight of the eleventh of May; and the Depot, six miles of the road, a train, and a large quantity of stores destroyed. Hearing the enemy was massing his Cavalry at the Yellow-tavern, General Sheridan proceeded there and attacked, and, after an obstinate battle, drove the enemy four miles, mortally wounding Generals Stewart and Gordon, capturing two pieces of artillery, and taking between two hundred and three hundred prisoners. Having gained the Brook-pike, a force charged across Brook-run, capturing the enemy's first line of works, but desisted from attacking the second line, across the Mechanicsville-pike. Crossing the Meadow-bridge, driving the enemy from his front, and repulsing an attack, on his rear, of Infantry from the city, Sheridan proceeded to destroy the Railroad-bridge over the Chickahominy, and then moved to Haxall's-landing, which he reached on the fourteenth of May. Remaining here three days to refit, he started on his return, on the seventeenth, and reached Baltimore-store, on the eighteenth. On the twenty-first, he destroyed two bridges and some track near Hanover Court-house; encountered and drove the enemy's Cavalry across the Chickahominy, on the twenty-first; and crossed the Pamunkey, at White House, on the twenty-third of May; reaching Milford and rejoining the Army, on the twenty-fifth of May. On the twenty-sixth, Wilson's Division crossed the North Anna above Jericho-ford, and assisted the Infantry in destroying the Central-road. On the night of the twenty-sixth, Sheridan, with two Divisions of Cavalry, supported by Russell's Division, Sixth Corps, moved down the Pamunkey; and by noon, on the twenty-seventh, seized the crossing at Hanover-town and then a bridge there. On the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth, the Army moved and crossed the Pamunkey—the Fifth and Ninth Corps, at Hanover-town; the Second and Sixth Corps at Huntley's-ford. On the twenty-eighth, Sheridan had a sharp engagement with the enemy's Cavalry, meeting them at Haw's-shop, but driving them back to the crossing of the Tolopotomy, where he maintained his position till relieved by the Second Corps. On the twenty-ninth, Hancock advanced on the road from Haw's-shop to Atlee's-station, driving the enemy into his works, on the other side of the Tolopotomy. Warren took position on the Shady Grove Church-road, skirmishing with the enemy. Wright moved on the right of the Second Corps, occupying, for a time, Hanover Court-house, and then closing in to the left. On the thirtieth, the

Ninth Corps moved between the Second and Fifth Corps, pushing out on the road to Pole Green Church. Late in the evening, the enemy attacked Warren near Bethesda Church and attempted to turn his left; but was foiled and repulsed. To relieve Warren, Hancock was ordered to attack, when Barlow carried the first line of rifle-pits occupied by the enemy, on the opposite side of the Tolopotomy. On the thirty-first, Wilson's Division of Cavalry moved to Hanover-junction, and destroyed the railroad-bridges over the Anna-river; at the same time, defeating and driving away the enemy's Cavalry sent to interrupt him. Sheridan, with two Divisions, was sent to occupy Cold Harbor, driving the enemy out of that place. Sheridan reporting himself pressed at Cold Harbor, was directed to maintain his position at all hazards, which he did, manfully, till Wright, with the Sixth Corps, and Major-general W. F. Smith, with troops from the James-river, *via* White House, could join him. These arrived on the first of June, relieving Sheridan, when both Wright and Smith attacked the enemy, taking parts of a line he was holding, and forcing him back to another line.

On the second of June, the Second Corps was moved to Cold Harbor and took position on the left of Wright, who was on the left of Smith. Burnside was drawn into Bethesda Church; and Warren extended to the left, to connect with Smith. In executing this operation, both Warren and Burnside were attacked, repulsed and punishing the enemy, but losing some prisoners by the flanking of their skirmish line. Wilson returning from Hanover Junction, demonstrated on Burnside's right. Sheridan held the lower crossing of the Chickahominy, and covered the roads of the White House, now the depot for supplies.

At four, A.M., on the twenty-third of June, a vigorous assault was made by the Second, Sixth, and Eighteenth Corps. Barlow's Division, Second Corps, carried a part of the enemy's line on our extreme left; but, before Barlow could be reinforced, the enemy, rallying, compelled him to withdraw. The assaults of the Sixth and Eighteenth Corps being unsuccessful, about eleven A.M., offensive operations ceased. In the meantime, Burnside had gained some advantages, reporting he had captured an advanced-line of the enemy. The losses on both sides, in this attack, were severe. In the afternoon, the enemy attacked Burnside and Warren with no more success than was met with in the morning. The Army was directed to intrench its then position, close up to the enemy's main line of works. About nine, P. M., the enemy made an assault on Gibbon's Division, Second Corps, and was easily repulsed. During the day, Wilson operating on

our extreme right, turned the enemy's left, attacking and forcing him back, taking a number of prisoners. On the fourth of June, Burnside reporting the enemy withdrawn from his front, the Ninth Corps was drawn in and posted between the Fifth and Eighteenth. On the sixth, the Fifth Corps was withdrawn and massed in rear of the centre; and, on the seventh, the Second Corps being extended to the Chickahominy, two Divisions of the Fifth were sent to extend as far as Despatch-station, on the York River-railroad. At this date, two Divisions of Cavalry, under Sheridan, were sent to Gordonsville, to destroy more effectually the Central-railroad, and communicate, if practicable, with the forces operating in the Valley.

On the twelfth of June, the movement was made to the James--the Fifth Corps, preceded by Wilson's Division of Cavalry, moving on the night of the twelfth, seizing the crossing of Long-bridge, and, early on the thirteenth, taking position on the Long Bridge-road, where it crosses the White Oak-swamp. At this point, Wilson's Cavalry and Crawford's Division repulsed an attempt of the enemy to advance on this road. The Second Corps followed the Fifth, withdrawing from Cold Harbor on the night of the twelfth; crossing at Long-bridge; and reaching the James, at Charles City Court-house, on the evening of the thirteenth. The Second Corps having passed, the Fifth was withdrawn to the James, and Wilson's Cavalry posted so as to cover the approaches from the White Oak-swamp to the James.

The Sixth and Ninth Corps, crossed at Jones's-bridge, and the train by a bridge at Cole's-ferry.

The troops under Major-general W. F. Smith, temporarily serving with the Army of the Potomac, were relieved and moved on the night of the twelfth, to the White House.

By the fourteenth, the Army was massed around Charles City Court-house. Transports having been assembled, the Second Corps commenced crossing in them, at noon. Brigadier-general Benham, in charge of the bridge-train, arrived early on the morning of the fourteenth, and proceeded to lay the bridge, the site for which, and the approaches on each side, having been prepared by Brigadier-general Weitzel, Chief Engineer, Department of Virginia and North Carolina.

The bridge, over two thousand feet in length, and the channel-boats, anchored in over thirteen fathoms of water, were completed by midnight. During this day, the fourteenth of June, the greater portion of the Second Corps was ferried across the river. In the evening, orders were sent to Major-general Hancock, to move early the next morning and take position in front of



Petersburg: he was, however, authorized to delay for the receipt of subsistence-stores, which, in the absence of our supply-trains, were to be sent from Bermuda Hundred. Major-general Hancock moved without his supplies, his leading Division, under Birney, reporting to Major-general W. F. Smith, about an hour before that officer's attack upon the enemy; and by direction of General Smith, Birney took position on the left of Major-general Mincks. Soon after, or about dark, Major-general Hancock arrived with the rest of his Corps; and on communicating with Major-general Smith, was by that officer requested to place his command in a part of the works captured from the enemy. Late in the evening, this day, the fifteenth, orders were received from the Lieutenant-general Commanding, then at City Point, to dispatch another Corps to Petersburg; when Major-general Burnside, with the Ninth Corps, was immediately put en route for that place, reaching it about noon the next day. At the same time, orders were given to Warren, to cross his Corps at early daylight, by the ferries, and proceed to Petersburg; he reaching there about dark of the sixteenth. Having made these dispositions, early on the morning of the sixteenth, I proceeded to City Point, and from thence to Petersburg, meeting, when about half way to the latter place, the Lieutenant-general Commanding, by whom I was instructed to take command of the troops then in front of Petersburg, and, if practicable, push the enemy across the Appomattox. At the same time, orders were sent to Wright, to move up his Artillery and one Division of his Infantry to Petersburg, and to take the other two Divisions by water to City Point. Proceeding on, I reached Petersburg about two, P.M.; and, after communicating with Corps Commanders, orders were given for an assault by Hancock and Burnside, at six, P.M., Smith demonstrating, he having reported an assault expedient in his front. The assault was made, as directed, by Hancock, and resulted in taking and holding part of the enemy's line. The fighting continued till late in the night; and, at early dawn of the seventeenth of June, a gallant assault was made by the Ninth Corps, capturing a redoubt, four guns, several colors, and many prisoners. During the night of the sixteenth, Neill's Division, Sixth Corps, arrived, relieving Brooks's Division of the Eighteenth, who, accompanied by Major-general Smith, returned to Bermuda Hundred, leaving General Martindale in command of Smith's troops. Warren, with the Fifth Corps, also came up during the night of the sixteenth, and was posted on the left of the Ninth Corps. During all of the seventeenth, the enemy was vigorously pressed: Martindale pushing him back on the right and the whole line gradually advancing.

An assault of the whole line was ordered for daylight on the eighteenth; but, on advancing, it was found the enemy, during the night, had retired to a line about a mile nearer the city--the one he now occupies. Orders were immediately given to follow and develop his position and, so soon as disposition could be made, to assault. About noon, an unsuccessful attack was made by Gibbon's Division, Second Corps. Martindale's advance was successful, occupying the enemy's skirmish-line and making some prisoners. Major-general Birney, temporarily commanding the Second Corps, then organized a formidable column; and, about four, P.M., made an attack but without success. Later in the day, attacks were made by the Fifth and Sixth Corps, with no better success. Being satisfied Lee's Army was before us and nothing further to be gained by direct attacks, offensive operations ceased, and the work of intrenching a line was commenced, which line is part of that at present held. During these operations, the supply-trains were crossed at the bridge, covered by Wilson's Division of Cavalry and Ferrero's Division of Colored troops.

On the eighteenth of June, news was received from Sheridan, who, on the sixteenth, was at Walkertown, on the Pamunkey. He reported having reached Travillion Station, on the Central-railroad, near Gordonsville, when he was attacked by Hampton's Cavalry, whom he repulsed and drove off. Sheridan then commenced the destruction of the railroad; but was soon interrupted by the return of Hampton, reinforced with Infantry from Gordonsville. Sheridan was again successful in his encounter with these forces; but finding his ammunition being exhausted, the country destitute of supplies, and hearing nothing of General Hunter's movements, he deemed it prudent to abandon the further prosecution of the expedition, and accordingly returned. Orders were sent to Sheridan to proceed to the White House; re-supply himself; and then escort to the James, the garrison of that place. Sheridan reached the White House just as Hampton was about attacking it, compelling Hampton to retire. After breaking up the Depot, Sheridan moved over to the James, sending Gregg's Division to cover the road, towards White Oak-swamp. Hampton fell on Gregg, handling him severely; but he was finally driven off, and the command reached the James and were safely ferried over, near Fort Powhattan, on the twenty-ninth of June.

On the twenty-first of June, the Ninth Corps relieving the Second, and the Eighteenth the Sixth, these two Corps were moved across the Jerusalem plank-road, to which road the Fifth Corps was extended. The Second Corps was placed in position on the left of the Fifth; and an effort for several days was made, by means of the Sixth Corps, to extend the lines to the Weldon-



railroad. The enemy resisted most persistently, and several skirmishes and small affairs were had, in which, owing to the character of the country, being a dense thicket, and to want of knowledge on our part of 'the topography, the enemy was enabled to defeat our purposes, capturing a number of prisoners, and taking from Gibbon's Division, four guns. The lines were established about half way to the Weldon-road; but before they could be extended, early in July, the Sixth Corps was ordered from the Army to Washington. This necessitated a concentration of our lines, the left being drawn into the Jerusalem plank-road and there re-fused.

On the twenty-second of June, Wilson's Division of Cavalry and Kautz's Division of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina proceeded to Burkesville, the junction of the Danville and Southside-railroads, with the view of destroying both these roads and cutting the enemy's communications. Wilson crossed the Weldon-road at Reams's-station, destroying the Depot and several miles of railroad; and struck the Southside-road, about fifteen miles from Petersburg, destroying some twenty-two miles of that road, to near Notanay-station, where he met W. H. F. Lee's Division of Cavalry, and, after a sharp fight, defeated him. Kautz reached Burkesville, on the afternoon of the twenty-third, where he destroyed the station and track, and moved to Meherrin-station, forming a junction, at that place, with Wilson, on the twenty-fourth of June. The two then destroyed the road as far as Roanoke-bridge, a distance of twenty-five miles. At this point, the enemy was in position and could not be dislodged. In returning, Wilson met, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, the enemy's Cavalry, in force, at the Weldon railroad crossing of Stony-creek, where he had a severe engagement. He then made a detour by his left, and endeavored to reach Reams's-station, presuming it to be in our possession; but he here encountered not only the enemy's Cavalry, but a strong force of Infantry. Being largely outnumbered, he was overwhelmed and forced to retire, with the loss of his trains and artillery; but succeeded in crossing the Nottoway, and in coming in, on our left and rear, bringing nearly all of his command with him. The first intimation I had of Wilson's situation was the intelligence brought by one of his Aides, who cut his way through from Reams's-station. The Sixth Corps was immediately sent to that point, and Sheridan ordered up with his Cavalry; but, before the troops could reach there, the affair was over and the enemy withdrawn. Although regretting the disaster at the termination of the expedition, the brilliant success of the operation and the heavy injuries inflicted upon the enemy were deemed ample compensation for the loss sustained.

The greater portion of July was devoted to strengthening the line of intrenchments, from the Jerusalem plank-road to the Appomattox, constructing redoubts and siege batteries. On the twenty-sixth of July, this line being held by the Fifth, Ninth, and Eighteenth Corps, the Second Corps, with two Divisions of Cavalry under Sheridan, the whole under Major-general Hancock, were crossed to the North side of the James, at Deep Bottom. The enemy's works at that point were carried, capturing four guns and a number of prisoners; and a line occupied, extending from the James to the Long-bridge and New Market-roads. This demonstration drew to the North side of the James, the greater portion of Lee's Army, only three Divisions being left to hold the lines in front of Petersburg. This was considered a suitable time<sup>1</sup> to explode a mine which Major-general Burnside had excavated under one of the enemy's batteries in his front. Accordingly, Major-general Hancock was withdrawn on the night of the ninth, relieving Ord, commanding the Eighteenth Corps, which was massed in rear and on the right of Burnside. Warren was directed to mass his available forces on the left of the Ninth Corps.

Burnside was ordered to mass his Corps, on the night of the twenty-ninth, organize his assaulting columns, take down his parapet, clear away the abattis and other obstructions, and make every preparation for immediate assault, so soon as the mine should be sprung; and he was particularly cautioned not to permit his columns to halt in the crater, but to press on and crown the crest of Cemetery-hill, which was the important point to seize; for this being once gained, the mass of men ready to follow, would render resistance by the enemy, with his diminished force, out of the question; and this crest in our possession Petersburg would certainly fall. Every preliminary order was given; and at half past three in the morning of the thirtieth of July, was designated as the hour for springing the mine. Some delay occurred from an imperfect fuze; but the mine was sprung at a quarter before five. Soon after, Ledlie's Division moved out, and without opposition crowned the crater. The Division, however, did not move beyond; but other troops were sent, who crowded into the crater and the adjacent parts of the enemy's line found vacated. Finding delay in the movement of Burnside's column, Ord was ordered to push forward his Corps; but he reported it impracticable from there being no *deboûche* from our lines but the one in front of the Ninth Corps, still crowded with troops. The delay in pushing forward to Cemetery-hill enabled the enemy to rally and concentrate his forces; and soon he brought his batteries to bear from several points and opened on the crater. The operation being essentially a *coup de main*, and dependent entirely on the prompt

movement at the beginning, when nine o'clock arrived and no advance of any consequence having been effected, I was satisfied a longer continuance of the attack would only result in a useless slaughter of the troops; and they were therefore recalled. Authority was given to Major-general Burnside to exercise his judgment as to the precise time of withdrawal. The troops were withdrawn about two, P. M., after repulsing several attacks of the enemy, but losing many prisoners in the withdrawal. I forbear to comment on the failure of an attack that seemed at first to promise the most complete success, because the whole subject, at my request, has been investigated by a Court of Inquiry, the proceedings of which are now, and have been for some time, in the hands of the President of the United States.

Early in August, two Divisions of Cavalry, under Major-general Sheridan, were sent to Washington.

On the fourteenth of August, Major-general Hancock, commanding the Second Corps, Gregg's Division of Cavalry, and a detachment of troops of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina under Major-general Birney, crossed the James-river at Deep Bottom, and attacked the enemy in position. Birney carried the lines in front of him, capturing six pieces of artillery, four colors, and many prisoners. Barlow's attack, with part of the Second Corps, was not so successful. On the fifteenth, Hancock manœvered to the right, to develop the enemy's position and select a point of attack. On the sixteenth, an attack was again made with partial success—Gregg, on the Charles City-road, driving the enemy's Cavalry as far as White's-tavern, where he met a superior force of Infantry, compelling him to retire to Deep-creek. In these engagements, Generals Chambliss and Gherardie of the Confederate Army were killed.

The seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth were spent by Hancock in continual skirmishing: constantly threatening the enemy, but finding him too strongly posted to justify an attack. On the twentieth, Hancock was withdrawn; having previously sent Mott's Division to Petersburg.

During these operations of Hancock's, on the North side of the James, advantage was taken of the weakening of the enemy's forces, South of the Appomattox, to effect a lodgment on the Weldon-railroad. For this purpose, the Fifth Corps having been previously withdrawn from the lines, its place being supplied by an extension of the Ninth, Warren moved, on the eighteenth, and by a *detour* to the rear, struck the Weldon-railroad near the Globe-tavern, without much opposition, except from a small force of the enemy's Cavalry. On advancing up the road, however, towards Petersburg, he was met by a considerable force of the enemy, who attacked him, but, after a sharp fight,

was repulsed. In this affair, many prisoners fell into the hands of the enemy. During the night of the eighteenth, Mott's Division, Second Corps, was sent to relieve a portion of the Ninth Corps, who, on the nineteenth, were sent to Warren. On this day, Warren, whose position was over three miles from the left of our intrenched line, on the Jerusalem-plankroad was extending his pickets to connect, when, about four, P. M., the enemy interposed, in heavy masses, turning his right flank, and appearing in his rear. Notwithstanding the confusion which this manœuver in a thickly-wooded country produced, Warren charged front to meet the enemy; and, in conjunction with the Ninth Corps, just arrived, particularly Wilcox's and White's Divisions, repulsed the enemy, inflicting on him severe losses, sustaining, himself, however, heavy losses in prisoners, among them, Brigadier-general Hays. The twentieth of August passed off quietly; but, on the twenty-first, the enemy renewed his desperate efforts to dislodge Warren, by attacking him vigorously and in heavy force, on his front and left flank. These attacks were all repulsed with heavy losses to the enemy, and comparatively slight on our own part—Warren capturing four flags and over four hundred prisoners. Brigadier-general Cutler was wounded, and Colonel Dushane, a gallant officer, commanding a Maryland Brigade, killed.

On the twenty-second of August, Hancock having moved up to the vicinity of the Weldon-railroad, Miles's Division, Second Corps, and Gregg's Division of Cavalry were sent to Ream's-station, with instructions to destroy the road. On the twenty-third, General Hancock, with Gibbon's Division, was sent to reinforce Miles. The work of destruction was continued on the twenty-fourth; but, on the twenty-fifth, the enemy appearing, Hancock concentrated his forces at Ream's-station; while, late in the afternoon, he was heavily attacked by a superior force of Cavalry and Infantry, and pressed with so much vigor, that a part of his line was broken, and nine pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the enemy. Upon learning the condition of affairs, Wilcox's Division, Ninth Corps, was sent to support Hancock, but did not reach the ground till the action was over. At night, General Hancock withdrew; the enemy leaving the ground at the same time. This terminated the efforts of the enemy to dislodge us from the Weldon-railroad. A line was at once formed, connecting the Jerusalem-plankroad with our new position, and the necessary defensive works laid out and constructed.

No further movement of consequence, beyond reconnoissances, was made till the thirtieth of September, when orders were received from the Lieutenant-general Commanding, to make a demonstration on the left, with a view of preventing detachments to the North side of the James, where



operations were being carried on. For this purpose, Major-general Warren, with two Divisions of the Fifth Corps, and Major-general Parke, with two Divisions of the Ninth, moved from the left, towards Poplar Springs Church and Perbliss's farm. Gregg's Division of Cavalry, at the same time, moved further to the left and rear. Griffin found the enemy intrenched on Perbliss's farm; and attacking, carried a redoubt and a line of rifle-pits, taking one gun and about one hundred prisoners; at the same time, Ayres carried a small work on the Squirrel level-road. In the afternoon, Parke moving on Warren's left, towards the Boydton-road, was fiercely attacked by the enemy and, for a time, compelled to fall back; but Griffin coming to his support, the enemy was checked and repulsed. Early in the day, on the first of October, Gregg met the enemy's Cavalry and forced it back, reporting its disappearance in the afternoon. On the first of October, Mott's Division, Second Corps, was withdrawn from the lines and sent to reinforce Parke, but could not reach the ground in time for operations. On this day, Gregg was heavily attacked on the Duncan-road, where he was guarding the left and rear; but repulsed the enemy, inflicting heavy losses on him, and killing Brigadier-general Donovan.

On the second of October, the whole force advanced, but found the enemy had withdrawn to his main intrenched line. A position was then taken up, and the necessary works laid out to extend our intrenched line to the position gained.

On the twenty-seventh, parts of the Ninth, Fifth, and Second Corps, together with Gregg's Division of Cavalry, moved from the left, in reconnaissance. The enemy was found in a line, strongly intrenched, extending in front of the Boydton-plankroad, down nearly to Armstrong's-mill. Wherever he was confronted by the Fifth and Ninth Corps, his position was deemed too strong to attack. The Second Corps and Gregg's Division, under Major-general Hancock, succeeded in crossing Hatcher's-run, on the Vaughan-road, and reaching the Boydton-plankroad, near Burgess's-tavern, encountering only slight opposition from the enemy's Cavalry. About four, P. M., however, the enemy attacked Hancock and Gregg with great force; but was in every instance repulsed. Crawford's Division, Fifth Corps, had been crossed at Armstrong's-mill, and had moved up Hatcher's-run, with a view of connecting with Hancock; but the serpentine nature of this stream and the dense thicket through which Crawford had to move prevented the junction being made. No object being attainable by remaining in the positions gained, the troops were, on the twenty-eighth, withdrawn to the line of intrenchments.

The foregoing is a brief synopsis of the principal movements of this Army. It is proper I should add, that they always originated in direct

orders from the Lieutenant-general Commanding; and that, almost always, the exceptions being rare, the details received his sanction before the movements were executed.

I transmit herewith a Return of Casualties during the campaign, showing the number of killed, wounded, and missing; a statement of the captures of guns, colors and prisoners; together with a map illustrating the several movements of the Army. These papers are honorable records of the sacrifices and achievements of this Army. That its efforts have not resulted in more decided success is due to the policy adopted by the enemy of acting chiefly on the defensive; to the topographical features of the country, admirably adapted for defense; to the accurate and familiar knowledge of the topography possessed by the enemy, and our ignorance of the same; to the superior mobility of the enemy, arising from his better knowledge of the country and his having shorter lines to traverse, all of which causes combined to frustrate the efforts to bring him to battle in an open field, but enabled him, at each successive move, to interpose his Army in a strong position till he was finally driven to the long-prepared defences of his Capital.

This Army has done its duty nobly. The thanks of the country are due to all branches of the service: the Artillery and Engineers are deserving of especial commendation for their incessant and arduous labors since occupying the lines before Petersburg. The limits of this Report will not justify my enumerating individual instances of gallantry and distinguished services. To the Corps and subordinate Commanders, to the Chiefs and officers of the several Staff departments, and to my personal Staff, I have been indebted, from the commencement of the campaign, for zealous co-operation and faithful discharge of their respective duties. To the gallant soldiers in the rank and file, who for six months have been unwearied in their labors, by night as well as day, the country owes a debt of gratitude it will be difficult to repay; and when the record in detail shall be made, for the period indicated, I feel satisfied the remark I made in the commencement of this Report will be fully verified, and impartial judges will pronounce that, for the number and severity of the battles, the length of the marches, the continuous and never-intermitted labors in the trenches and on fatigue duties, for the sad list of casualties, and for the results obtained, this campaign stands unparalleled in the annals of war, whether ancient or modern.

Very Respectfully, &c.,

GEO. G. MEADE,

Maj.-genl. Commanding.

Official.

GEO. D. RUGGLES.

Ass't Adjt-general.



I.  
*Tabular statement of casualties in the Army of the Potomac, from May 5th to November 1st, 1864.*

BATTLES.	DATES.	KILLED.			WOUNDED.			MISSING.		
		C. Off.	E. M. C. Off.	E. M. C. Off.	E. M. C. Off.	E. M. C. Off.	E. M. C. Off.	E. M. C. Off.	E. M. C. Off.	E. M. C. Off.
Wilderness.....	May 5 to 12.....	269	3,019	1,017	18,261	177	6,667	29,410		
Spottsylvania.....	May 12 to 21.....	114	2,032	259	7,697	31	248	10,381		
North Anna.....	May 21 to 31.....	12	138	67	1,063	3	324	1,607		
Cold Harbor.....	June 1 to 10.....	144	1,561	421	8,621	51	2,355	13,153		
Petersburg.....	June 10 to 20.....	85	1,113	361	6,492	46	1,568	9,665		
Petersburg.....	June 20 to July 30	29	576	120	2,374	108	2,109	5,316		
Petersburg.....	July 30.....	47	372	124	1,555	91	1,819	4,008		
Tronches.....	August 1 to 18.....	10	128	58	626	1	45	868		
Weldon-railroad.....	August 18 to 21.....	21	191	100	1,055	104	3,072	4,543		
Reams's station.....	August 25.....	24	93	62	484	95	1,674	2,432		
Pleebles' farm.....	Sept. 30 to Oct. 1.....	12	129	50	738	56	1,700	2,685		
Trenches.....	Aug. 18 to Oct. 30	13	284	91	1,214	4	811	2,417		
Boydton-plankroad.....	Oct. 27 and 28.....	16	140	66	981	8	691	1,902		
Total.....		796	9,776	2,796	51,161	775	23,083	88,387		

## II.

*Number of guns captured and lost by the Army of the Potomac, from May 4th to November 1st, 1864.*

Captured.....32 Lost.....25

## III.

*Statement, showing the number of Colors captured from the enemy, during the operations of the Army of the Potomac, from May 4 to November 1st, 1864.*

Number of Colors captured.....67  
 Captured by the Cavalry Corps..... 3  
 Captured by the Second Corps.....40  
 Captured by the Fifth Corps.....10  
 Captured by the Sixth Corps..... 3  
 Captured by the Ninth Corps.....11—67

NOTE:—The foregoing Statement is made up of Reports of captured Colors that have been received. Two Divisions of the Cavalry Corps and the

Sixth Corps having been transferred from this Army, it is not certainly known that all the Colors captured by these troops, prior to their transfer, have been reported.

## IV.

*Statement of the number of Prisoners captured by the Army of the Potomac, during the operations, from May 4th to November 1st, 1864.*

FROM	TO	NUMBER.
May 1.....	May 12.....	7,078
May 12.....	July 31.....	6,506
July 31.....	August 31.....	573
August 31.....	September 30....	78
September 30..	October 31.....	1,138
Total.....		15,373

Official.

GEO. D. RUGGLES,  
 Asst. Adjt. General.

## II.—THE ANTE-COLUMBIAN DISCOVERY OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT, BY THE NORTHMEN.

[From *The New Orleans Sunday Times*.]

"Sum cuique.  
 "Magna est veritas et prævalebit."

The honor of being the first European who trod the shores of the New World, has long been assigned to Christopher Columbus; and, though some geographers—for instance, Malte Brnn, by birth a Dane, and others—were not entirely ignorant of earlier discoveries on this Continent by the old Northmen, this knowledge was very inaccurate, and for the plurality of the learned world, the old Icelandic manuscripts belonged to the category "*non leguntur*," simply because they didn't understand their language. This hindrance was removed when Danish antiquaries had the old records translated in Danish and Latin, and printed in a large quarto volume, under the name: *Antiquitates Americane sive Scriptores Septentrionales Rerum Anteo-Columbianarum in America, etc. Hafniæ*, 1837. By this work, it is proved, beyond any doubt whatever, to every scholar who desires to ascertain the facts, which, however, it seems Mr. Bancroft did not choose to do in his history of America, that the American Continent was discovered and explored at a much earlier period and in a much more complete manner than is generally supposed, by the Scandinavians, in the tenth and eleventh centuries. To these hardy, adventurous, enterprising men, then, the honor, which hitherto has surrounded the name of the famous Genoese, ought to be transferred.

Columbus did not more than touch the Ameri-

can Continent in the fifteenth century, while the Northmen, without any knowledge of the compass, as he had, discovered and partially explored the Eastern coast of North America, some four or five hundred years before him. And, we must well remember that he never had any clear idea what it was he had accomplished; for he always thought that he had arrived at the Eastern coast of Asia; whereas the Northmen were perfectly aware that they had discovered an entirely different Continent. Far be it from me to deny to Columbus, the discoverer of Cuba and Hispaniola, etc., or to the Venitian, John Cabot, so long considered as the discoverer of Newfoundland, the honors justly due to them; but much more, undoubtedly, do the original discoverers of this Continent deserve.

All the nations of the Northman or Scandinavian race—the Icelanders, Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes—are, moreover, of the closest kindred with the very same stock whence the old English (less correctly called Anglo-Saxon) race has sprung; and the very qualities which were so strikingly displayed by the daring, adventurous men, who from Iceland and Greenland, went over to this Continent, which they explored to a great extent, are those which have ever adorned the British character, and raised the Englishmen and Anglo-Americans to the prominent rank they deservedly hold among the nations of the earth. This question, then, must necessarily be of the greatest interest to every man of English race, but principally to the descendants of the English in the New World.

It does not enter into my plan, neither do I consider it necessary, to give a lengthy account of the voyages to and discoveries in the Western Continent, made by the old Northmen: I only want, briefly, to recapitulate the chief points of those expeditions, and to try to elucidate the questions that have arisen as to the genuineness or spuriousness of the Runic inscription said to have been found, last Summer, at the Potomac.

Any one who desires further particulars about the early Scandinavian discoveries on our Continent, may find, in the Lyceum Library, the most important work relating to this interesting question, the already mentioned *Antiquitates Americanae*, or, if the Latin shouldn't be sufficiently current to him, (for I don't suppose many here are familiar with Icelandic or Danish,) he may, at the same library, obtain a most excellent English book on this subject: *The Discovery of America by the Northmen, in the Tenth Century*, etc., by Joshua Toulmin Smith. Second edition, London, 1842, one vol. 8vo. This work is not only very interesting in its contents, but its way of treating the subject is so highly attractive, that it may be read with a great deal more pleasure, and to incomparably more benefit, than most of the innu-

merable novels, originals and translations, that deluge the book-stores and our parlors. A few notices, spreading glimpses of light, vague, it is true, but in connection with our previous knowledge, highly confirmatory of two of the most obscure narratives in the old sagas, I have found in *Myths of the New World*, etc., by Daniel G. Brinton, A. M., New York: 1868, one volume, octavo.

This is not the place to prove the genuineness and authenticity of the old Icelandic records, containing the histories of Eric the Red, Thorfinn Karlsefne and others of the original discoverers and explorers of America; and it would not be necessary, as hardly any one familiar with these matters can have the least doubt about the truthfulness and trustworthiness of these plain and strait forward narratives. If, however, some should happen to be endowed with such a doubting mind, he will find every imaginable objection refuted by Mr. J. T. Smith, much better than I should be able to do it.

As incontrovertible facts, then, must be put down the following: Iceland was discovered in 861, by a pirate named Nadodd, who, if I remember aright, was from the Farö islands; and colonized in 875, by Ingolf, a Norwegian. It is, however, a very remarkable fact, that this land, a long time before the Pagan Northmen settled there, was inhabited by Irish Christians, no doubt a kind of hermits. Greenland was first seen in 982, and colonized in 985, by Eric Thorvaldsson the Red, a Norwegian by birth, who left Iceland, accompanied by twenty-five vessels, out of which fourteen reached Greenland. One of Eric's companions was Herjulf, a kinsman of Ingolf, the first settler in Iceland. Bjarne, the son of Herjulf, arrived, from Norway, in Iceland, in the Summer of 985, his father having shortly before left. After having refitted his vessel, he and his crew put out to sea with a fair wind to go to Greenland; but, after three days, strong North-easters sprang up, before which they were borne for many days, they knew not whither. At last, they successively saw three lands, now known as New England, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, before they finally landed at Herjulfness, in Greenland, where Herjulf had fixed his residence. This Bjarne Herjulfsson, then, was the *first discoverer of the American Continent*, in 985.

During the long winter nights in Greenland, much was, of course, spoken about these discoveries; and the sons of Eric the Red may, as boys, many a time have listened, with breathless interest, to the narratives of the discoverer. At last, when they were grown up, Leif Ericsson, the oldest of them, wishing to explore the countries discovered fifteen years before, purchased Bjarne's ship, and manned it with a crew of thirty-five men. They set sail, in the year 1000, and explor-

ed the eastern coasts of Newfoundland, which Leif called "Helluland,"—land of broad stones,—and Nova Scotia, which he called "Markland,"—woodland,—and, at last, they arrived at a land where they stayed the winter over, and consequently built houses, which afterwards were called "Leifs-budir"—Leif's booths. This country, which corresponds with the southern New England States, Leif called "Vinland," because vines and grapes were found growing there spontaneously. After having explored the country to some extent, they returned to Greenland in the Spring of the year 1001. Leif's Vinland voyage did not satisfy his brother, Thorvald, who thought that this country had been much too little explored. He, therefore, borrowed Leif's vessel and set out on a new voyage, in 1002. This expedition stayed in Vinland till 1005, and explored a considerable extent of the coasts, North and South; but, in a conflict with the natives, Thorvald was killed, in 1004. These natives of Vinland are, in the *Sagas*, always called "Skrælings"—peelings, chips,—and described as very short of stature, dark complexion, and ugly, with coarse hair, large eyes, and broad faces. Eskimo tribes must, then, at that time have lived so far South. This seems to be confirmed by the traditions of the Tuscaroras, who place their arrival on the Virginian coast, about 1300, and speak of the race they found there as eaters of raw meat and ignorant of maize—the name Eskimo is from the Algonkin word "Eskimantic,"—eaters of raw fish.

In the Spring of 1007, Thorfinn Thordsson, called "Karlsfne"—able to achieve—who, the previous winter, had married Gudrid, the widow of Thorstein, Eric the Red's third son, undertook a new expedition to Vinland, accompanied by his wife. He had with him three vessels and one hundred and sixty men, with part of which he returned to Greenland, in 1010, after having, for three years, explored the country, during which time he was obliged to fight the natives repeatedly. There is no record of two of the leaders of this expedition, Thorhall Gamlason and Snorre Thorörandsson, and their followers ever having returned to Greenland. They may, then, possibly have remained in Vinland and settled there. There are a few circumstances that make it probable that a colony in Vinland did exist for some time, possibly in the neighborhood of Mount Hope-bay. It may, I think it must, have been with a view to visit this that Eric, the first Bishop of Greenland, went over to Vinland, in 1121, whence he never returned. J. T. Smith mentions that, at the time when the Pilgrim Fathers arrived, "there was a tradition current with the oldest Indians in these parts, that, in old days, there came a wooden house and men of another country in it, swimming up the river Assonet, now Taunton river, who fought the Indians with mighty success."

This tradition probably refers to the expedition of Thorfinn Karlsefne. Smith tells, furthermore, that the name the Indians gave Mount Hope was Hlaup, a word exactly pronounced like the Icelandic Hlop, the name Thorfinn gave to the self-same locality; and that Cape Cod, which the Northmen called Kjalarnes, was called Nanset or Neset, by the Indians. Brinton informs us, moreover, that the word for fire in the language of the Delawares, Nancitokes, and neighboring tribes seems to be of Scandinavian origin. It is "taenda" or "tinda." This is the Swedish word "tände"—(Danish tænde,)—"to kindle" from whose root come the Danish "tender," and English "tinder."

As a further proof of the existence of a colony in this neighborhood may be mentioned a singular ruin by the town of Newport, in Rhode Island. "People," says Smith, "call it the Old Mill, and such it always has been called, but no one ever heard of its having been a mill, and no one can look at it who has ever seen a mill of any kind and think for a moment that it is possible it ever was a mill." "It is," he tells us, "a tower about thirty feet high, very massive, built of hewed stones and supported by columns, ten feet high and at least a yard in diameter (three yards in circumference.)"

Here, in this same neighborhood, near the town of Fall River, on the boundaries of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, was, about 1812, discovered a skeleton that is supposed to have been that of a Northman killed in one of their fights with the Skrælings. That this was not the skeleton of an Eskimo or Indian was evident, both from the shape of the head and bones of the face, and from the remarkable fact of the remains of metal armor being found upon it. Round it was a kind of chain, formed of little brass barrels strung upon a string made of something like catgut. A quantity of arrow-heads were found near it. Putting all these circumstances together, it is very probably that this was the remains of a Northman; it is, at least, extremely difficult to tell who else it may have been.

During Thorfinn's stay in Vinland, his eldest son, Snorre, was born there in 1008, the first person of European blood of whose birth in America we have any record. This Snorre afterwards became one of the most powerful men in Iceland; and from him several of the most prominent families in that country are descended. The world-renowned sculptor, Albert Thorvaldsen, was one of his descendants.

The last expedition to Vinland we have on record, was undertaken by Freydis, Eric the Red's daughter, and her husband, Thorvard, from 1011 to 1012. This Freydis was a singular, but by no means amiable, character. She was an extremely strong-minded woman—a kind of prototype of



the fair champion for woman's rights of our days. But her history does not belong here, otherwise I might prove that strong-minded women are not, as has been supposed, a new American phenomenon.

In the thirteenth century, we read that "Hellu-land" (Newfoundland) was visited in 1285; and that the Norwegian King, Eric, sent out an exploring expedition to this island, in 1290. As late as 1347, we find merchantmen from Greenland visiting, Markland, (Nova Scotia) to cut lumber.

So far we have had to deal exclusively with discoveries made by the Northmen alone; and no doubt whatever can be entertained concerning the authenticity and truthfulness of the historical records mentioning them. We will now proceed to those of other discoveries, farther South, of which the Northmen, in a certain degree, have to share the honor with the Irish. The records of these expeditions are not, by far, as clear and extensive as the former ones; but there is no reasonable ground to doubt them on that account.

Here we first meet with Ari Marsson, an Icelandic Chief of great power, whose immediate descendants are still flourishing, and occupying a prominent station in their country. This man was, in 983, driven by tempests to the coast of "Hvitramanna-land"—the white men's land—or "Irland it mikla"—Great Ireland—which, says the *Saga*, lies in the Western Ocean, near to Vinland the Good, West from Ireland. In that land, he was seen many years afterwards, by Icelanders and Irishmen; and there he was baptized.

In 998, Bjorn Asbrandsson, called "Breidvi-kinga-Kappa"—the champion of Breidavik—left Iceland, driven away by the troubles which love sometimes occasions; and was not heard of for many years. About 1028, Gudleif Gudlaugsson of Straumfjord, in Iceland, the ancestor of the celebrated historian, Snorre Sturleson, undertook a trading voyage to Dublin. On his return to Iceland, he fell in with Northeast and East winds, and, at length, saw a land of large extent, which he and his companions did not know. They went ashore and were captured by the natives, but restored to freedom by a venerable, white-haired, tall, old man, who spoke to them in the Northman language, and in whom they recognized Bjorn Asbrandsson. The country where Bjorn and Gudleif landed, is not called "Hvitramanna-land;" but it must have been in about the same part of the American Continent, viz.: in Florida, Georgia, or the Carolinas.

As an objection to the truth of these narratives has been urged the statement of the *Saga*, that Bjorn was baptized in that land. Many have likewise objected to the similarity Gudleif found between the language of the natives and the Irish, with which last language the Scandinavians of those days had good opportunity to make them-

selves acquainted, as they carried on a lively trade with the Danish cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, though the Irish King, Brian Borumha's victory at Clontarf, in 1014, had put a stop to their predatory excursions to Ireland.

It is, certainly, astonishing, that neither the Irish Chronicles nor Dicuil's Geography mention any excursions to the unknown West; but the objection which has been made to the statements of the *Sagas*, that the Irishmen never were a sea-faring people, is entirely groundless. On the contrary, for several centuries, even after St. Patrick had converted them to the Christian religion, the Irish played the same part as did afterwards the Northmen; for a very considerable period they were the most daring pirates of Europe, devastating the coasts of the neighboring countries, Britain, Albain, and Gaul. From a poem of the Latin poet Claudianus, of which the subjoined verses have often been cited by Irish historians:

"Totam cum Scotus Iernem,

"Movit et infesto spumavit remige *Thetys*."

That is, as translated in Gibson's *Camden*:

"When Scots came thundering from the Irish shores,  
"And the ocean trembled, struck with hostile oars."

we see that troops were sent by Stilicho, the General of Theodosius the Great, to repel the Scottish (*i. e.* Irish) hosts. We are even informed that the Irish "Ard-Righ"—chief-king—Dathy, died in 428, at the foot of the Alps, on such a predatory excursion across Gaul. It is, consequently, perfectly possible that Christian Irishmen may have been driven across the Atlantic-ocean by tempests, and have settled in a part of America, where, perhaps several hundred years later, the Northmen found a race descended from their intermarriage with the aborigines of the country, and partially retaining the language and religion of their European ancestors.

As a corroboration of this opinion may be offered that of Gomara, in his *Historia de las Indias*, who states that DeAyllon found a tribe on the Atlantic shore, not far from Cape Hatteras, which kept flocks of deer ("ciervos") and from their milk made cheese. This is very remarkable, as there is, throughout the whole continent, not a single instance besides this, of an animal raised by the aborigines for the milk. When we add to this, that both DeAyllon and Lawson mention the very light complexion of this, I am sorry to say, long ago extinct tribe; that the latter saw many persons with blonde hair, blue eyes, and a fair skin among them; and that the most careful investigations fix "Hvitramanna-land" or Great Ireland just in this latitude; all these circumstances seem, undoubtedly, to strengthen the relations of the old Northern *Sagas*. The Cherokees, we are informed by Brinton, have many customs and traditions strangely similar to those of Christians and Jews. Their cosmogony

is a paraphrase of that of Genesis; the number seven is as sacred with them as it was with the Chaldeans; and they have improved and increased by contact with the whites. Bartram, who visited them in 1773, tells that many of their females were "nearly as fair and blooming as European women;" and generally that their complexion was lighter than that of their neighbors. They may, possibly, be descended, in part, from the ancient white race, near Cape Hatteras. Smith relates that among the Shawnees, who formerly inhabited Florida, but, about 1784, emigrated westward into Ohio, there are, or were, two remarkable and ancient traditions, viz: that their ancestors came from a land across the ocean, and that Florida was formerly inhabited by white men who made use of iron instruments.

It is, by no means, Scandinavian authors only who mention Vinland. In his book *De Situ Danie*, written about 1075, Adamus Bremenensis says: "Præterea unam adhuc regionem recitat vit (Sveno rex.) a multis in eo repertam oceano. "quæ dicitur Winland, eo quod ibi vetis sponte nascantur, vinum optime ferentes, nam et fruges "ibi non seminatae abundare non fabulosa opinio- "ne, sed certa comperimus relatione Danorum." (*i. e.*) "Besides these, he [*King Sveno*] mentioned another region, which has been visited "by many, lying in that ocean" [*which extends between Norway, Iceland, and Greenland*] "which "is called Winland, because vines grow there "spontaneously, producing good wine: corn "likewise springs up there without sowing. This "we learn, not from fabulous report, but from "the accurate account of the Danes."

We see, then, that nearly all the eastern coast of North America was, more or less, known to the Northmen about five hundred years earlier than the time when Columbus planted his foot on American ground; and that the knowledge of these discoveries was not entirely lost when he visited Iceland, in 1477, and when Cabot, in 1495, carried on negotiations with the Danish Government concerning the English trade with Iceland, is self-evident.

But, in the Scandinavian North, sad changes had been going on. The Icelandic Republic, after having long been divided by feuds between the Chiefs, had, as well as Greenland and the before-mentioned parts of the American continent, its dependencies, become a Province of Norway, in 1262: and already then the interest in the Western discoveries had begun to flag. Still, however, Northern men were the rulers of the Scandinavian kingdoms; but, alas, that was not to last long. The three Kingdoms, with their dependencies, were united, in 1389, under the sceptre of the great Queen Margaret. Under her, Denmark's last ruler of pure Northman blood, the colonies in the Western-ocean were

not yet altogether neglected. The last Roman Catholic Bishop Greenland ever had, was sent there in 1406. But Margaret died childless, in 1412; and with her, the Scandinavian union. For many years, now, one German King succeeded another, each more unable to fill his position; each more unacquainted with the spirit of the people he ruled. Eternal brawls with the Holsteiners drew the attention of people and Government from questions of much greater importance,—pursuits that would have worked both subjects and Kings much more honor. The Swedes, eventually tired of these German Kings, with whom they had nothing in common, and of those everlasting strifes with Holstein, in which they had no interest, and after wars that lasted nearly a century, succeeded in establishing a Royal family of their own race, the Wasas, one of the ablest dynasties history has ever immortalized. But, between the two Royal families, of course, an almost uninterrupted war raged, which impoverished the Scandinavian countries and threw a thick veil over the proud achievements of former times. Vinland was entirely forgotten, except, may be, by a few Icelandic scholars, who could not make themselves understood at the now, alas! German Court of Denmark; and the colony in Greenland was left to itself. As a bright spot in this dark picture, may be mentioned that Eric Walekendorf, the patriotic Norwegian Archbishop of Thronthiem, in 1516, endeavored to set on foot an expedition to Greenland, but the impeding war with Sweden absorbed the attention of the Government; and the noble Archbishop's plan miscarried.

Had Norway, in 1523, been happy enough to become united with Sweden, under the great Gustavus Wasa, the old Northman colony in Greenland might possibly have been saved; but Norway and its dependencies remained with Denmark, and suffered under the same curse as that country, by being governed by Kings belonging to a foreign, hostile people, who, in their stupid self-deification, were always wont to look down upon their northern neighbors, the descendants of the noblest race of the Teutonic stock,—did not the Angles and Jutes belong to our race?—as inferior to their own countrymen in every respect.

When, at last, Denmark and Norway again got a Danish-talking and feeling King, in Christian IV, several expeditions were sent to Greenland, in the beginning of the seventeenth century to help the colonists, but they no longer existed. The new Danish colonies in that country were not founded till 1721. All we know about the fate of the old colonies is that, as early as the fourteenth century, the settlers had been obliged to give up the northern settlements, as the ever-increasing masses of icebergs which

descended from the Arctic-ocean, blocked up, as it were, the coast, and made the climate much harsher than it had formerly been, when they were able to raise cattle and even to reap some corn. It is probable that, about this time, hostilities arose between the colonists and the Eskimos, in which the former were at last extirpated, to the last man. The aborigines of Greenland have traditions to this effect; and there is no reason to doubt their correctness.

In Greenland, where a flourishing colony had subsisted for nearly five hundred years, we find, of course, many ruins and several inscriptions of that time, as well in Runic characters as in Latin letters. Even in the bleak, barren, uninhabited tracts on the eastern shore of Davis's Straits, in "Nordrseta," as the Northmen called them. Runic inscriptions have been found, one of which, from the island Kingiktorsoak, seventy-two degrees. and fifty-five minutes, North latitude, may be found in *Antiquitates Americanae*, Tab. VIII.

As the only reminiscence of the kind that remains of the Northmen's expeditions to Vinland is the so-called "Assonet Rock," or "Dighton Writing Rock," mentioned in *Antiquitates Americanae*. It is situated on a neck of land in Massachusetts, about four miles above Mount Hope-bay. This rock contains an inscription which, certainly, looks rather singular, and which Brinton unhesitatingly considers as a work of the Indians; and so would I, was not the name Thorfinn plainly to be read there. But here arises another difficulty, as this name is cut in the rock in Latin letters. True enough, Thorfinn Karlsefne embraced the Christian religion in 1000, and undertook his voyage to Vinland in 1007; so he may, during these seven years, have learned the Latin alphabet, for, in that language, the few religious books he could have seen, must have been written; but, as far as I know, the earliest Christians in the Scandinavian countries invariably used Runic characters for inscriptions, as better fit for that purpose. Moreover, on the older drawings of this inscription which, however, it must be confessed, are very badly made, nothing like the name Thorfinn is to be found; and on the two, that of 1807 and the last one, which have the name, the Latin letters seem to me to look too modern. Every one, who might like to judge for himself of this question, may see a number of drawings of this rock, in *Antiquitates Americanae*. I really do not know what to think of this queer inscription.

Thus far we had advanced in our knowledge of the old Northmen's discoveries in America, and of the vestiges they had left of their stay there, when last Summer, the whole learned world was startled by one of the most extraordinary tales on record. It was first printed in the *Washington Union*; and from that paper it spread like wildfire over

the United States and Europe. The tale shortly runs thus: "In 1863, Philip Marsh, an Englishman, exhumed from the ruins of the ancient church at Skalholt, in Iceland, for centuries the seat of one of the Icelandic Bishops, a Latin manuscript, known as the *Skalholt Saga*." "It was," we were told, "no doubt written by a monk, and gave an account of an expedition to Vinland and Hvíttramanna-land, headed by a certain Hervard, and mentioned that in the neighborhood of 'Hvítærk'—white shirt—Falls, the illegitimate daughter of Snorre, that son of Thorfinn Karlsefne, who was born in Vinland, in 1008, was killed with a spear, in a fight with the natives, and buried near the place where she fell. Now, Sir Thomas Murray, who had received from Mr. Marsh the manuscript of *Skalholt Saga*, which he translated into English, had conjectured that a lake mentioned there might be Chesapeake Bay, and 'Hvítærk' 'Falls' the great falls of Potomac, above Washington; but there the matter stopped for a time. Next, we were informed that a personage, calling himself Professor Thomas C. Raffinon, became acquainted with *Skalholt Saga* and with Sir Thomas Murray's opinion of the localities mentioned in this work. He immediately came over to America, to investigate the matter. On the twenty-eighth of June, 1867, he went to the great falls of Potomac, accompanied by Mr. Lagueureux, a geologist, Professor Brand, from Washington, and Dr. Boyce, from Boston, and found a Runic inscription on the place where the Icelandic woman, Suasu, lay buried; and, immediately thereafter, he found the remains of a human body. The inscription he called the "Hvítærk inscription." It is found on the northern side of a large rock called Arrow-head, at the Potomac, about two miles below the Falls and thirteen miles above Washington. It is protected by the overhanging rock; and, when discovered, was partially concealed by moss. A pine-tree that grows close by also protected it. The upper border of the inscription, on the left side, is five feet above the ground: the lower border, on the right side, three feet. The letters are about three inches high and of different depth; some being merely scratched in the rock, others cut to the depth of one-eighth of an inch. The remains of the body were found six feet from the inscription and thirty-two feet from the river, which that day was unusually high. While Messrs. Lagueureux and Raffinon were copying the inscription, Professor Brand, assisted by a negro woman, dug in the ground, just opposite. After they had dug eighteen inches deep, they found a human molar tooth. Now the others approached to assist them; and there was found one more molar tooth, and then an incisor



"tooth, and a larger bone, which, however, broke when taken forth. They furthermore found three trinkets of bronze, the original form of which it was difficult to ascertain. Besides these, they found two pieces of a large enenite, which, perhaps, had been used as a kind of brooch; and two Byzantine coins from the tenth century. These remains of 'Suasu' were incorporated in the collections of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington." Thus ran the marvellous tale which, if it had been true, would have been an astonishing instance of coincidences.

Of the *soi disant* discoverer, the so-called Professor Rafnson, the Washington *Union* of the thirteenth of July, 1867, gives the following biography, no doubt written by himself: "Thomas C. Rafnson was born in Munich, of Danish parents, in 1809. His fond father early sent him to school; and he made such progress in the different sciences that, at the age of sixteen, he was immatriculated as a student at the University of Copenhagen. He here met with the distinguished Danish scholars who were then occupied with the Northern archæology; and, of course, followed their teachings with the greatest interest. From 1832 to 1846, he taught in different schools and colleges in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. At the same time, he used his few hours of leisure in studying botany. In 1847, he won a prize which had been promised by a Russian magnate [we are not told what for] and, besides, had the honor of receiving an autograph letter from the Emperor. A few years later, he published a very interesting treatise on the genera of flies, in Denmark, which work showed a lively spirit, and that he had also studied entomology. In 1858, he lived at Upsala, and on a botanizing excursion near this town, he had the misfortune to fall down a rock to a depth of twenty feet; by which fall he broke his leg, and not only remained lame for his lifetime, but received some internal injury so that his health since then has been feeble. Now he stays in the interior of Virginia, to strengthen his health, and we" [*viz: the Editors of the Washington, Union*] "hope that he soon may feel sufficiently well to return here" [*to Washington*] "and receive the public testimonials of our estimation of his marvelous and valuable discovery. Last year, Prof. R. left Copenhagen on his archæological expedition; he first visited the Orkney Islands and then Iceland. But it was in America, in our own neighborhood, that it was his destiny to crown his many archæological discoveries. The inscription on the tomb of Suasu, and the remarkable remains of her person and wearing apparel, will become an important link in the history of this continent."

Let us now in the first place take a look at this biography, of which I have taken the liber-

ty to omit parts that only praised Prof. R., without telling us anything of his antecedents. If he exists, or ever has existed, I cannot tell; but in that case let the Germans keep him as a native of Munich, in Bavaria; we Danes don't know him; and are now anxious for the honor of having such a countryman. In a letter to me, Prof. Fr. Schiern, of the University of Copenhagen, a gentleman I am proud of numbering among my friends, calls him "a mythical personage;" and my old fellow-student, the learned Prof. K. J. Lyngby, writes; "This naturalist, Rafnson, whom the American newspapers have extolled as a perfect prodigy of learning, is entirely unknown here: he is in every respect a very doubtful personage." This contemptible humbug, if he really does exist, is then, I am glad to see, no Dane: if he were, Prof. Schiern, who has, for twenty years and upwards, filled with honor the Chair of one of the Professors of History at the University of Copenhagen, and Prof. Lyngby, than whom no one is more familiar with Northern archæology and archæologists, must necessarily have known him.

The *Skalholt Saga* has no more real existence than Prof. R., or probably of any of the gentlemen mentioned in the above article in the Washington *Union*. All my correspondents at Copenhagen affirm unanimously, that no such manuscript ever has been discovered.

And now for Rafnson's so-called discovery of the inscription. Concerning this, *The New Orleans Times*, of the fifteenth of September, 1867, contained an article which attracted my attention in the highest degree. I then believed, as did the *Times*, that the discovery was a fact; and that a new irrefutable proof of the expeditions of the Northmen to this continent was given to science. Through the kindness of Mr. Bigney, of the *Times*, I obtained a large photograph of the inscription, which I deciphered as Prof. R. had done. I am, however, a comparatively poor Icelandic scholar; and was not able to see whether the language was correct or not; but I am well acquainted with the old history of the Scandinavian North; and the names in the inscription were entirely unknown to me, and seemed even, as far as I could judge, to be no names at all.

The inscription, transcribed in large Latin letters, runs as follows:

Y· HR· HULR· SUASU· TFKRIARR· †· AU·  
STERTHN KR· KIA· KLTI· SUSTR· THORK·  
SAMFTHRA· . . . HALE ThRITUKR· †· KLITA·  
KU T· †· SA(L)· HNAR· †· MLI· K

If we give it in the usual Icelandic orthography, without emending its faults, it looks thus:

Y· Her· hvilir· Suasu· T fagrharr· †· Austirdin  
grækkja· Kliti· systir· Thor g· samfedra· . . . half

thritugr þ gleda gu d þ sa(1) hennar þ MLI  
K

Translated in English it means :

Here rests Suasu the fairheaded † from the eastern district (of Iceland), Klti widow, Thorg sister, of the same father. . . . twenty-five years old † God-gladden † her soul † 1051.

To most people this looks fair and genuine enough. Even I, only being superficially acquainted with the Icelandic language, did not see any reason for suspicion except in the three names; but these troubled me considerably. I really was quite at a loss what to make out of them, as I never before saw such singular names and grammatical forms. I accordingly wrote to the President of the "Smithsonian Institution," asking him for his opinion in relation to this subject. This gentleman answered in the following terms: "I am sorry to inform you that the Runic inscription alluded to in your communication 'as having been discovered at the 'Great Falls' on the Potomac, is an unmitigated hoax—a lie without the accompaniment of wit— concocted by a young lawyer of this place, who had read something on the subject, and prepared the article for the purpose of assisting the sale of a newspaper published in this City. I am surprised that so many persons have been deceived in regard to it, since the internal evidence of its 'forgery is so apparent, that it needs but slight scrutiny to be obvious.

"Yours, etc.,

JOSEPH HENRY."

To tell the truth, this answer to my letter astonished me considerably. I was entirely unable to understand why my very natural questions were answered in that sweeping and abrupt way, till I was informed that this same very learned Society, "the Smithsonian Institution," had itself been imposed upon by this forgery. I did not wonder that Mr. Henry, who is himself, undoubtedly, a profound Icelandic scholar, was unable to see that every one could not, reasonably, be supposed to be as learned as himself—the great lights of science often lose the power of measuring the intellects of common mortals—but I was sorry not to receive any of the explanations I had expected.

I, consequently, determined to try what my friends at Copenhagen knew and thought of that subject; and I am glad to acknowledge that the learned Danes were better able to understand that the questions I asked them as well as Mr. Henry, necessarily must impress themselves on the thoughts of every man with common intellect who felt some interest in this kind of researches. Those gentlemen, in their opinions, agreed with Mr. Henry; the conviction that this inscription, as well as its pseudo-discoverer, was a humbug from beginning to end, was unanimous

among all men in Copenhagen, whose opinions concerning such questions is of any weight. Of that opinion are Dr. Fr. Schiern, Professor in History, Dr. K. J. Lyngby, Professor in old Danish, Dr. George Stephens, Professor in English, all of the University at Copenhagen; Prof. Dr. P. G. Thorsen, Chief Librarian of the Library of the University; and Prof. I. I. A. Worsaae, Superintendent of the Museum of Northern Antiquities; in short, every man in the three Scandinavian countries who is capable of giving a judgment about this question.

In his long letter to me my learned friend, Prof Dr. Lyngby, gives a recension of the inscription, word for word, and proves thus, in the most incontrovertible manner, that the whole thing is nothing but a forgery. Well worthy of remark is the difference between the two gentlemen. Mr. Henry says that it is a forgery, and expects everyone to bow for his *ipse dixit*. Prof. Dr. Lyngby not only says, but proves it; he is kind enough to reflect that everybody is not as learned as he. His letter has been of the very greatest value to me in my attempt to elucidate the inscription.

In the first place the forger, (Prof. R., if this personage does exist, or the young lawyer at Washington, or whoever else he may be,) has probably used *Antiquitates Americana*, which work, at the time when it was published, occasioned an immense sensation in the United States. This, however, is hardly his only source, he seems to have known a little more, as well of Runic character as of the Icelandic language; but he has not made any earnest study of this language; and his knowledge of its grammar has been none at all.

I am now going to criticise the inscription, word for word:

Y the first sign, is, no doubt, not intended for a letter, but meant as a mere sign before the inscription to which the sign K in the end answers. Both are doubtless self-made; they are, at least, no Runic characters.

H R is meant to signify the Icelandic "her," (English, *here*.) It is singular that the vowel is wanting, which, says Dr. Lyngby, cannot take place except, may be, in terminations before consonants.

HULR ought, according to the letters, to be read "hvlr," (shrouds;) but is intended for "hvilir," (rests.) Both vowels are wanting in a very astonishing manner. The term "her hvilir" seems either to have been borrowed from a Runic inscription, which, in 1830, was found at the fjord Igalikko, in Greenland. (60 deg. 55 min. North Lat.,) or, perhaps, rather from a Greenlandic tombstone, with an inscription in Latin letters, found in 1831, at Ikigert, (60 deg. North Lat.)

Both these inscriptions are to be found in *Antiquitates Americana*, Tab. VIII, Figures 1 and 2.

The first has "HUILIR HER;" and on the second we find "her huilir," exactly the two words but with their vowels.

SUASU is a very astonishing name; it is nonsense, whether we look upon it as a masculine or as a feminine; and in nominative, as it must be here, it cannot be terminated in "u:" that is an impossibility.

T must be intended for a mere sign, a foolish idea, as it is a Runic character.

FKRHARR, "fagrbarr," (the fairheaded,) adjective in nominative masculine, probably found in a dictionary where adjectives are entered in that form. The vowel in the first syllable is wanting; which is almost without precedent.

AUSTFERTIN-KR, "Austfirdingr," adj. in nomin. mascul.; means a person from Austfirdir, the eastern of the four divisions of Iceland. A child of Snorre Thorfinnsson cannot well have been born there, for he lived on Glaumbæ, at Skagatjorð, in Nordfirdir, (the Northland of Iceland).

So far we feel perfectly assured that Suasu must have been a man; but all of a sudden we are stunned by two terms used of him (or her) that cannot be applied to a person of the sterner sex, viz: the words "widow" and "sister."

KIA must mean "ekkja" (widow). The first vowel and the first syllable is omitted, which cannot be done.

ELTI may possibly be a self-made form of the name Ketill, genitive Ketils; and the forger may have committed the blunder of putting LT instead of TL; but, even then, the form is completely nonsensical, and contrary to the grammar.

SUSTR, "systir" (sister). The vowel in the last syllable is wanting.

THOR-K is a singular name, or rather no name. It ought to be genitive; but the mark of this case "s" is wanting, which it cannot be. But even if we supply it from the following word, we are not much better off, for Thor is no name; and Snorre, consequently, had no such son, as well as none of his daughters were called Suasu, which is no name either. His two daughters' names were Hallfrid and Steinun. The forger may, perhaps, in his hurry, have unduly abbreviated the name of Snorre's son, Thorgeirr, in genitive, Thorgeirs.

SAMFTURA, "samfedra." The vowel in the second syllable is omitted, in the usual careless way. The word signifies "of the same father," whether it is meant as genitive masculine, referring to the nonsensical Thor, or nominative feminine, referring to "systir."

HALF THRTUKR, "halfthritugr," twenty-five years old: verbo "tenuis"—half—(from twenty to thirty). It is masculine, after "ekkja" and "systir"!

KLITA is meant for "gledi" (præc. conjunct.

or optativ.) gladden, make glad. The "a," in the end, is entirely wrong.

KUT, "gud," English, God, ought to have been spelled KUTH.

SAL, "sal," seul.

HINAR, "hennar," English—her. The vowel of the first syllable is wanting, in the usual singular way.

The end of the inscription seems to have been borrowed from the Igalikko stone; which correctly ends: "Gledi gud sal hennar." This last word of the Potomac inscription is feminine, though "half thritugr" is masculine.

MLI is meant for 1051. It is very astonishing, and, no doubt, without precedent, to give a date by putting Runic characters in place of Roman numerals.

The sign † which is repeated four times in the inscription, is a cross, meaning that the mysterious person which Prof. R. (or the lawyer) buried there was a Christian: whether the same was a man or a woman seems not to have been perfectly clear to the forger.

It seems to me that Prof. L yngby's argumentation is irrefutable. No Ic elander can ever have written such horrible language as that of the Potomac inscription. An illiterate Northman, of course, may commit blunders and spell badly, etc.; but he will not use adjectives in masculine for a woman, nor *vice versa*, any more than an uneducated Englishman, for instance, would put on a tomb such nonsense as this: "Here rests *Mary Jones*. "He was a good wife and mother. Four "children receive him in eternity. God have "mercy on his soul."

Mr. Editor, I am sorry to see my article has grown quite long; but, as I wanted to carry out a plan long since in my mind, I have not been able to restrict my argumentation to narrower limits. I only hope that you and the many readers of your excellent paper may not feel too tired in perusing the vindication of the achievements of my race, and in looking over the necessarily dry investigation of a literary forgery—a falsum attempting to impose itself on the world.

I am, Mr. Editor, very respectfully,

Your most obdt serv't

F. BOGGLD,

Cand. Phil. Univ. Hlafn.

NOTE.—The subject of Northern Antiquities is one in which it is very easy to perpetrate great blunders, like that of the *Nation*, for instance, which, in dealing with the Pre-Columbian Discovery of America, acknowledges that it was accomplished fairly, by the Icelanders, and yet unfortunately tells us that the Icelanders were *not* Northmen, but a degraded class, whom the people of the Continent had banished, because they were not fit to dwell with the more respectable portion of the human race. A literary journal, like the *Nation*, should have known that the Icelanders banished themselves; that they constituted the *elite* of Scandinavian society; and that, instead of being a degraded class, at the time when they discovered America, they were the *true* Northmen, and superior in strength of intellect to all the continental people; as is attested by those



literary works which were then composed, though not committed to parchment; and which now take rank in the estimation of competent critics, of all nationalities, as worthy to rank with the great productions of Greece and Rome.

The author of the foregoing article has avoided errors of this class; but he has fallen into a variety of minor mistakes, some of which it is necessary to point out.

Among these errors is the statement that the Northmen, unlike Columbus, "were perfectly aware that they had discovered an entirely different Continent" from that of Europe. This, the *Sagas* do not bear out. They speak of it as simply "*The new Land*;" while the latest of their geographers, in DeCosta's book of the Northmen (p. 105) states distinctly that they did "not comprehend the fact that they had discovered a new Continent;" and proves it from the declaration of the *Gripka*, which shows that they supposed that the Eastern Continent swept around, by the way of Spitzbergen and Greenland. (See p. 108.)

The writer is also in error, when he says that Iceland was discovered by the Pirate, Nadodd, in 861. It was achieved, instead, by Gador, in 860; and Nadodd did not go there until 864.

He is also wrong in saying that Barjane saw New England. Of this there is no proof. He errs, also, in the statement, that Thorwald remained in Vinland until 1005. On the contrary, his ship returned in 1003; and, in 1005, his brother, Thorstein, made an unsuccessful expedition to bring home his body, which was probably buried near Plymouth, Massachusetts.

He also falls into error regarding Thorbrandson, and Gamleson, who certainly did not remain in Vinland.

The Old Mill of Newport, of course, cannot be relied on to "prove any thing, any more than the "Skeleton in armor" and Dighton Rock.

Smith also leads him into error, in regard to *Ireland it mikla*, suppressing the fact, that it lay only *six* days sail West of Ireland, and therefore, that we have no right to infer that it was located in America.

There are various other points that might be corrected, but we forbear.—B. F. DEC.

### III.—DOCTOR PHILIP SYNG PHYSICK.

[The first volume of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE (pp. 271, 272) contained the verses written in Edinburgh on the graduation of Dr. Physick, of Philadelphia, afterwards the most celebrated surgeon in the United States. As thus published, they contained twenty errors, attributed to the transcriber or the printer, some of them materially affecting the sense. It is therefore hoped that a correct presentation of these ingenious verses will be allowed at the present time.

W. J. D.]

From *The Court of Session Garland*.

An American gentleman from Philadelphia, of the very singular, but somewhat harmonious name of Philip Syng Physick, having taken out his degree of M.D. in 1792, the late Lord Kinneder, then Mr. William Erskine, an accomplished lady, now no more, and an eminent lawyer, afterwards raised to the bench, in a playful mood wrote the following epigrams, both on the name and the inauguration. The first five, it is believed, are by the gentleman last alluded to; but the Editor has been unable to assign the remainder to their respective authors.

Sing physic! Sing physic! for Philip Syng Physick  
Is dubbed Dr. Phil for his wonderful skill;  
Each sick phiz he'll physic, he'll cure every phthisic  
Their lips all will Philip with potion and pill.

#### II.

If music, as Plato does stoutly maintain,  
In every disease be a sovereign thing  
For calming the spirits and cooling the brain,  
Be sure, Dr. Phil, when you physic, to sing.

#### III.

Lo! Physick! the College permits thee to work  
In curing diseases, the greatest of curses,  
Sing! dance then with joy when thou think'st at one jerk  
Physick can empty both stomachs and purses.

#### IV.

What a flip to physic, if Philip Syng Physick  
His skill and his quill to support him shall bring,  
Of fever and phthisic, each master and miss sick,  
Of Philip Syng Physick the praises shall sing.

#### V.

Each gap in the science of physic to fill up,  
Old Phœbus young Philip Syng Physick bestows;  
Then the potion and pill of Phil still we swill up,  
And Syng shall be sung at the close of the dose.

#### VI.

The physic of Philip, so sweetly to swill up,  
Health, joy and delight among mortals shall bring;  
With pap and with praise then still Philip we'll fill up,  
And loud to Pæans to Syng ever sing.

#### VII.

O Death! since Phil physicks, thy triumphs are past,  
And broken thy dart is, and blout is thy sting;  
Phil shall fill us with physic while Physick does last,  
And while Syng Physick physicks, we'll Syng ever sing.

#### VIII.

To each creature his own is the dearest and sweetest,  
Mine host loves old stingo and honey the bee;  
Then Physick with physic still Philip shall fill up  
And sung by Syng Philip philippics shall be.

#### IX.

When Philip's great son, as old chroniclers sing,  
Fell sick, to great Philip\* for physic he clung;  
Then Philip with physic so flipped the King,  
That physic and Phil by Timotheus were sung.  
Now broke are Phil's pill-box and Timothy's lyre,  
Let Fame to my hero their blazonments bring,  
Like Philip's great son he can bleed—or the size,  
Can physic like Philip, like Timothy sing.

#### X.

Syng Physick for fees seeks the sick man to physic,  
But unsought hopes the fee of his physic and skill;  
So ne'er let Phil Physick of physic the fee seek,  
Nor the sick man be fee-sick of physic and Phil.

#### XI.

Let physic sing Philip, for Philip Syng Physick  
From plain Philip Physick is dubbed Dr. Phil,  
Sing Syng then, each patient, while Philip shall physic  
And Physick shall fill up with potion and pill.

#### XII.

That Apollo the god is of physic and song,  
Each school-boy, I think, will fall readily hollow;  
Then since to his name the same arts do belong,  
Be Philip Syng Physick our Magnæ Apollo.

### IV.—MATERIALS FOR TELEGRAPHIC HISTORY.

[We take pleasure in presenting this article to the attention of our readers. It is the first of a series, on the history of the Telegraph system of the United States, which we have reason to expect from several hands; and the fact that it is written by our respected friend, HENRY O'RIELLY, Esq., one of the pioneers in Telegraphy, is not more interesting than that he also set the *entire article*, in type, with his own hands, in our office. A printer of fifty-two years standing, as well as a Telegrapher, it will be seen that not-

\* Philip was the name of Alexander's physician.

withstanding the interposition of other cares and enterprises, he has not forgotten how to set type.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

## I.

The extension of the Electro-Magnetic Telegraph through the world, and the astonishing results it is producing, naturally quicken inquiry concerning the scientific discoveries that rendered telegraphing possible on such an extended scale, and also concerning the agencies whereby the people of nearly all civilized nations have already become practically connected by this extraordinary medium of correspondence.

In this, as in most other great enterprises, like the application of steam-power by sea and land, the labors of many persons have been essential to the great results which the world is now witnessing: and it is a pleasant duty for Historical Societies and Historical Magazines to collect materials that may aid historians with authentic data concerning such important features of scientific and practical progress.

With what lively interest all intelligent inquirers now turn towards the early developments in the use of steam-power for the thousand purposes of industry! All available information respecting the pioneers in this great branch of improvement is read and treasured with a degree of interest that is increasing widely and strongly, as manufactures, steamers and locomotives spread among the nations a practical knowledge of the wonder-working agency which has thus revolutionized so many branches of industry. The great regret, in this connection, is, that comparatively so little contemporaneous information was preserved concerning the efforts and difficulties of the pioneers in that all-important field of modern development.

It is fortunately different with materials for the history of electric progress in connection with the correspondence of mankind. The difficulties attendant on the establishment of the early telegraph lines in the United States are measurably indicated by the long-continued lawsuits and other controversies in which most of the essential facts were brought in review. A collection of documents, correspondence, and other papers, concerning those matters, is now in process of formation in the Library of the New-York Historical Society—embodying much of the information which historians will desire in connexion with the origin and progress of the Electric Telegraph in its scientific developments and practical operations.

We notice the subject specially now, for the purpose of repeating the requests made by the founder of that "Collection," for the contribution of any and all other papers that may serve farther to illustrate the whole subject, in its multitudinous ramifications. All persons who are or have been concerned in telegraphic operations, whether in the development of electric science or in the prac-

tical operations on telegraph lines, may render good service to the cause of truth and justice by confiding to the New-York Historical Society, or to any other similar Society, such statements as they possess concerning the great subject, in any of its many branches.

That it is designed to render the above-named "Collection" of telegraphic data as full and impartial as can be desired, is indicated by the respective title-pages of the written and printed materials placed in possession of the Historical Society—which materials already form sufficient for at least one hundred volumes.

"A hundred volumes about telegraphing!" some reader may possibly exclaim:—"Why, how is it that such a mass of materials has been accumulated on a subject of such recently-acquired practical importance?"

The inquiry may be sufficiently answered by inserting copies of the general title-pages of the two divisions of this unique "Collection"—as may be found annexed hereto. The first of these general title-pages, which incidentally embodies a table of contents, indicates the great variety of details in the forty volumes of the printed department; and the second page refers specially to the contents of the sixty volumes of manuscripts—making the "hundred volumes" aforesaid. And there is room with a welcome for more—that all features of the telegraph question, scientific, legal and practical, may be amply illustrated, and justice rendered to the deserving in all branches of the Telegraph System.

In this connection, we may mention our purpose to avail ourselves freely of the information that is now or may hereafter be included in this novel section of the Historical Society's Library. It shall not be our fault if good use is not made of some of that material, for satisfying the general curiosity concerning the origin and progress of the lightning lines which have now spread their influence everywhere among civilized nations.

The astonishing extent and results of the telegraph system have caused some conflicting claims concerning the respective services rendered by persons in several nations for developing the wonders of electric telegraphy. This is not wonderful—and now is the time for turning public attention towards a proper settlement of disputed points.—Desirous of making the truth known to the fullest extent, we earnestly invite communications from all persons who are or have been concerned in matters pertaining to telegraphy—from the venerable Discoverer of the great law which rendered electromagnetic telegraphing practicable on long circuits, and from other discoverers and inventors, as well as from persons who aided in giving vitality to the Telegraph System by the establishment of the lines which first connected the different sections of the United States and other countries.



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- Statements, Opinions and Decisions, from the Courts, the Press and the Public Councils:
- Testimony of prominent Electricians, Telegraphers, Inventors and Patentees:
- Claims, Specifications, Caveats, Patents, Contracts, Memorials, Judgments, Appeals and Controversies:
- The Telegraph Laws of various States, and several Periodicals of Telegraph Literature:

With various accounts of Electric Discoveries, and Statements from Sundry Sources, concerning different modes of applying Electricity for Telegraphic purposes—

As such accounts were elicited by, or connected with, the controversies which have convulsed the Telegraph System nearly from the time of its origin in America—from the date of the attempt made by the Morse Patentees in 1846 to repudiate their Contract with Henry O'Reilly—commonly known in the Courts and otherwise as the "O'Reilly Contract," concerning Lines built by him—

### On different Sections of which Lines

Were used the "Morse" Electro-Magnetic and the "Bain" Electro-Chemical Telegraph Instruments—and temporarily the "House" Printing and the "Barnes" Columbian Telegraph Instruments—under O'Reilly's contracts or agreements with the respective inventors or patentees:

### Which Lines were by O'Reilly styled

The "Atlantic, Lake and Mississippi Telegraph Range," or "First Division of the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph"—though early named by his opponents, and soon after popularly known under the general title of the "O'Reilly Lines"—the name given them by the Morse Patentees—Said Range of Lines having also been known partly, at different times and in various regions, as National Lines, Union Lines, Morse Lines, Columbian Lines, Bain Lines, Merchant Lines, People's Lines, and by other similar designations; and also by sundry local names, such as the Atlantic and Ohio Lines—the Pittsburg, Cincinnati and Louisville—and Nashville, New-Orleans and Saint Louis Lines—the Tusculumbia, Memphis and Vicksburg Lines—the Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa Lines—the

Ohio and Mississippi Lines—Ohio, Indiana and Illinois Lines—Lake Lines—Illinois and Mississippi Lines—Chicago and St. Louis Lines—Wabash Valley Lines—New-York State Lines—New-York and New-England Telegraph Lines, &c. &c.—

But the whole Range, by whatever name any of the parts have been or may be known, having formed the FIRST RANGE OF TELEGRAPH WHICH CONNECTED IN ELECTRIC UNITY THE DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES—Southern, Northern, Eastern and Western—between the Atlantic, the Lakes and the Mississippi—between the British-American Provinces and the Mexican Gulf.

[Most of which lines have been consolidated or included, with others, under the title of "the Western Union Company."]

### With incidental Notices

Of the ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF ELECTRIC DISCOVERIES AND TELEGRAPHIC OPERATIONS generally, in the United States and throughout the World:

Including the accounts given by Prof. MORSE and his associate Patentees about Telegraphic Inventions and the origin of Morse's Patents, particularly as shown in the litigation between themselves during the last seven years—since the settlement made by one of their number (in behalf of all the Patentees) with Henry O'Reilly in 1851;—said litigation between the Morse Patentees turning chiefly upon what those Patentees called the "O'Reilly Contract":

And including also the statements of the Report of the Smithsonian Institution and other authorities concerning the services of Professor JOSEPH HENRY, whose researches in Electric Science are connected with the history of the American Electro-Magnetic Telegraphs of Morse, House, Barnes, and others:

Including, likewise, O'Reilly's Memorials, between 1847 and 1859, to the American Congress and the American People—approved by various Statesmen, Journals and Legis-

latures—concerning the proposed "Overland System" of Military Roads or Stockade Routes between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean, for protecting Travelers and promoting Settlements, by preventing Indian hostilities—facilitating Postal and Telegraphic communications through vast interior regions—saving millions of dollars while actually conveying *daily* mails in half the time now occupied in postal intercourse between the Atlantic and Pacific States—at the same time promoting the public defence against foreign enemies, and rendering the United States independent of Foreign Countries and Foreign Seas for Postal Intercourse between the Atlantic and Pacific States of this Confederacy—as proposed by O'Reilly in connexion with the extension of the *Second Division* of the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph, between the Mississippi River and the British and Russian Empires on the Pacific Ocean—which "Overland Route" he has long considered the best route for Telegraphically connecting the Old World and the New.

"Nothing extenuate, nor ought set down in malice."

In FORTY VOLUMES—mostly printed or prepared for private use, in connection with Controversies, through the Courts and before the Public, affecting the Legal and Equitable Rights of Electricians, Inventors, Constructors, and the Community, since the commencement of Telegraphing in the United States.

Arranged so as to include EVERY ATTAINABLE STATEMENT from or on behalf of his former Competitors and Opponents—that "truth, and the whole truth," may be known, as far as publications collected from all sources, however hostile to himself, can aid in elucidating the

facts concerning the Origin and Progress of the American Telegraph System—on Lines built by others as well as himself—By HENRY O'REILLY.

Whose unprinted Correspondence and other Manuscripts connected with the Extension of Telegraph Lines through the United States, forming about Sixty Volumes, yet retained by him, may be consulted by parties desiring more particular information concerning the Telegraph System which thus electrically connected the United States before the organization of State Sovereignties on our Pacific Coast.



[Copy of the general title-page of the *Sixty manuscript* Volumes in this Collection—noticed on p. 180.]

# O'Rielly's Telegraph Documents:

AN IMPARTIAL COLLECTION OF PAPERS CONCERNING THE  
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE TELEGRAPH SYSTEM.

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## CORRESPONDENCE AND OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

CONCERNING THE  
Construction and Organization of the Telegraph Range  
(EIGHT THOUSAND MILES)

Forming the FIRST DIVISION of the ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC TELEGRAPH, originally proposed by O'RIELLY'S  
MEMORIALS to the CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES—

WHEREBY HENRY O'RIELLY FIRST ELECTRICALLY CONNECTED THE DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF THE  
UNITED STATES, BEFORE THE ORGANIZATION OF STATE SOVEREIGNTIES  
ON OUR PACIFIC COAST—

## The Earliest Great Range of Telegraph in the World---

—(THE BUSINESS OF A GOVERNMENT ACCOMPLISHED, AMIDST EXTRAORDINARY DIFFICULTIES,  
BY PRIVATE ENTERPRIZE—WITHOUT GOVERNMENTAL ASSISTANCE.

IN SIXTY MANUSCRIPT VOLUMES—

The contents of which are connected with subjects mentioned in the accompanying FORTY VOLUMES of printed matters—a copy of the title-page of which Printed Volumes is hereto annexed, as indicating the wide range of topics embodied in this Collection:—



Including Incidental Notices of the Origin and Progress of Electric Discoveries and Telegraphic Operations generally in the United States and throughout the World—Arranged so as to include every attainable statement from or on behalf of his former Competitors and Opponents:—

The whole forming a Collection of

**ONE HUNDRED VOLUMES OF TELEGRAPH DOCUMENTS,**

PRESENTED BY HENRY O'RIELLY,

AS A PART OF HIS DONATION TO THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

JUNE, 1860.

## V.—NEW YORK IN 1788.

[From Noah Webster's *The American Magazine*, for March, 1788.]

This City stands on the South-west point of an island, at the confluence of the Hudson and East-rivers. The principal part of the City lies on the East side of the island; although the buildings extend from one river to the other. The length of the City, on the East-river, is about two miles; but falls much short of that distance on the banks of the Hudson. Its breadth, on an average, is nearly three-quarters of a mile; and its circumference may be four miles. The plan of the City is not perfectly regular, but is laid out with reference to the situation of the ground. The principal streets run nearly parallel with the rivers. These are intersected, though not at right angles, by streets running from river to river. In the width of the streets, there is a great diversity. Water-street and Queen-street\*, which occupy the banks of the East-river, are very conveniently situated for business; but they are low and too narrow; not admitting, in some places, of walks on the sides for foot-passengers. Broad-street, extending from the Exchange† to the City-hall‡ is sufficiently wide. This was originally built on each side of a creek, which penetrated almost to the City-hall. This street is low, but pleasant; and that part which did not suffer by the fire during the War, is generally well built; the other is recovering from its ruins.

But the most convenient and agreeable part of the City is Broadway. This street runs upon the height of land between the two rivers, beginning at the first, near the South end of the City, and extending to the Hospital, in front of which it opens into an extensive plain or Common. This street is wide, and elevated so as to command a delightful prospect of the town and the Hudson.

Wall-street is generally wide and elevated, and the buildings elegant. Hanover-square and Dock-street,§ are conveniently situated for business; and the houses well built. William-street is also elevated and convenient; and is the principal market for the retailing of dry-goods. Many other streets are pleasant; but most of them are irregular and narrow.

The houses are generally built of brick; and the roofs tiled. There are remaining a few houses built after the old Dutch manner; but the English taste has prevailed, almost a century.

Upon the South-west point of the island stands the fort, which is a square with four bastions; within the walls of which the Governors used for-

merly to reside. Below the fort, near the water, there is a line of fortifications of considerable extent, designed to command the entrance into both rivers. But it is questionable whether any number of cannon would prevent ships from passing with a favorable wind and tide; and, indeed, whether New York is capable of defence *by land* against a powerful marine force. The Battery, however, in the summer season, furnishes the citizens with an agreeable walk, which is open to refreshing breezes from the Bay.

The City-hall is a brick building, more strong than elegant. It is three stories in height, with wings at each end, and fronts Broad-street, which affords an extensive prospect. The first floor is an open walk, except two small apartments for the door-keeper and City-watch. In the second story of the eastern wing, is the Assembly-chamber, now occupied by Congress, and adorned with the following paintings: The portrait of the great Columbus, belonging to the Assembly of this State—a painting valuable only for its antiquity and the character of the man;—the likenesses of the King and Queen of France, as large as the life, executed in a masterly manner, and presented to Congress by his Most Christian Majesty—equally valuable for the richness of the paintings, the dignity of the persons whom they represent, and as pledges of royal friendship; and the likeness of General Washington, presented by a gentleman in England—a likeness dear to every American, and destined to grace the walls of every Council-chamber in the new World.

The Western wing contains a room for the Council or Senate, now occupied by the Secretary of Congress; and another for the Mayor's Court. In the body of the house is a spacious hall for the Supreme Judicial Court.

There are three houses of public worship belonging to the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church: one is called the *Old Dutch Church*, which was built in the year 1693, and rebuilt in the year 1766; \* and another is called the *North Church*, which was founded in the year 1767, and dedicated to the service of God, in the year 1769. This last Church being ruined by the British during the late War, was repaired in the year 1784, and has been used with the old Church for the performance of Divine service.† The *Middle Church*, generally called the *New Dutch Church*, was built in the year 1729: it is the most spacious of the three, but was also ruined in the War, and is not yet fully repaired.‡

The people of this denomination were the first settlers of this State, and make a respectable part

\* Now Pearl-street, above Wall.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† The Exchange stood in Broad-street, near Water.—ED. HIST. MAG.

‡ The City Hall occupied the ground on which now stands the Treasury building.—ED. HIST. MAG.

§ Pearl-street, between the Battery and Hanover-square.—ED. HIST. MAG.

\* Ordinarily known as "The Garden-street Church." It was destroyed by the fire of 1835.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† The North Church still stands on William, Ann, and Fulton-streets.—ED. HIST. MAG.

‡ Now the General Post-office of the City.—ED. HIST. MAG.

of the citizens. The Church in the City is considered as one church or congregation, though worshipping in different places. The Charter or Act of Incorporation, was granted by William the Third, in the year 1696, when Benjamin Fletcher, Esq., was Governor of the Province. The Ministers, Elders, and Deacons, are the body corporate, and hold considerable property. Many years before the War, they found it necessary, by reason of the decline of the Dutch language, to have service performed in English, and had then two Dutch and two English Ministers. Since the War, it has been performed chiefly in English; and they have at present only two Ministers,

There are four Presbyterian Churches in the City of New York. The first was erected in the year 1619. It was built of stone, and rebuilt and enlarged in the year 1748. It is eighty feet long and sixty wide, with a cupola and bell; and stands in the upper end of Wall-street, the North side of the street, near the Broadway.\* The second was erected in the year 1767; is a genteel brick building, thirty-three feet long, and sixty-five feet wide, with a steeple not finished; it stands on the East side of the Green,† at the head of Beekman and Nassau-streets.‡

The congregations worshipping in these Churches are connected with each other, under the care of the same Ministers, who preach alternately in them, and having the same Elders and Deacons; their temporalities also, are managed by the same Trustees, incorporated under the laws of the State passed in April, 1784, capacitating Religious Societies, of every denomination, to incorporate themselves, for the purposes therein mentioned.

The third Presbyterian Church was erected in the year 1768; is a genteel stone building, sixty-five and-a-half feet long, and fifty-five and-a-half feet wide; and stands in Little Queen-street,§ not far from the Broadway. This Church is also incorporated agreeably to the same law.

These three Churches were occupied by the British during the late War, as hospitals and barracks; and were left by them in a most ruinous situation, and have been repaired with great neatness and at a very great expence, by their respective congregations, since the Peace.

The fourth Presbyterian Church was erected in the year 1787; is a neat frame building, fifty feet long and twenty-four feet wide; and stands in Nassau-street.¶

\* The building was removed, stone by stone, and now stands, in the same form, in Jersey City.—Ed. HIST. MAG.  
† The name by which the Park was sometimes known.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

‡ This building occupied the entire block fronting on Beekman and Nassau-streets, Printing-house Square, and Park-row.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

§ Cedar-street.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

¶ This Church was on the East side of Nassau-street, a few doors above Maiden-lane, where Johnson's book-store now is.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

The Clergy of the Presbyterian Churches of this City are maintained by the revenues arising from the rents of their pews.

There are three Episcopal Churches in New York, under one Charter, which was granted the sixth of May, 1697. Trinity Church was built in the year 1696, and at several times afterwards enlarged and improved. It was situated on the West side of Broadway, in view of the Hudson, with a spacious cemetery on each side: including the tower and chancel, it was about one hundred and forty-eight feet in length and seventy-two in breadth; and the steeple one hundred and seventy-three feet in height. This was supposed to be the most stately building of the kind in America; but it was destroyed in the fire which happened just after the British troops entered the City, in 1776. It is now in contemplation to rebuild; and several thousand dollars are already subscribed for the purpose.

St. George's Chapel, in Beekman-street, was finished in 1750. This is a neat building, formed with brown-stone, and the roof tiled.

St. Paul's Chapel, in Broadway, was completed in 1766. This building, which is in itself elegant, is embellished with a superb monument, erected by order of Congress and at the expence of the United States, to the memory of the brave General Montgomery, who fell in the attack of Quebec, on the thirty-first of December, 1775.

To the foregoing may be added the following Churches:

German Lutheran.....	2
Roman Catholic.....	1
Friends' Meeting.....	1
Anabaptists.....	1
Moravians.....	1
Jews' Synagogue.....	1

Hudson-river was first discovered in 1608, by Henry Hudson, an Englishman, who sold his claim to the Dutch. In 1614, the States General granted a Patent to several merchants for an exclusive trade on the river Hudson. The same year, this Company built a fort on the West side of the river, near Albany, and named it Fort Orange. The next year, a fort was built on the South-west point of Manhattans', now New-York island; but the first settlers planted themselves about two miles from this fort and built a Church; there, the ruins of which, it is said, are still visible, near the two-mile stone on the public road.\* In this situation, finding themselves insecure during the Wars between the English and Dutch, they left this place and planted their habitations under the guns of the fort; which laid the foundation of the present City.

\* Probably referring to the remains of the old Bowery-church, erected by Stuyvesant, where St. Mark's-church has since been erected.—Ed. HIST. MAG.



New York remained in possession of the Dutch until 1664; when it was surrendered by Colonel Nicolls, who was commissioned by James, Duke of York, to whom his brother, Charles II, of England had made a grant of it, the same year. In 1667, at the Peace of Breda, New York was confirmed to the English, who, in exchange, ceded Surinam to the Dutch. In the War of 1673, the Dutch again possessed themselves of New York; but at the treaty of Peace, signed at Westminster, the following year, New York was restored to the English, in whose hands it remained till the late Revolution.

While New York remained in possession of the Dutch, it was called New Netherland and governed by a Schout, Burgomasters, and Schepens. From its surrender to the English, in 1664, until 1683, the Province was ruled by Governors, appointed and commissioned by the Duke of York, and the Council, whose Rules and Orders had the force of laws. From the last-named period, the people was admitted to a share of the legislative authority. The government of the City (which was first incorporated in 1696), is now in the hands of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council. The City is divided into seven Wards, in each of which there is chosen, annually, by the people, an Alderman and an Assistant, who, together with the Mayor and Recorder, form the Common Council. The Mayor and Recorder are appointed annually by the Council of Appointment.

The Mayor's Court, which is held from time to time by adjournment, is in high reputation as a Court of Law. A Court of Sessions is likewise held for criminal causes.

The situation of the City is both healthy and pleasant. Surrounded on all sides by water, it is refreshed with cool breezes in Summer; and the air, in Winter, is more temperate than in other places under the same parallel.

York-island is fifteen miles in length, and hardly one in breadth. It is joined to the main by a bridge called *King's-bridge*. The channels between Long and Staten-islands, and between York and Long-islands, are so narrow as to occasion an unusual rapidity of the tides, which is increased by the confluence of the waters of the Hudson and East-rivers. This rapidity, in general, prevents the obstruction of the channel by ice; so that the navigation is clear, except for a few days in seasons when the weather is uncommonly severe. There is no Basin or Bay for the reception of ships; but the Road where they lie, in the East-river, is defended from the violence of the sea by the islands which interlock each other; so that, except that of Rhode-island, the harbor of New York, which admits ships of any burthen, is the best in the United States.

The City is esteemed the most eligible situation for commerce in the United States. It almost

necessarily commands the trade of one-half of New Jersey, most of that of Connecticut, and part of that of Massachusetts, besides the whole fertile interior country, which is penetrated by one of the largest rivers in America, navigable one hundred and seventy miles. This City imports most of the goods consumed between a line thirty miles East of Connecticut-river, and twenty miles West of the Hudson, which is one hundred and thirty miles; and between the ocean and the confines of Canada, about two hundred and fifty miles; a considerable portion of which is the best-peopled of any part of the United States; and the whole territory contains at least half a million of people, or one-sixth of the inhabitants in the Union. Besides, some of the other States are partially supplied with goods from New York. But in the staple commodity, flour, Pennsylvania and Maryland have rivalled it—the “superfine flour” of those States commanding a higher price than that of New York.

In the manufacture, likewise, of iron, paper, cabinet-work, etc., Pennsylvania exceeds not on New York, but all her sister States. In times of Peace, however, New York will command more commercial business than any town in the United States. In time of War, it will be insecure, without a marine force; but a small number of ships will be able to defend it from the most formidable attacks by sea.

Eight miles northward of the City, is a strait between Long and York-islands, which is, with great propriety, called Hell-gate. The passage is narrow, and the middle of it is obstructed with rocks, so as to occasion a violent rapidity of the tides. Except at high and low water, this strait is impassable, without a strong breeze sufficient to counteract the current; and even then the navigation is extremely hazardous. The tides which flow from the East and West, meet at Frog's-point, several miles to the eastward of Hell-gate; for which reason the ebbing and flowing are remarkably sudden at this place. The channel at Hell-gate is deep enough for frigates; but vessels usually wait for high or low water, when the sea is generally smooth, and the strait is navigable on each side of the rocks.

A want of good water is a great inconvenience to the citizens, there being few wells in the city. Most of the people are supplied, every day, with fresh water, conveyed to their doors in casks, from a pump near the head of Queen-street, which receives it from a pond, almost a mile from the city.\* Several proposals have been made by individuals, to supply the citizens by pipes; but none have yet been accepted.

The following is the character of the inhabit-

\* “The tea-water pump,” here referred to, stood on the West side of Chatham-street, nearly opposite Roosevelt-street.—ED. HIST. MAG.

ants of this City, drawn by a faithful hand in 1756:

"New York is one of the most social Places on the Continent. The Men collect themselves into weekly Evening Clubs. The Ladies, in Winter, are frequently entertained either at Concerts of Musick or Assemblies, and make a very good appearance. They are comely and dress well, and scarce any of them have distorted Shapes. Tinctured with a Dutch Education, they manage their Families with becoming Parsimony, good Providence, and singular Neatness. The Practice of extravagant Gaming, common to the fashionable Part of the fair Sex, in some Places, is a Vice with which my Countrywomen cannot justly be charged. There is nothing they so generally neglect as Reading, and indeed all the Arts for Improvement of the Mind, in which, I confess, we have set them the Example. They are modest, temperate and charitable; naturally sprightly, sensible, and good-humoured; and, by the Helps of a more elevated Education, could possess all the Accomplishments desirable in the Sex. Our Schools are in the lowest Order; the Instructors want Instruction; and through a long shameful Neglect of the Arts and Sciences, our common Speech is extremely corrupt, and the Evidences of a bad Taste, both as to Thought and Language, are visible in all our Proceedings, publick and private.

"The People, both in Town and Country, are sober, industrious, and hospitable, though intent on Gain. The richer Sort keep very plentiful Tables, abounding with great Varieties of Flesh, Fish, Fowl, and all kinds of Vegetables.

"The Inhabitants of this Colony are in general healthy and robust; taller, but shorter lived, than Europeans; and, both with Respect to their Minds and Bodies, arrive soonerto an Age of Maturity. Breathing a serene, dry Air, they are more sprightly in their natural Tempers than the People of England; and hence Instances of Suicide are here very uncommon. Few Physicians amongst us are eminent for their Skill. Quacks abound like Locusts in Egypt; and too many have recommended themselves to a full Practice and profitable Subsistence. This is less to be wondered at, as the Profession is under no kind of Regulation."

Admitting this to be a candid representation of facts, at the time it was drawn, yet many material changes have taken place which ought to be noticed.

The change of the inhabitants, by the Revolution, was considerable, and had some effect upon the general character of the citizens. Notwithstanding, in point of sociability and hospitality, New York is hardly exceeded by any town in the United States. The principal families, by associating, in their public amusements, with the mid-

dling class of well-bred citizens, render their rank subservient to the happiness of society, and prevent that party-spirit, which an affectation of superiority in certain families in Philadelphia, has produced in that City—a spirit which disturbs or destroys their public amusements, and which has given the citizens, too generally, perhaps, the reputation of being *inhospitable*.

Several causes, however, have operated to diminish the sociability of the citizens of New York—particularly the change of inhabitants and the loss of property, during the ravages of War, and the unfavorable state of business since the establishment of Peace. These causes have had their influences in all parts of America; and perhaps as little in New York as in any other town.

The charge of neglecting reading and the improvements of the mind, might be just in Smith's time, but, if just, it did not lie solely against the inhabitants of this city. That the Americans were formerly, and may be still, behind the citizens of London, in their attention to Literature and the Arts, will be acknowledged; nor is it surprizing. Yet, no person acquainted with the well-bred American ladies, can charge them, generally, with ignorance; and there are great numbers in New York whose minds are highly improved, and whose conversation is as inviting as their personal charms.

Nor are the schools in this city in such a deplorable situation as they were formerly. There are many which are kept by reputable and able men; and Columbia College affords a very favorable prospect.

It must not, however be concealed, that Smith's description of the state of education is now but too plainly just, with respect to the country at large. There are several good Academies in the country; but many parts are either unfurnished with schools or the schools which they have are kept by low, ignorant men, and are consequently worse than none. This remark may be extended to a large proportion of the United States.

An enquirer, who would wish to acquaint himself with the true state of the people of New York, their manners and Government, would naturally ask the citizens for their societies for the encouragement of Sciences, Arts, Manufactures, etc.? For their public libraries? For the patrons of Literature? For their well-regulated Academies? For their female Academies for instructing young ladies in Geography, History, Belles-lettres, etc.? Such enquiries might be made with propriety.

The practice of physic, it is presumed, is on a better footing than when Smith wrote his *History*. That it is capable of many improvements, in all parts of America, will hardly be denied by the faculty themselves. There are, however, many eminent Physicians and Surgeons in New York; and it is only to be regretted that there exists a



necessity of going abroad for knowledge which ought to be obtained at home.

All free Governments abound with lawyers. Where men have the privilege of thinking and acting for themselves, they will involve themselves in debt and quarrel with their neighbors. In proportion to the debts and disputes of the people, lawyers will multiply. Of these, America furnishes a plentiful growth; and New York has its share. In this State, the practice of Law is conformed to the English mode; and is, perhaps, better regulated than in the other States. The several degrees in the professions; the number of critical examinations that candidates are obliged to pass through, before they can be admitted as Counsellors in the higher Courts; together with the time of study required by the Rules of admission, render an access to the first honors of the Bar so difficult as to preclude ignorant pretenders to the important science of Law. New York can boast of many men eminent in a very liberal profession; and which has hitherto furnished America with some of her most able legislators. It is, however, to be feared that a too rigid adherence to the forms of legal process, in England, has sometimes perplexed the course of justice, and prevented valuable improvements in the practice, not only of this, but most of the States.

On a general view of this City, as described thirty years ago, and in its present state, the comparison is flattering to the present age; particularly the improvements in taste, elegance of manners, and that easy, unaffected civility and politeness which form the happiness of social intercourse.

It is found, by a memorandum in one of the old Registers, that the number of inhabitants in the City, taken by order of the King, in the year 1697, was as follows:

Whites.	{ Men.....	946
	{ Women.....	1018
	{ Young men and boys.....	864
	{ Young women and girls.....	899
Negroes.	{ Men.....	209
	{ Women.....	205
	{ Boys and girls.....	161
Total.....		4302

Number of inhabitants in the City and County of New York, in 1756.....		10,881
"	"	" 1771.....
"	"	" 1786.....
		21,863
		23,614

The houses in the city were numbered in 1786, and found to be three thousand, three hundred and forty.

## VI.—CAPTAIN LAIRBUSH.

On Tuesday, the ninth of March, Captain

FREDERIC LAIRBUSH celebrated his one hundred and fourth birthday, at the house of his friend, General de Peyster, No. 59 East Twenty-first street, New York, in company with Admiral Farragut, Major-generals Hooker, Cullum, and Towers, Brigadier-general Vogdes, and other prominent Citizens.

Captain Lairbush was born in a Parish near Lambeth Palace, in London, in 1766, in the last fortnight of that momentous thirteen months which were the most tumultuous and eventful of any in the whole history of this country; nine days before the repeal of the Stamp Act, whose passage, on the seventh of February, 1765, undoubtedly was the immediate origin of our Independence. Since then, nineteen Presidents have succeeded. He was already four years old when the first collision took place between the British soldiery and the American "Sons of Liberty," on Golden-hill, near Pearl-street, on Friday and Saturday, the nineteenth and twentieth of January, 1770. When he was ten years old, old enough to pay some attention to what was passing in the great world, the news of our Declaration of Independence was the engrossing subject of conversation in England. He recalls having witnessed, in his eighteenth year, the return to England of the last British Garrisons in the Colonies—troops which evacuated New York, on the twenty-fifth of November, 1783. In 1789, when, as a Volunteer, or Cadet of the Military School at Croydon, he was gaining his first experience of active campaigning, under the Duke of York, in Flanders, Washington was unanimously elected the first President of these United States.

Now let the reader direct his attention to the Old World. When Captain Lairbush was born, in 1766, Frederick the Great had just concluded the Seven Years' War, which laid the basis of the present united Germany, or Imperial Kingdom of Prussia, and took the first step towards the partition of Poland, as yet a sovereign power in all its integrity. In 1789, when he entered the field of Mars, Napoleon held a rank scarcely higher than his own, of Sub-lieutenant in the French Artillery. In 1806, as one of the diplomatic staff of Lord Castlereagh, British Ambassador to Prussia, he narrowly escaped capture by the troops of that same Napoleon, already for two years, Emperor of the French, against whom, seven years previously, the Captain had fought, while they were enthusiastic Republicans. In the same year, he hobnobbed with Blucher, a proscribed soldier, who, within ten years, twice enjoyed, to him, the supreme pleasure of driving that same Napoleon from his throne. In 1807, he stood on the banks of the Niemen, and beheld Napoleon, Dictator of



Europe, embrace Alexander on the raft in that river; and, within ten years, he guarded the same Napoleon, as the captive of Europe, in St. Helena. In 1809, as a Lieutenant, he joined Wellington in Spain, with whom he had first served, twenty years previous, as a Cadet, when the latter aged twenty, was already, although three years his junior, a Lieutenant. Left for dead on the battlefield of Busaco, in 1810; Captain Lahrbusch was again picked up for dead, on the shore of Algoa Bay, in 1824, after a shipwreck which swallowed up his wife and fortune. To narrate all the hair-breath escapes, which this officer has experienced would fill page upon page—escapes peculiar to a military life, to climate, to disease, to travelling, to a sojourn amid savage tribes, to ruffian violence, and lastly, to a system of medical treatment, which scarcely another individual on record has survived. To him, Opium, which, in doses of a few grains, is a deadly poison to ordinary men, is as much a necessary of life as bread and water. For forty years, he took at a single dose, daily, seventy-five grains: at a crisis, one hundred and fifty; at another, two hundred—consuming about five pounds a year. In the shape of Laudanum, to him, it is almost a harmless beverage; and, during the last few months, having reduced his daily ration to forty grains, and then to ten, he became so enfeebled that he swallowed a hundred grains at once, within a week or so, and immediately recovered his vigor. As a pedestrian, he is active, and would shame many a man of fifty. He has the full possession of all his faculties; recollects everything he ever witnessed; speaks and reads, with ease, half-a-dozen languages; and with his own hand writes an elegant letter. In his habits of life, he is as different from most men as he is in his diet. He rises throughout the year about the time uneasy cocks begin to crow in Summer—two A. M.; he dines when lazy men breakfast and busy men lunch—at noon; and goes to bed when the birds fly homeward—about six, P. M. These peculiar hours are the only penalties which he pays for his use of Opium. A charming companion and a Christian Gentleman, he bade fair to rival old PARR in longevity, when, in his one hundred and second year, he met with an accident on ship-board, which led to such an effusion of blood as would have drained out the life of almost any other human being. Now, he is comparatively well again; but such shocks as he has gone through must have jarred the machinery. Otherwise, with his frame and ordinary health, he might have counted on seeing this nineteenth century complete.

J. W. DE P.

## VII.—ADDRESS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS TO THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE.\*

The undersigned, citizens of the United States of America, for the purpose of giving public expression to their own sentiments, as well as to those of their friends and fellow-citizens under whose authority they act, hereby declare that they have received the news of your liberation and emancipation from a tyrannical and corrupt Government, with the most sincere joy and gratification. The deeds of heroism, followed by your unanimous uprising in behalf of freedom and progress; the enthusiasm, paired with moderation, you have manifested in the hour of victory; the lofty principles expressed by the newly-installed Government with so much promptness, precision, and wisdom, showing not only the tendency of the great movement, accomplished in so short a time, but also defining the basis of future Government, in all its principal parts and bearings—these events and actions have filled our hearts with pride and admiration. As friends of a free Government, as Americans, as Republicans, we think to speak in the name of thousands, nay, millions of our people, when we congratulate you, on this new day of life, grown out of your great and glorious victory.

This is no assumption. We are endorsed in our sentiments by the official act of the United States' Government, the first power that, in just appreciation of the readiness with which, at a former period, your Government sanctioned the admission of our people into the family of nations, recognized your action and your representatives. And we may say, that every patriotic and progressive mind on this wide domain of freedom has received the official act of our Government, through its Minister-plenipotentiary, Mr. John P. Hale, with the greatest satisfaction.

We cannot deny that we are anxious to see the system of liberty extend, wherever there is an opportunity to introduce it; and we, therefore, hail your programme as a powerful ally—as a great instrument of civil, political, and religious liberty.

Nothing can be more in accordance with the spirit of our age,—with progress, justice, and the true principles of Government—than the Declaration of Rights and the guarantees laid down in these few sentences, constituting your platform: "Universal suffrage; liberty of worship; liber-

\* We print this address, as material for History, from the original Manuscript.

It was sent to Spain, in November last; but probably because Mr. Hale did not approve of it, nothing more has been heard of it.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

"ty of instruction; liberty of reunion and peaceable association; liberty of publication without special legislation; decentralization of administration, that shall devolve authority to the Municipalities and to the Provinces; judgment by jury in criminal affairs; unity of power in all the branches of the administration of justice; judicial immobility; security of the individual; inviolability of domicile and correspondence; abolition of capital punishment."

Nothing can more deserve our admiration and approval, than the boldness with which you enter into your new career.

You have given a great example to every people living under the yoke of political and religious tyranny and starving under the deadly influences of administrative corruption. You have created political unity, without destroying that fundamental principle of Municipal and Provincial life, embodied in the few words: "*Decentralization of administration*"—the best safeguard against abuse of political power; against corruption in high office; against favoritism and unlimited patronage. You have laid the armor of protection around the sacred institution of jurisdiction, by making its officials "*immovable*" and "*independent*" from the spirit of factions and the clamors of the mob. You have added a new and glorious victory to civilization, by abolishing *capital punishment*; and wiped out, at the same time, the darkest spot of your history, by a just retribution on the secret but most dangerous enemies of mankind. With the adoption of these all-important measures and of a system of universal qualifications for office, regulated by national and local Boards, in order to decentralize patronage and improve competition, all accompanied by popular schools, in political as well as general science, you will have even left behind, in your triumphal march, our own Republic, and levelled the track for us to follow you.

In making this acknowledgement, we, however, hope and anxiously wish, that the system of liberty which you have so boldly proclaimed in regard to Spain, may be equally extended to all the people of your powerful Empire, without distinction of race or color, and according to such measures as you may deem best for the accomplishment of so great an end.

May the principles you have adopted become as firmly and permanently rooted in the hearts and minds of the Spanish people, as they are true and just. May not the evil spirit of Reaction endanger your noble purposes. May the people of Spain, taking advantage of the propitious moment, without fear, declare for that form of Government, which is in accordance with its will and wishes and a true exponent of

the great principles laid down in your programme.

As to us, we will, in all sympathy and with the anxiety of free men, watch your course and give you all that moral and material assistance which we claim to be due from our Government and every true American to a people which has gained its freedom by its own inherent right and power, and is bravely trying to preserve it.

On the day of our Presidential election, the third of November, 1868.

E. D. MORGAN, PETER COOPER,  
HORACE GREELEY, CHARLES A. DANA,  
BRONSON MURRAY, ELIZABETH CADY STANTON,  
CHAMP. H. SPENCER, GEORGE W. BLUNT,  
E. F. HALL.

GEN'L F. SIGEL, FR. KAPP,  
DR. A. JACOBI, F. DE MALIGNON,  
G. BLOEDE, FR. RATCHFUS,  
AD. DOUIA, DR. H. MUHR,  
W. V. WEBER, W. KRYZANOWSKI.

H. DE MARUL, Ed. *Franco-American*,  
JOS. STRAUSS, ex-President of the French Society, *L'Union*.

DR. F. C. PETITJEAN, N. CONRADI,  
RAFAELE CASTELVECCHIO, MICHELE VANNI,  
ANTONIO D. GHIO, ANTONIO CELLA,  
O. TENSI, R. MONTEFFORE,  
CECHI DE CASALI, of the *L' Eco d' Italia*.

## VIII.—KING'S-MOUNTAIN.

### THE ORISKANY OF THE SOUTH.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

Even as the Battle of Oriskany was the harbinger of assured triumph at the North and the first resultive success of the Republican arms which inaugurated the assured progressive of a new era in the American Revolutionary War, even so the critical student will find that King's-mountain exercised a similar effect upon its military and moral *onwards* at the South. It was a victory won by Militia, led by Militia officers, in strict accordance with normal Militia tactics, over a mingled force of Regulars and Volunteers, or mobilized Militia, led by one of the most enterprising, capable, and courageous officers in the Royal service. Never was a success more opportune. The fortunes of the Southern Colonies had sunk to the lowest ebb. Every prospect of liberation in the Carolinas was shrouded in the darkest gloom. From the highest flight of hope the result of the Battle of Camden, (16th August, 1780,) had plunged the people into the lowest depths of despair. Gates, crowned with the laurels of Saratoga—laurels filched from the brow of Schuyler; laurels won by the prowess of Arnold—

had arrived from the North and assumed the command with an assurance of victory as arrogant as if he had brought with him the certainty of annihilating the Royal forces, in the presence of the self-constituted Camillus. Inflated with the idea of his invincibility, he delivered battle at Camden; and, in the sweeping disaster due to his arrogant presumption, his laurels withered and his locks grew grey in the rapidly succeeding phases of the catastrophe—yes, his laurels were blasted and his hair grew white as suddenly as the midsummer foliage of a tree withers and shrivels when the trunk is smitten by the lightning, and the tender branches become permeated with the electric fluid.

What scenes of horror and of vengeance were the fruits of the American defeat and the Royal triumph. The oaks along the route of the British column bore the fruits of the hangman's work, as well as acorns; and, had the Northern Colonies been willing to accept their Independence at the price of separating their interests from those of the Southern, there is but little question but that it would have been conceded by the British Government.

As far as regarded the lowlands, the question was indeed settled. The solution of the problem rested with the "mountain-men," born and bred upon the spurs and in the valleys of the Appalachians, in the Counties of Washington—appellation of happy omen, one in Virginia and one in North Carolina—of Sullivan, Burke, Rutherford, Wilkes, and Surrey, in the latter State, and of those coferminous in South Carolina. Of these, Washington and Sullivan, in North Carolina, now constitute portions of liberty-loving Eastern Tennessee. Meanwhile, future Kentucky contributed her quota of fighting-men, bred on the "dark and bloody ground" of the young West.

PATRICK FERGUSON, or, as he was more familiarly known, BULL-DOG FERGUSON, was one of the ablest and bravest Royal officers serving in the Colonies. Although only a Major in the Seventy-first (Fraser's) Highlanders, he exercised an influence unsurpassed by any superior. He had won the epithet of "Bull-dog," more by his indomitable pertinacity than by any authenticated instances of the ruthless severity which characterized Tarleton and Cornwallis. Indeed, the record of his life proves that his magnanimity was as conspicuous as his soldiery. He had spared Washington within short range of his unerring rifle; and he had interposed between a brutal soldiery and their conquered victims. Stern he was in very fact; and it was this unyielding firmness, this iron integrity in the discharge of what he esteemed the obligations of loyalty, which won for him a character which he little deserved—a hatred which was not only felt toward him living but extended to his lifeless corpse. After he had

fallen, and when his comrades-in-arms had received hurried but Christian burial, his remains—those of a hero—were left exposed to the rapacity of the scavenger-birds of the region, until some Christian hand relented and gave sepulture to the mutilated relics of a glorious soldier, worthy of the proudest monument.

As a military originator, he was fifty years ahead of his time. The breech-loading rifle, with its elevating sights, sword-blade bayonet, and accelerating-screw-chamber which hangs over the bed of the author of this article, attests his perfect comprehension of the peculiar repeating-fire-arms needed to render light-troops that effective force into which they have been gradually developed through recent improvement in arms of precision. Nor was it only as an inventor that he excelled his contemporaries. Although he had lost his right arm in the service of his King, he was unrivalled as a marksman, both with the rifle and the pistol. According to the testimony of eye-witnesses, he would check his horse, let the reins fall upon the animal's neck, draw a pistol from his holster, toss it aloft, catch it as it fell, aim, and shoot the head off a bird on an adjacent fence. With the rifle of his invention, he was equally unerring; and on the practice-ground at Woolwich, he gave an exhibition of the capacities of the weapon he had invented, as well as of his own skill in its management, which has only been excelled by the most masterly experts with either of the improved weapons of the present day.

As an organizer and a tactician he was equally conspicuous; and in the selection of the very position whereon he fought his last fight and fell a victim to a rugged determination as exalted as his own, he evinced a judgment which elicited the critical approval of General Bernard, one of the great Napoleon's most experienced Engineers. In this opinion, however, the writer does not concur; and this judgment is borne out by able contemporaries.

As stated in the commencement of this article, affairs at the South were placed in a critical position by the unexpected loss of the Battle of Camden—a disaster attributable as much to the real incapacity as to the rashness of Gates. The regular Continental Army had been disposed of; and even the active, vigilant Sumter had experienced an overthrow at Fishing-creek, at the hands of the unsparing Tarleton, as complete as his superior had met from the polished but no less severe Cornwallis. All that remained to be done was to make a similar summary conclusion with the partizan corps which still continued to menace the loyal elements from the mountain regions of the Carolinas. To effect this, Major Ferguson, invested with the local rank of Colonel, or according to other authorities, equally reliable, of Brigadier-general, had been sent out into the upper



regions of South and North Carolina, to thoroughly organize the loyal militia; to arm them with his improved weapon; and to convert them into an effective partisan-column to destroy the popular, or as it was termed, Rebel Party, in the disaffected districts. As a nucleus for the new levies, he carried with him a detachment of his own Regulars, commanded by a dear friend, one who had already shown his capacity by his hot-foot pursuit of Colonel Shelby, from the Musgrove-mill battle-field, even into the very mountain-fastnesses of the "Backwater-men"—a pursuit kept up with such determination, that it only ended with the complete exhaustion, not only of the animals upon which the Infantry were mounted, but of the men themselves.

No sooner had he received his instructions, than Colonel, or Brigadier-general, Ferguson set out from Charleston; plunged into the mountain wilderness of North-western North Carolina; and set to work to organize, militarily, the loyal yeomanry in that quarter. He likewise issued a stirring Proclamation, which not only appealed to their manliness but to what, as a faithful and fearless servant of the Crown, he considered their patriotic line of duty. No one acquainted with the character of the man could dream of attributing to him motives other than those of the sternest integrity and the most implicit confidence in the righteousness of the cause he represented. At the same time, however, his Proclamation embodied sentiments and implied threats which, justly interpreted through the reprisals of Cornwallis, could not do otherwise than excite the fears and passions of the population, deeply affected by his language, in whose midst he was operating.

The spirit which animated the Isaurians, the Swiss and the Dutch, of old, fired the hearts of the mountain (not the lowland) men of the Alleghanies or Appalachians of North and South Carolina and of East Tennessee. Armed with the Deckhard Rifle\*—a weapon as deadly in their

hands as the improved arms of Ferguson were in those of less experienced marksman—the patriots of the Alleghanies prepared their ammunition, gathered their supplies, saddled their bardy horses, and swarmed together like one of those ominous clouds which, in their lofty regions, prelude the tempest which bursts upon the valley amid shattering lightning, levelling tornado, and roaring torrents, swelled and confluent in an irresistible flood.

Ferguson, who with all his dogged obstinacy was a right able soldier, acknowledged the importance of the danger whose portents presaged misfortune; drew together his new levies; and fell back upon the older and denser settlements, with the intention to select some position of such natural strength, that he could make a successful stand there, and either defeat his enemies or keep them at bay until the British General could extend to him the right hand of reinforcements, already on their way to relieve him. The success of this plan depended upon want of energy on the part of those pursuing him. Time was requisite—time, the most important element of military success: time, of incalculable value in War; and almost invariably under-estimated by the men elevated to the dignity of Generals. The success or failure of this mountain campaign hinged on hours; and the American leaders, if they knew nothing more of War, knew this; and they determined not to concede to Ferguson one minute of delay which was not compulsory; not one hour which was not beyond their power of controlling adverse circumstances.

It is rarely that improvised commanders, Militia-officers particularly, understand the danger of delay. Those, however, who directed the movements of the Alleghany mountain-men had learned to do so in their fighting among wild beasts, whose instincts in this respect are superior to reason and which are intuitively aware that when the moment comes, it is proper to spring upon their prey and deliver the leap like the lightning. They had, likewise been the life-long antagonists of the Appalachian Indians, the Cherokees, and cognate tribes, among the bravest and most warlike Indians of the Continent—wild men whose reasoning power partook of the quicker perceptions of the fiercest American beast of prey, the Cougar, from which they had learned that vigilant celerity was the sole certain assurance, not only of resultive success but of self-preservation. Any one who will examine, closely, the movements of the American leaders upon this occasion, will perceive that they were

\* According to letters from the Hon. John Hickman and W. Uhler Hensel, members of a literary society, in Lancaster, the following information has been received in regard to the Deckhard Rifle. It appears, that there were several manufacturers of rifles in Lancaster, a century since. Of these, the most noted was Jacob Dickert, or, as frequently spelled, Dickard, and Deckhard. His descendant holds an order from the celebrated ornithologist, Wilson, for a single-trigger rifle—price four pounds, five shillings, and six pence. It is claimed that he founded the business about a century ago. The Deckhard Rifles were spiral grooved; gain twist or accelerated twist; barrel about thirty inches in length; size or weight of ball, twenty to ninety to the pound. The descendant of Deckhard is of the opinion, that the rifles intended for military purposes, carried from twenty to thirty to a pound; the writer thinks that Mr. Gill, great-grandson of Deckhard, must be mistaken in the weight of the ball, for the description of this rifle tallies exactly with the fire-arms in general use on the frontier and in Western New York, many years ago. The organized Rifle-companies carried pieces whose calibre was about that of a large pea. Besides this Deckhard, there was a John Drepper, who was, likewise, a gun-smith of some note in Lancaster, and produced a noted rifle bearing his own name; but

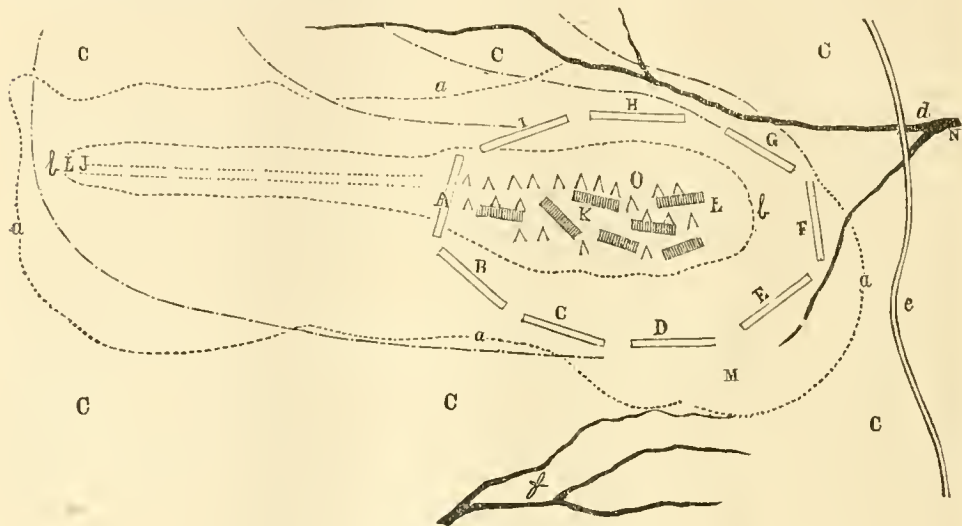
the South and West placed their great reliance on the Deckhard Rifle; and large quantities were furnished. They were, also, in common use in Kentucky, and bore the maker's name on the barrel. The bore of Ferguson's Rifle was very large; the very fact, that the handles of the hunting-knives could be reduced to a size small enough for insertion in the muzzle, proves this.

the expression of the same type of character as that of Stonewall Jackson; yes, of another, possessed of a like fiery energy, the notorious Forrest, of whose fierce characteristics they partook in a large degree.

The American pursuers numbered eighteen hundred and fifty experienced men. From these, again, nine hundred, or as many as one thousand six hundred, were selected by those who knew exactly of what stuff every man present was made.

Consequently, if ever a combat was fought by chosen champions, the one under consideration was decided by picked men, in every sense of the word, as far as regarded the American force.

Having obtained a diagram of the Battle, we lay a copy of it before the readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. A few explanations of the accompanying will render the matter more intelligible than whole pages of text without such assistance.\*



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF KING'S-MOUNTAIN.†

The partially cleared or bare summit of King's-mountain, "a narrow, stony ridge," on which the British and Loyalists took their stand, has an outline not unlike that of a *paddle*; the end of the blade pointing South of West. Colonel Wheeler makes it range East and West; General Graham nearly North-east and South-west, the shadow of the timber upon it, at half-past one,

P.M., ranging with it. Ferguson's camp was on the summit of the elevation, to the right of the ("Ridge?") road. The range itself was from one thousand, one hundred, and seventy to one thousand, three hundred, and twenty feet in length; about two hundred and ten feet in width; and rises on an average about one hundred feet above the encompassing valleys or defiles.

\* EXPLANATION.

a, a, a, a.—Dotted line, showing base of the mountain.  
b, b.—Dotted line, showing cleared, or partially cleared, stony summit of mountain.

C, C, C, C, C.—Outside of a, a, a, a, base line of mountain, designates woods, more or less dense.

d.—Branch of Clark's-fork of Bullock's-creek, which flows Southwesterly through, and enters Broad River near, the South-west extremity of York District, South Carolina.

e.—(Ridge?) Road connecting with routes between Yorkville, South Carolina, on the South, and Rutherfordton, North Carolina, on the North.

f.—These must be the head-waters of a fork of King's-creek, which flows southwest, past King's-mountain, and empties into Broad-river.

—The lines, laid down thus, show the routes of the four different columns as they came into action, and followed out their plan of operations.

A.—Colonel Shelby's Corps.

B.—" Campbell's "

C.—" Sevier's "

D.—Major Winston's "

E.—Colonel Hambricht's Corps.

F.—Major Chronicle's "

G.—Colonel Cleveland's "

H.—" Williams's "

I.—Major McDowell's "

J, J.—British Line previous to being surrounded.

K.—British troops in confusion.

L, L.—Length of British Encampment—eighty rods, one thousand three hundred and thirty feet.

M.—Colonel Ferguson's Grave.

N.—Rude Monument to Colonel Chronicle. The reverse side bears an inscription in memorial of Colonel Ferguson.

O.—Spot where Colonel Ferguson was killed.

† This diagram was prepared by General Thomas Graham, from drawings made upon the battle-ground. The details were supplied by several of those who participated in the action, and accompanied him to the spot for that purpose. It was originally published in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, and is copied from a re-print in the *North Carolina University Magazine*, Vol. V., No. 3, April, 1856. It was entitled, "Surrender of the Troops commanded by Colonel Ferguson, at King's Mountain, 7th October, 1780."

According to Colonel, or General, Joseph Graham, who was intimately acquainted with many of the participants in the engagement, the American forces were composed of the following Corps and numbers:

Where from.	Under.	No. men.
Washington-conoty, Virginia, Col.	Wm. Campbell	400
Sullivan,* North Carolina,	Isaac Shelby	240
Washington* " "	John Sevier,	240
Burke, " " }	Chas. McDowell,	160
Rutherford, " " }	Benj. Cleveland, }	350
Wilkes, " " }	Maj. Jacob Winston, }	
Surrey, " " }	Col. Hambright, }	60
Lincoln, " " }	Maj. Chronicle, }	
South Carolina,	Col. James Williams,	400
Total,		1,850

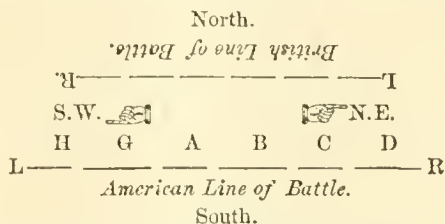
From this total of one thousand, eight hundred, and fifty, according to the Report of the Colonels engaged, they selected, on the fourth of October, nine hundred, or nine hundred and ten, to follow and attack the enemy. General Davison, however, in his letter to General Sumner, states that one thousand, six hundred men were picked out for the enterprise. Both these Generals should have been well acquainted with what took place, since Colonel Charles McDowell was sent to Headquarters, in North Carolina, expressly to get one of them to take the command-in-chief. It is more than likely that the largest number were in the action; for all knew Ferguson's character, and to drive him into a corner and beard him successfully there, required every available and reliable man and rifle. Thus, we see, the Americans who fought the battle were all *picked men*.

By the plan of operations, resolved upon the morning of the action, it was determined that the American force, distributed into four columns, should be again about equally divided; that one-half should march to the right, cross over, and occupy the South-east side of the mountain; that the other half should advance to the North-west side; that each Corps should continue on and close up until the whole again effected a junction; and that then the coalesced force, thus re-united and forming a circle, with gradually decreasing intervals, should face inwards and advance to the attack, moving forward, in converging sheets of flame, up the sides of the mountain.

The British line of battle was at first formed length-wise of the handle of the paddle-shaped clearing; the right, covered by their encampment, or, perhaps, more properly speaking, their *hutted-bivouac*, occupying the blade at the South end, the highest point of their position, whose bisecting line was about one thousand, three hundred, and twenty—Colonel Wheeler says one thousand, five hundred—feet in length.

It was about twelve, M., on the seventh of October, 1780, when the Americans arrived within

three miles of King's-mountain. Twenty minutes afterwards, they came within sight of the British camp. There they halted, dismounted, and secured their horses; leaving them under a sufficient guard. About three, P.M., the attack was commenced upon the British left, front, and extreme left, by three columns; the first, commanded by Colonel Shelby, (A) forming the left of the American centre; the second, under Colonel Campbell, (B,) the right of the centre; and the third, by Colonel Sevier, (C,) and Major Winston, (D,) the extreme right, (facing northerly,) or right-wing proper. Five minutes afterwards, the British right, (facing southerly,) was attacked by the fourth column of the Americans, constituting the extreme left, or left-wing proper, of their formation. This was composed of the South Carolinians, under Colonel Williams, (G,) and part of the North Carolinians, under Colonel Cleveland, (H,) Colonel Hambright's small Corps, (E,) was attached to Colonel Campbell's Division, which moved to the right, and Colonel, or Major, McDowell's (I,) North Carolinians to the column which marched to the left.



The honor of giving and receiving the first fire is attributed to the column under Colonel Sevier. A South Carolinian author, however, claims that "the hardest of the fighting was gone through before they (Campbell and Sevier,) struck a blow." Dawson writes, that Shelby, Campbell, and Sevier made their onset simultaneously; Williams, five minutes later. Sufficient for us, the attack, so ably planned, was made, and manfully made.

As has been stated, this position was considered by General Bernard as eminently susceptible of defence. The writer does not agree with Ferguson or Bernard, in this respect; and his relative, the second in command, felt in the same way. This second in command was ABRAHAM DE PEYSTER, of New York, aged twenty-seven, who entered the Royal Service as Captain of Company D, of the "King's American Regiment."\*

\* There were three brothers in the King's Army. This was the eldest, ABRAHAM. He died Treasurer of New Brunswick and Colonel of the Militia of the Province. The next in order of age, FREDERICK, was likewise Captain in the same Regiment. He served throughout the War, and kept a careful Diary of the varied events in which he participated, North and South; but it was destroyed by fire. He was wounded in the course of his service by a rifle-bul-

\* Now parts of Tennessee.



Ferguson had selected him, already a man after his own heart, to command the "one hundred picked Regulars" "or four hundred picked men," who formed the steel point of the wedge that did the hardest kind of driving or cleaving in the battle—a conflict, the hinge key, of the contest, South of the Potomac. He, the Captain, or Colonel, as he is styled in contemporary papers, felt assured of the fact, and impressed upon Ferguson, that he did not sufficiently appreciate the enemy that he had to deal with. This subordinate was acquainted with the tactics of the mountain-men; and knew by experience their skill as marksmen. He had already fought them and followed them through many weary miles, and learned to appreciate them at their proper value. The very reply which Ferguson gave to the honest advice to accept honorable terms of surrender, proved how false an estimate the old soldier put upon those with whom he had to deal. "I will never yield," said he, "to such a set of damned banditti." Moreover Ferguson set an inordinate value on the position which he had selected, which, however strong against a regular attack, was not defensible against the attacks which were about to be directed upon it. How grievously he erred as to the intrinsic availability of King's-mountain, as a military position, was evinced by his remark that "all the rebels from hell could not drive him from it." It is true that he was not driven from it; but its bald rocky summit merely served, like the sacrificial stone of the Aztecs, for the immolation of the victims.

Dr. Ramsey, the historian, himself a native of South Carolina, sums up the whole matter in a few apposite sentences: "Ferguson, with great boldness, attacked the assailants with fixed bayonets, and compelled them successively to retire; but they only fell back a little way, and getting behind trees and rocks, renewed their fire in almost every direction. The British being uncovered, were aimed at by the American marksmen, and many of them were slain. An unusual number of the killed were found to have been shot in the head. Riflemen took off riflemen with such exactness, that they killed each other, when taking sight, so effectually, that their eyes remained, after they were dead, one shut and the other open, in the usual man-

ner of marksmen when levelling at their object. Major Ferguson displayed as much bravery as was possible in his situation; but his encampment, on the top of the mountain *was not well chosen*, as it gave the Americans an opportunity of covering themselves in their approaches. Had he pursued his march on charging and driving the first party of the Militia which gave way, he might have got off with the most of his men; but his unconquerable spirit disdained either to flee or to surrender. After a severe conflict, he received a mortal wound. No chance of escape being left, and all prospect of successful resistance being at an end, the contest was ended by the submission of the survivors." Gordon, another historian of the Revolution, presents the truth in one paragraph—short but extremely pertinent and comprehensive. "Major Ferguson was overseen in making his stand on the mountain, which, being much covered with woods, gave the Militia, who were all Riflemen, the opportunity of approaching near, with greater safety to themselves than if they had been upon plain, open ground. The Major, however, might have made good his retreat, if not with the whole, at least with a great part of his men, had he pursued his march immediately upon his charging and driving the first detachment; for though the Militia acted with spirit for undisciplined troops, it was with difficulty that they could be prevailed upon to renew their attack, after being charged with the bayonet. *They kept aloof and continued popping; then gathered round, and crept nearer; till, at length, they levelled the Major with one of their shots.*"

Accustomed to something, always methodical, like regular War—for even light troops,\* a century since, were nothing like the free agents they

let, which passed through both legs as well as the body of his horse, killing the latter, while swimming a river. The Cadet of the family, JAMES, a Captain-Lieutenant in the Revolution, was subsequently transferred to the Royal British Artillery. In which his uncle, JAMES, was a Lieutenant-colonel. Buried alive, by the explosion of a mine, while reconnoitering the breach at Valenciennes, July, 1793, he was dug out, resuscitated; is reported, doubtfully, however, to have experienced a similar peril from a *fougasse*, a few days after; and having escaped such extraordinary dangers, within eight weeks, (18th August, 1793,) he was shot through the forehead, while advancing at the head of the attacking column, in the assault on the French lines at Lincelles.

\* Perhaps the real institution of the present European Rifle Tactics, was due to the Sardinian General, Alessandro de la Marmora, (who died of cholera,) a Division General, at Balaklava, during the Crimean war. The writer was comparatively intimate with him in 1852, while he was Governor of Genoa, and had a number of extremely interesting conversations with him in regard to arms of precision and projectiles. General de la Marmora was decidedly opposed to the large calibre and heavy balls universally adopted; and expressed his conviction, enforced by able arguments, corroborated by theoretical experience and practical service, in favor of the small ball—decidedly the favorite among our back-woodsmen, unsurpassed in the use of the rifle. The General said that a small ball, in a vital part, would kill with the same certainty as a large ball, and disable a man just as surely in a sensitive part; that in war it was not a necessity to kill a man; all that was intended was to disable him, and render him for the time-being a non-combatant; and that if bullets were reduced to the diameter of a large pea, a soldier could carry just as many more in proportion to the diminished weight, and thus maintain just so much longer a combat, as he had a larger supply of ammunition. As the General was a hunter or sportsman, as well as a soldier, he was perfectly prepared to be a reliable judge; and his military record demonstrated that he perfectly comprehended the organization, duties, and capacities of Riflemen, in the most extended development of the arm of Light-infantry.

have since become—Ferguson could not conceive that he was going to be attacked in defiance of all regular rule; that his force was to be surrounded, like wild beasts in a *battu*, and shot down by marksmen taking deliberate aim from behind trees. He was completely “bush-whacked,” according to the popular expression of this day, by men who fought, as General George H. Thomas remarked of the Rebels at Chickamauga, “entirely without method.” The Americans, however, it must be admitted, displayed the best method of which *their* organization was susceptible. Colonel Cleveland demonstrated his perfect appreciation of the fact that it is impossible for Militia to stand up, “*point to point*,” against Regulars, by his emphatic exhortation to his immediate command, “When you are engaged, you are not to wait for the word of command from me. Every man must consider himself an officer and act from his own judgment. Fire as quick as you can: and stand your ground as long as you can. When you cannot stand, get behind trees or retreat; but, at all events, don’t run away altogether.”

Reference has been had to the fact that Ferguson’s second in command, convinced from the first of the utter futility of resistance at the point selected, advised a surrender, as soon as he became satisfied that Ferguson would not fall back upon the rapidly advancing relief. He appears to have urged the only course which could have saved the little army, viz: a precipitate, but orderly, retreat upon less exposed points, for the purpose of assisting the General-in-chief in his attempt to reinforce the detachment—so important to future and ultimate success—by drawing back, nearer to some point which, alone, reinforcements could reach, and where, alone, they could be made available. This advice was founded on what the event proved: that the British were about to be slaughtered to no purpose, like “ducks in a coop,” without inflicting any commensurate loss. The event proved the justice of this counsel, since, out of the nine or ten hundred Americans engaged, only twenty-five were killed and sixty wounded, whereas of the eleven hundred and twenty-five British who drew their rations in the morning, two hundred and six were killed, and one hundred and twenty-eight wounded—just four times as many as the casualties among the assailants. The disproportion of the dead was still greater: nine British to one American. Of the British Regulars in this action, one hundred and twenty-one, including Line and Medical Staff, nineteen were killed, and thirty-five so severely wounded that they had to be left upon the field. The slightly wounded do not seem to have been even referred to. This gives one fatal casualty in every five, and two fatal or disabling casualties out of every five who could be marched off after the action.

If any insidious critic conceives that the advice given by Ferguson’s Lieutenant arose from any unwillingness to fight, the concurrent testimony of every writer proves that the adviser performed all the most dangerous work done upon the field; and Ramsey, in his *Annals of Tennessee*, founding his account on authentic narratives, proves that he discharged his duty with a constancy and courage rarely equalled under such circumstances. Seven times, if not oftener, at the head of his Regulars and a few Volunteers, he charged, and drove the Americans before him. The first time he pushed the Americans quite down the mountain. Recalled by Ferguson, he traversed the whole length of the ridge, under fire, and drove back the assailants’ left. In the execution of this movement, a galling fire, which was poured into his flank and rear, broke his men. He rallied them almost immediately, and drove the Riflemen in front of him, again, down to the very foot of the hill, killing their commander, Major Chronicle. By this time, “the marksmen had so thinned the ranks of the Regulars,” that Ferguson’s Lieutenant gathered up a body of the “Loyal Volunteers,” to reinforce his immediate active command. Under a withering fire, these brave men—gallant men they were, even if they were Tories—coolly set to work and whittled down the handles of their hunting-knives until they had trimmed them down small enough for insertion into the muzzles of their rifles, so they would serve the purpose of bayonets. “With the number of his bayonets thus enlarged,” the Colonel returned to his first position, and made another charge. By this time, Ferguson was completely and closely surrounded. Again a charge was made by the Regulars. This was the fourth or fifth. For the fifth time, the Regulars charged, and were countercharged. An eighth time Ferguson ordered his friend and subordinate to make another assault across the bullet-swept clearing. It was executed, but failed from want of numbers to give it weight. Then, for the seventh time, the Regulars were ordered to co-operate with the few mounted Volunteers which constituted Ferguson’s little band of Cavalry; and, by a desperate charge, to make a final attempt to wrest victory from defeat. In the very act of mounting, the majority of the horsemen were picked off, as they threw their legs across the saddle; but, nevertheless, the charge was executed, as even Southern writers admit, with great spirit and audacity. In this effort of desperation, Ferguson was killed. At all events, his silver whistle, with which he was accustomed to give his orders was heard no more. Wherever the struggle had been the wildest, its piercing tones proclaimed the presence of the British Chief; and its shrill signals, heard, almost simultaneously at different points of the defense, gave a kind of ubiquity to its owner’s movements.



Tradition, of very doubtful truth, however, made Ferguson fall in a personal encounter with Williams, the Colonel of the South Carolinians. All that is surely known, is the fact that they fell simultaneously, killed by the rifles of ambushed marksmen. The New York Loyalist now succeeded to the command; but it is very questionable if he could have been the officer who surrendered, for he, himself, had been hit about the waist by a rifle-bullet which struck a doublet in his vest-pocket, with force sufficient to purse up the metal. A relative, deceased in 1863, spoke of seeing such a piece of money; and of its being still preserved in the family; and the incident, strange as it is, was well known immediately after the fight.\* A man does not recover very quickly from such a concussion in a vital region. A staff-officer, a connection of the writer, was struck on the waistbelt-plate, at Chancellorsville, by a bullet, and was confined to his bed for weeks, if not months, in consequence. A minnie-musket, at ordinary range, does not inflict a greater shock, than an old-fashioned rifle-ball, at close quarters.

At this period, there was great confusion on the field; and as great confusion presents itself in the various narratives of the contest. Shelby, who exercised the principal command among the Americans, attested this by his exclamation: "Good God what can we do in this confusion."

The British had thrown down their arms in token of submission. They were ordered away from them, and placed under double guard. Thus, the fighting, which had lasted sixty-five minutes, came to a termination. At all events, the battle was over, but not the killing; for the Americans did not make a gentle use of their victory. They improvised halters out of grape-vines, and hung up ten of the most obnoxious among the prisoners; and left Colonel Ferguson's body a prey to the turkey-buzzards.†

Such was the Battle of King's-mountain—the pivot on which hinged the success of the American Revolution at the South. Ramsey admits that the fall of Ferguson dispelled the cloud that had hung over the whole South, and enveloped the country in gloom; and, from that moment, the American cause began to wear a more promising aspect.

Mr. Jefferson corroborated this. He said: "It

"was the joyful enunciation of that turn in the tide of success that terminated the Revolutionary War with the seal of our Independence."

Moreover, Schlosser, the eminent historian of the eighteenth century, concludes that this affair bore the same relation to the American War, in the Southern Provinces, that the surprise and overthrow of the Hessians, at Trenton, did to its condition in the Northern States. It was rather the Southern Oriskany.\*

Whatever may be the judgment in regard to King's-mountain, whether it deserves to rank as a decisive battle or whether it does not, it is worthy the close study of every American who takes an interest in the best methods of applying the national arms, either of Volunteers or our rural Militia; and it teaches us to avoid every attempt to manoeuvre with them, but, on the contrary, to employ their skill only as marksmen—in a word, to *bushwack* an enemy and crush him with the weight of a skilfully directed criss-cross, or concentrated, fire.

The same tactics which decided the Battles of Malvern-hill and Gettysburg, against the Rebels, and that of Fredericksburg, against the Unionists, settled the fate of Ferguson, at King's-mountain. Most gullant charges, irresistible at the outset, were eventually crushed by the ever-increasing fatality of an aggregated fire of deadly single shots.

Thus the triumphs of the Revolution at the South can be traced to the remote cause of the effect produced by an improved rifle, fabricated by an almost unknown gun-smith, working out his ideas in a little village of what were then the wilds of Pennsylvania; for it was to the Deckhard rifle alone, in practiced hands, that the triumph was due. As at Oriskany, there was not a single field-piece present on the field or in the possession of either party, much less fired, on the occasion. And, as for Cavalry, the field of action did not admit of any use of such troops. The Americans, one and all, were "Mounted Infantry," in the strictest sense of the term, and did all their fighting on foot; and, the few English who had horses had no chance even to form for a charge—they were picked off in the very act of mounting.

\* After this victory, most of the adherents to the Royal cause, in the interior parts of the Carolinas, either changed sides or sunk into obscurity. Lord Cornwallis himself, in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, about this time, complained that "it was in the Militia of the Northern frontier alone, that he could place the smallest dependence; and that they were so totally dejected by Ferguson's defeat, that in the whole district he could not assemble one hundred men; and even in them he could not *now* place the smallest confidence."

Sir Henry Clinton observed on this occasion, that the fatal catastrophe of Ferguson's defeat had lost Lord Cornwallis the whole Militia of Ninety-six, amounting to four thousand men; and, had even thrown North Carolina into a state of confusion and rebellion.—*History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution*, by Mrs. Mary Warren, II. 252.

\* Sabine's *American Loyalists*, First Edition, Article, ABRAGAM DEPEYSTER.

† The order for executing ten of the prisoners, immediately on their capture, was directed, as previously threatened, by Colonel Cleveland, who, with Williams, Sevier, Shelby, and Campbell, were the principal officers who formed and conducted the enterprise against Ferguson.

This step was justly complained of, in a letter to General Smallwood by Lord Cornwallis. He particularly regretted the death of a Colonel Mills, a gentleman of a fair and uniform character; also, a Captain Oates, and others, who were charged with no crime but that of Loyalty.



The charge of the British Regulars "was worthy the high name and fame of that service." "That irresistible British bayonet again and again told its story"—in vain, however; for the fortunes of the United States, then at their lowest ebb, were preparing to flow again; to flow on to the full high tide of Independence.

#### IX.—A MEMENTO OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.\*

Our friend, J. A. Russell, Esq., of New York City, has recently shown to us an exceedingly interesting memento of the young surveyor, George Washington, and his personal relations with the Fairfax family. It is the original manuscript order of G. W. FAIRFAX to "MR. WASHINGTON," to make a survey of lands specified therein; and we have been permitted to make an *exact* copy of it, as follows:

"To MR. G; WASHINGTON.

"WHEREAS *Barthalamore Anderson* of Frederick County hath Informed that  
 L. S. "there are about *Four hundred 50*  
 "Acres of Waste and Ungranted Land  
 "in the said County. *formerly granted*  
 "ed to *Thomas Morgan by Jost Hite,*  
 "as *3<sup>d</sup> Bond for the same & by Assign-*  
 "ment to the *sd Anderson, on Ar-*  
 "nolds Run a branch of *Shannondoah*  
 "And Desiring a Warrant to Survey  
 "the same in order to obtain a Deed  
 "being ready to Pay the Composition  
 "and Office Charges  
 "THESE, are therefore to Empower You the *sd*  
 "G: WASHINGTON to Survey the *sd*  
 "Waste Land.  
 "PROVIDED this be the first War-  
 "rant that hath Issued for the same  
 "and You are to make a Just true and  
 "Accurate Survey thereof Describing  
 "the Courses and Distances *3<sup>d</sup> Pole*  
 "also the Buttings and Boundings of  
 "the several Persons Lands adjoining  
 "and where You cannot Join on any  
 "known Lines, You are to make the  
 "Breadth of the Tract to bear at least  
 "the Proportion of one third part of  
 "the Length as the Law of Virginia  
 "Directs, You are also to Insert the  
 "Names of the Pilot and Chain Car-  
 "riers made use of and Employed a

"Plat of which *sd* Survey with this  
 "Warrant You are to give into this  
 "Office any time before the *twenty*  
 "*fifth* Day of *March* next ensuing.  
 "GIVEN under my Hand and Seal of  
 "the Proprietors Office this *thirteenth*  
 "Day of *Octr* 1750 in the Twenty  
 "fourth Year of his Majesty King  
 "George the Seconds Reign  
 "G: W: FAIRFAX."

[ENDORSED]

"Barthalamore Anderson's  
 "Warr<sup>t</sup> for 450 Acres  
 "Executed

"Mr Washington's Returd  
 "the 8<sup>th</sup> Feby 1750-1  
 "To be paid *3<sup>d</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Fx*  
 "(61)"

In this interesting paper, the body of the order, printed always in ordinary Roman letters, is in one hand; the blanks which had been left by the first, with the exception of the name of the surveyor, were filled by a different hand, and are printed above in *Italics*; and the name of the surveyor, in both instances, and the signature, at the foot, were filled in, by Fairfax himself, and are printed, above, in SMALL CAPS.

This interesting relic was "found in a house, a hundred years old, standing on the corner of "Thirteenth and Main-streets, Richmond, Virgin-  
 "ia;" and was recently presented by Mr. David Parr, Senior, to Mr. Snipes, now of New York City. H. B. D.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

#### X.—JOURNAL OF THE SIEGE OF NIAGARA, JULY, 1759.

*Translated from the French.*

[The following Journal, with some Letters, were found in an Embrasme, after the English took possession of Fort Niagara, July 25, 1759. A translation was printed in *The New York Mercury*, No. 366, Monday, August 20, 1759; and the original given to Sir William Johnson. W. K.]

FRIDAY, 6th July. About 7 at Night a Soldier, who was hunting, came with all Diligence to acquaint Monsieur Pouchot, that he had discovered at the Entrance of the Wood, a Party of Savages, and that they had even fired on some other Hunters. Monsieur Pouchot immediately sent Mr. Selviert, Captain in the Regiment of Roussillon, at the Head of one Piquet, a dozen Canadian Volunteers preceded them, and on their coming to the Edge of the Woods, a Number of Indians fired upon them, which they returned, and were obliged to retire: They took Messieurs Furnace and Aloque, Interpreters of the Iroquois, two

\* This paper was recently printed in *The New York Observer*; but there were so many misprints in Mr. DeCosta's copy of it, furnished to that paper, that we offer no apology for re-producing it, in a correct form.—ED. HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Canadians and two other Gentlemen. They made another Discharge and retired. Monsieur Pouchot fired some Cannon upon them. Monsieur Selviert lay all Night, with 100 Men, in the Demylune, and the rest of the Garrison was under Arms on the Ramparts 'til Midnight.

**SATURDAY, 7th July.** We perceived 7 Barges on the Lake, a League and a Half Distance from the Fort; we judged by that it was the English come to besiege us; Monsieur Pouchot ordered the General to be beat, and employed all Hands to Work on the Batteries, to erect Embrasures, all being En Barbet before. He immediately dispatched a Courier to Monsieur Chevert, to give him Notice of what happened; he also sent out Monsieur Leforce, Captain of the Schooner *Iroquoise*, to destroy the English Barges where he could find them. All that Day several Savages shewed themselves on the Edge of the Deserts. Monsieur Leforce fired several Cannon Shot at them; and perceived they were working at an Entrenchment at the Little Swamp, which is a League and a Half from the Fort. The Guards this Night as the Night before.

**SUNDAY, 8th July.** The Schooner continued to cruise and fire on the English Camp. About 9 in the Morning an English Officer brought a Letter from Brigadier Prideaux, to Monsieur Pouchot, to summons him, proposing him all Advantages and good Treatment; all which he very politely refused, and even seemed to be unwilling to receive the English General's Letter. The Remainder of this Day the English made no Motions.

**TUESDAY, 10th.** At 2 o'clock all our Men were on the Ramparts, and at Day-break we perceived they had opened their Trenches, at the Entrance of the Wilderness, at about 300 Toises from the Fort; we made a very hot fire upon them all Day. M. Chabourt arrived with the Garrison of the little Fort and seven or eight Savage Iroquoise and Mistagoes. Monsieur Pouchot went to pallisade the Ditches: The Service as usual, only the Addition of two Officers to lie in the covered Way. About 11 o'Clock at Night Orders were given to make all the Piquets fire from the covered Way, to hinder the Workmen of the Enemy. M. Laforce sent his Boat on Shore for Monsieur Pouchot's Orders.

**WEDNESDAY, 11th July.** The Works continue on both Sides. At Noon a Party of about 15 Men, Soldiers and Militia, went very nigh to the Trenches of the Enemy, and perceived them sally out between 4 and 500, who came towards them at a quick Pace, but they were stop'd by our Cannon. They began on the other Side of the Swamp, which is to the Left of their Trench, another about 20 Yards; and at 5 o'Clock they began to play two Granadoc Royal Mortars. At six o'Clock two Savages of the Five Nations, who

were invited by one Cayendessie of their Nation, came to speak to M. Pouchot; the Firing ceased on both Sides during this Parly. At 10 o'Clock we began to Fire again, and then we found the English had eight Mortars.

**Night between 11th and 12th.** The Enemy ran their Paralel from their first Trench to the Lake Side, where it seemed they intended to establish a Battery. At 2 in the Afternoon four Chiefs of the Five Nations, came to us on Parole, and said they were going to retire to Belle-Famille. The Enemy wrought the rest of that Day, and perfected their Night's Work. M. Laforce had Orders to proceed to Frontenac, and to return immediately: In the Night between the 12th and 13th they fired many Bombs: I went with 80 Men to observe where the Enemy wrought.

**FRIDAY, 13th July.** A Canoe arrived from Monsieur De Ville, to hear how we stood at this Post (or rather for the Canada Post.)

The Enemy threw a great many Bombs all this Day, and continued to Work to perfect their Trenches: We fired a great many Cannon Shot. Many of their Savages crossed the River, and desired to speak with us; there was but two of those Nations with us. I went out with five Volunteers to Act as the Night before. The Enemy fired no Bombs 'til about Midnight.

**SATURDAY, 14th July.** At Day-break we found they had prolong'd their Trenches to the Lake Side, in spite of the great Fire from our Cannon and Musquetry, during the Night, and perfected it during the Day Time; they have placed four Mortars, and threw many Bombs. All our Garrison lay in the covered Way and on the Ramparts.

**SUNDAY 15th July.** In the Morning we perceived they had finish'd their Works began the Night before: During the Night they threw about 30 Bombs; the rest of the Day and Night they threw a great many, but did not incommode us in any Shape.

**MONDAY, 16th July.** At Dawn of Day we spy'd, about half a League off, two Barges, at which we discharged some Cannon, on which they retired: In the Course of the Day they continued to throw some Bombs. They have already disabled us about 20 Men. All our Men lie on Beaver or in their Cloths and armed. We do what we can to incommode them with our Cannon.

**TUESDAY, 17th July.** Until six this Morning we had a thick Fog, so that we could not discern the Works of the Enemy; but it clearing a little up, we saw they had raised a Battery of three Pieces of Cannon and four Mortars on the other Side of the River; they began to fire about 7 A.M. and M. Pouchot placed all the Guns he could against them: The Fire was brisk on both Sides all Day, they seemed most inclined to batter the

House where the Commandant lodges. The Service as usual for the Night.

WEDNESDAY, 18th July. There was as great firing on the preceding Day; we had one Soldier dismembered and 4 wounded by their Bombs.

THURSDAY, 19th July. At the Dawn of Day we found the Enemy had began a Parallel about 80 Yards long in Front of the Fort. The Fire was very great on both Sides. At 2 P. M. arrived the Schooner *Iroquoise*, from Frontenack, and laid a-breast of the Fort, waiting for a Calm, not being able to get in, the Enemy having a Battery on the other Side of the River. Monsieur Pouchot will have the Boat on shore as soon as the Wind falls.

FRIDAY, 20th July. The English have made a third Parallel, towards the Lake; they are to-day about 160 Yards from the Fort: They cannot have work'd quietly at the Sappe, having had a great Fire of Musquetry all Night long, which they were obliged to bear. During the Day they made a great Firing with their Mortars, and they perfected their Works began the Night of the 19th to the 20th. We had one Man killed and four wounded. The Fire of the Musquetry was very hot on both Sides, 'til eleven at Night, when the Enemy left off, and we continued ours all Night. Two Canoes were sent on board the Schooner, who are to go to Montreal and Toronto.

SATURDAY, 21st. During this Night the Enemy made a fourth Parallel, which is about 100 Yards from the Fort, in which it appears they will erect a Battery for a breach in the Flag Bastion. They have hardly fired any Cannon or Bombs in the Day, which gives Room to think they are transporting their Cannon and Artillery from their old Battery to their new one. The Service as usual.

Their Battery on the other Side, fired but little in the Day. The Schooner went off to see two Canoes over to Toronto, one of which is to post to Montreal, and from thence she is to cruize off Oswego, to try to stop the Enemy's Convoys when on their Way. The Company of Volunteers are always to pass the Night in the covered Way.

SUNDAY, 22d. All the Night was a strong Conflict on both Sides. We had one Man killed by them and by our own Cannon. We fired almost all our Cannon with Cartridges. They worked in the Night to perfect all their Works began the Night before. The Enemy began to fire red hot Balls in the Night; they also fired Fire-Poles. All Day they continued at Work to establish their Batteries. They fired as usual, Bombs and Cannon. The Service as usual for the Night of the 22d and 23d. They worked hard to perfect their Batteries, being ardently sustained by their Musquetry.

MONDAY, 23d. We added two Pieces of Cannon to the Bastion of the Lake, to oppose those of the Enemy's Side. At 8 A. M. four Savages

brought a letter from Monsieur Aubry to Monsieur Pouchot, by which we learn, that he was arrived at the great Island, before the little Fort, at the Head of 2500 Men, half French and half Savages: Monsieur Pouchot immediately sent back four Savages with the Answer to M. Aubry's Letter, informing him of the Enemy's Situation. This Savage, before he came in, spoke to the Five Nations, and gave them five Belts to engage them to retire from the Enemy: They saw Part of the Enemy's Camp, and told us the first or second in Command was killed by one of our Bullets, and two of their Guns broken, and one Mortar: We have Room to hope, that with such Succours we may oblige the Enemy to raise the Siege, with the Loss of Men; and as they take up much Ground, they must be beat, not being able to rally quick enough.

At P. M. They unmasked another Battery of — Pieces of Cannon, 3 of which were eighteen Pounders, the others 12 and 6. They began with a brisk Fire, which continued two Hours, then slackened: About five P. M. we saw a Barge go over to Belle Famille, on the other Side of the River, and some Motions made there: One of the four Savages which went off this Morning, returned, (his Porcelaine i. e. Wampum) he had nothing new. The Service of the Night as usual. We worked hard to place two Pieces, 12 Pounders, on the Middle of the Curtains, to bear upon their Battery.

TUESDAY, 24th July. The Enemy began their Fire about 4 o'Clock this Morning, and continued to fire with the same Vivacity the rest of the Day. At 8 A. M. we perceived our Army was approaching, having made several discharges of Musquetry at Belle Famille.

At 9 the Fire began on both Sides, and lasted half an Hour: We wait to know who has the Advantage of those two: At 2 P. M. we heard, by a Savage, that our Army was routed, and almost all made Prisoners, by the Treachery of our Savages: When immediately the English Army had the Pleasure to inform us of it by summoning us to surrender.

## XI.—LETTER OF CAPTAIN JOHN WILEY, OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE POSSESSION OF  
THE REV. DR. WILEY.

MORRISTOWN April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1781 Saturday.

DEAR CHARLES

This is the second post day that I have attended here in hopes of hearing from you, though without effect—my disappointment as to the last mail has been accounted for; as by a New York paper (which I saw yesterday at Eliz<sup>th</sup>—



town) I find that poor Montayne is a prisoner there, but why some one has not been dispatch'd this week from Fish Kill I am at a loss to account for—the uncertainty I am under with respect to the Business you have transacted Eastward renders it impossible for me to give you the necessary Instructions. I can only say that should you have received the Coffee or any part of it I think you had better not forward it until some teams which I send on with Iron reaches New Windsor they will proceed from this some time next Week and on their return will take the Coffee at a lower rate than any other Conveyance purposely employ'd—I would have you make Enquiry what Iron will command in solid Coin *per Ton*—or what you can get in Bills on France—a Mr Ketchum (agent for the French troops) residing at Red Hook will be a proper person to apply to—I would rather have half hard Cash and the rest in Bills than all Bills—but it would be best to know what he will do on the occasion—and should his offers not answer our Expectations the Iron must be forwarded Eastward where I hear it sells high—the Quantity I propose sending will be six tons four of which goes on within four or five days the other two within ten days—pray how does Liquidation notes sell? can they be procur'd at ten shillings new money? *per pound*? if so, (*or under*) please to engage five or six hundred pounds for me write to Mr Quackenbush on the subject I would send the money but have not a safe hand to trust it with. I shall set out in all probability in a few days for Fish Kill—and would have join'd you before—but Unfortunately have been prevented by my Brother in the Doctors (*sic*) being Capturd by those hell hounds commonly term'd Refugees—the doctor with two more Valuable Citizens are now confin'd in the Dungeon at New York and are Debar'd the use of pen Ink and paper fed upon Bread and water and are refus'd the Benefit of the Cartel Establish'd by General Washington and the British General with this poor plea; that, whatever prisoners are taken by the associaters in New York are to be exchange'd agreeable to their own mode—I leave you then to Guess when we are to expect the Doctors Enlargement—as you know there is a Family dispute between the Hetfields and the Doctors Connections—I have however the Consolation to find that all the Friends (this way) to Liberty and Independance are at last rous'd—and have obligated themselves to retaliate on our Internal Enemies who are Connections of those Freebooters and plunderers—Major Hetfield, John Blanchard &c. (whose sons lead every party that comes over) are to be taken up in a few days and I have propos'd to take them to Fish Kill as being remote from their families and therefore may be an In-

ducement to the Villains on the other side the water to offer an Exchange of prisoners.

It is somewhat remarkable that although there are numberless instances of our prisoners being thus ill-treated yet not one of our legislatures think proper to Interest themselves by making laws of Retaliation we have above three hundred subscribers to the agreement we have enter'd into; though it has not been handed about but two days—in our articles we have denounc'd Vengeance against the Lawyer who shall undertake any suit against the promoters of this necessary and just measure.

When I say that I am in hopes that our plan will lead the Refugees to a proposal of or an exchange of prisoners—I do not mean for those that are to be sent from Fish Kill, but for those which we have taken by force of arms, who were making depredations on this state—and have already been offer'd for the Whigs I have already mentioned without effect—they (the Hetfields) have publickly declar'd that they would not take twenty British Troops in exchange for each of our poor Captivated Friends—and I am clearly of opinion that nothing but the mode we are about to adopt will regain them—and I hope therefore for the sanction of the Fish Kill Whigs in this matter and particularly for that of our good Friend the Col<sup>o</sup> and the rest of my Brother sufferers from New York—I wish you could obtain an association to support us in case we should carry this matter into execution—Cap<sup>t</sup> Dobbs will I am sure make use of his Influence on the occasion—and you may rely that none but such persons as have by their words and actions always Injur'd the Cause shall be taken to Fish Kill as hostages.

I have not time to recount to you the particular aggravations which attended the Capture of the Doctor; nor the unhappy situation of my sister as the Express waits—I shall only add that after you have made the necessary Enquiries respecting the Iron and Notes—you may either come this way or wait my meeting you at Fish Kill. I am Dear Charles with Compliments to the Col<sup>o</sup> and Major Keefe [*or Reese*] and all other Friends your Kinsman &c

JOHN WILEY.

P. S. I have partly agreed with Tappen to join him in Business—he to advance half the stock you and I the other half and to divide the profits agreeable thereto—I make no doubt I have your approbation as I think you express'd a desire of something of the kind.

NOTE.—JOHN WILEY, the writer of the above interesting Revolutionary relic, was, as I am informed by his grandson, Mr. Wiley, the well-known bookseller of New York, the son of John Wiley and Mary Tillinghast. He married Phoebe Halsted, sister of Drs. Robert and Caleb Halsted of Elizabeth-town, N. J.; and, during the Revolutionary War, was a zeal-

ons Whig. In 1775, he was Second Lieutenant, in Captain Andrew Stockholm's New York Light-Infantry Company. The New York Companies having been subsequently formed into a Regiment, under the command of Colonel Lasher, Stockholm was promoted to be Major of the Regiment; and his Company was given to Captain Gilbert; and then John Wiley was advanced to the rank of First Lieutenant, on the fifteenth of September, 1775. On the twenty-ninth of January, 1776, the question came up for Lasher's Regiment to volunteer into the Continental service; and, at a meeting of the officers, Lieutenant Wiley was one of those who voted in the affirmative. Two days after, he applied for a Captaincy in the New York Continentals; and, being strongly recommended, he was, on the twenty-first of February, of the same year, commissioned Captain of the Ninth Company, and subsequently, of the Sixth Company of the First (or McDougal's,) Battalion. On the re-arrangement of the New York Continental Regiments, in November, 1776, Captain Wiley was recommended to be retained, his Colonel declaring that he was a good officer; but, for some reason unexplained, Captain Wiley resigned his commission. He subsequently served in the Commissariat Department; was, in 1780, stationed at Orangetown, with Colonel Gansevoort's Regiment; and, as the above letter shows, with the Army at Morristown, in 1781. With his subsequent history, the Reverend Doctor Wiley is particularly conversant.

E. B. O'C.

## XII.—THE IRISH REPUBLICANS AND GENERAL WASHINGTON.

1.—*An address from an Irish Club, called "The "Yankee Club of Stewartstown," in the County of Tyrone, and Province of Ulster, Ireland.*

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQ., CAPTAIN-GENERAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

June 7, 1783.

SIR:

At an early period of the contest in which you have been so gloriously engaged, our sentiments met those of the Americans; and, though we long doubted the event, our warmest wishes were ever on the side of freedom. Viewing, with regret, the oppressive scenes of misery under which our native country has long groaned without hope of redress, and seeing the same direful principles of despotic sway pervading all the Courts and countries of the world, we rejoiced to hear that the spirit of America had risen superior to the proud menaces of both Royal and Ministerial oppression; had thrown off the galling yoke of slavery; and nobly spurned the fetters that were to bind her in all cases whatever. Your situation, however, compared with that of Great Britain, for a long time damped our hopes and caused many anxious fears: we could not conceive how an infant country, scarcely known but as an appendage of a great Empire, unconnected among themselves, unprovided for War, and without discipline, could cope with an ancient, powerful, and victorious nation; nor was it less difficult to imagine who would lead those inexperienced, though zealous, bands to Freedom and Independ-

ence, against the artful manœuvres of experienced Commanders and the internal schemes of the selfish and disaffected; but, when we were informed that your Excellency, in obedience to your country's call, had undertaken the arduous task and nobly embarked in the sacred cause of Liberty, rejecting every emolument which you might, in justice, have claimed for such signal and important services; such a singular and disinterested conduct, as an happy omen of American success, revived our expectations and filled us with a kind of veneration for such a character: and when you astonished the world by uniting the jarring interests and opinions of thirteen different States, engaging, by your manly prudence and mild address, the affection of foreigners from various nations of Europe, and even forcing approbations from the callous hearts of your inveterate enemies, your perseverance through the darkest scenes, without despondence or murmuring; combatting every difficulty which inclement seasons and the wants of a brave but distressed Army could lay in your way; and, at the last, rising, victorious, over the best-appointed troops and Generals of high fame in the military line, we were lost in admiration of that wisdom, magnanimity, and perseverance which, by trampling over every danger, established the liberties of the United States on the most honorable and permanent basis. Upon this happy Revolution, we have embraced the first opportunity to convince you of our unfeigned esteem, and the particular share we take in whatever tends to the honor and happiness of North America; but your exertions have not only vindicated the freedom of your country, but have, also, shed their benign influence over the distressed Kingdom of Ireland. To you, Sir, in the course of a gracious Providence, which, in a conspicuous manner, has protected your person and blessed your councils, do we acknowledge ourselves indebted for our late happy deliverance, from as baneful a system of policy as ever disgraced the rights of mankind.

With the sincerest pleasure, therefore, we mention our congratulations on an event which has crowned America with Sovereignty and Independence—blessings so essential to the safety and happiness of a people—and humbly request your Excellency will permit us to express the joy we feel on the happy return of Peace, and the sincerest wishes that your country may become more and more prosperous, increase in lustre and glory, and subsist to the latest ages.

And that you, Sir, may long live to enjoy the fruits of your wisdom and magnanimity, to be a terror to tyrants, and to shine forth as a glorious example of disinterested virtue and future patriotism, is, and will be, the constant prayer of your

much obliged, most obedient, and most humble servants.

In the name of the Society,

ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, Chairman.

2.—*His Excellency's Answer.*

TO "THE YANKEE CLUE OF STEWARTSTOWN,"  
IN THE COUNTY OF TYRONE, AND PROVINCE OF ULSTER, IRELAND.

GENTLEMEN:

It is with unfeigned satisfaction I accept your congratulations on the late happy and glorious Revolution.

The generous indignation against the foes to the rights of human nature with which you seem to be animated, and the exalted sentiments of liberty which you appear to entertain, are too consonant to the feelings and principles of the citizens of the United States of America, not to attract their veneration and esteem—did not the affectionate and anxious concern with which you regarded their struggle for Freedom and Independence, entitle you to their more particular acknowledgments.

If, in the course of our successful contest, any good consequences have resulted to the oppressed Kingdom of Ireland, it will afford a new source of felicitation to all who respect the interests of humanity.

I am now, Gentlemen, to offer you my best thanks for the indulgent sentiments you are pleased to express of my conduct, and for your benevolent wishes respecting my personal welfare, as well as with regard to a more interesting object—the prosperity of my country.

I have the honor to be, with due consideration, Gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

GO. WASHINGTON.

MOUNT VERNON, IN VIRGINIA,  
Jan. 20, 1784.

XIII.—THE BURNING OF FALMOUTH,  
NOW PORTLAND, MAINE, OCTOBER  
18. 1775.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, NOW  
FIRST PRINTED.

COMMUNICATED BY REV. E. BALLARD, SECRETARY OF THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

[The following letter, written by a suffering loyalist at the burning of this Town (now Portland,) October 18. 1775, was recently presented to The Maine Historical Society, with other papers of interest relating to the early times of the State, by Miss Elizs S. Quincy of Boston, through Governor Chamberlain.

There are no names connected with it, as address or signature, which may have been omitted through fear of its falling into the hands of "the Rebels." It is interesting as showing how the confiscation, of which he was an eye-witness, was regarded by one who sympathised with

the Royal cause, and who was prosecuted for his adherence thereto, in the midst of the desolation, that fell alike on friend and foe. A letter of a similar character, upon the same event, from the Rev. Jacob Bailey, may be found at the close of Volume V. of the Society's *Collections*. B.)

FEBY. 16. 1776.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> Octbr last a Fleet under the command of Cap<sup>t</sup> Mowatt burnt the Town of Falmouth as you've undoubtedly heard by Mr. F.—— Your House Barn Out Houses—Fences & Office are all in Ashes. We had so few Hours notice of our Destruction—that we had no Time nor Team to save either your Furniture or mine——I was obliged to flee for my Life—I knew not where till a Quaker offered me a lodging in his House, which had not a finished room in it——However I was obliged by the Offer—and my Wife & I were were (*sic*) forced to foot it with large Bundles on our Arms about 6 or 8 Miles & abused as we passed the Road What little time I had was employed in throwing my Furniture into the Garden, from whence a good deal was stole and the most of the remainder broken or torn in pieces—The Church is also burnt but not the Meeting House—All below Doet Watts—except a few Houses in Back Street and Bradburys & Mr<sup>s</sup> Ross, two Houses are clean gone—The upper End of the Town supposed to be about one third of the whole is standing; among which is the House I lived in by reason of that fortunate Event, I saved some of my Furniture but am still in the Woods, where if I cant get off either to London, Boston, or Halifax, I intend to remain till Peace be restored to this infuriated, this distracted Country—Capt Mowatt was so kind as to offer us (those I mean who had formerly fled to him for Protection), a Passage to Boston, but it was impracticable for us to get on board—tho we wished to, for had we been discovered in the Attempt, we should have been Shot from the Shore by the Rebels—nor could we have carried the least Article with us supposing we could have got off ourselves, that alone however would not have stayed us—I am now at Stroudwater Falls, at Mr Geo. Knights—Son to the Lient<sup>t</sup>——With me (besides Knights and Family, are Mr Dommetts & Doet Coffins Familys to the number of 23 Souls in a single-Story Farm House. We are obliged to have three Beds in the same small Room, where we eat and drink—but still not at Peace—for we are constantly alarmed—& Days fixed upon for a Mobing—Judge how miserable we might be, but indeed it is almost beyond Description or Conception—Mr Domitt was not able to save any of his Furniture except his Clothes and a Bed or Two—I am told that whilst your House was on Fire a Band of Thieves got into it & have taken a good deal of your Furniture.



This I mention that as you are on the spot you may form some Estimate of the Value of your Houses & Furniture—for I have no doubt—but Administration mean to make good to the Friends of Government all Losses sustained in consequence of the present Rebellion—indeed it will be but Justice—you may depend that Mr D. and I did every thing in our Power to preserve your Interest—but all we were able to do, was to save your Papers that were in a white Trunk.

I have had no Opp<sup>t</sup> since Sept<sup>r</sup> to send a Letter in it is eight Months since I had a Letter from my Father—I think as a faithful Subject & one who has been imprisoned & otherwise suffered & still suffering by the Rebels on Account of his Loyalty & has left some hundred by the destruction of the Town has some Claim on Gov<sup>r</sup> for a Provisson.

I will make you acquainted with the Story of my Imprisonment—After Cap<sup>t</sup> Mowat had gone off—I moved into Town again, hoping to spend the Winter quietly there—but the Cerberus—Cap<sup>t</sup> Simons came in Nov<sup>r</sup> & demanded—Sheep & other Cattle of the Town's People, which they positively refused—and sent a Committee on board to tell him so—Cap<sup>t</sup> Simmons thought proper to keep the Committee Prisoners till the Town complied—Upon this Mr D. & I were immediately siezed upon and a guard set over us—and we were ordered to write to Cap<sup>t</sup> Simmons to acquaint him of our Imprisonment, and that we were to be held as Hostages till those he had on board were set free—Cap<sup>t</sup> Simmons was so good for our sakes to set them at liberty which procured our enlargement, otherwise we shou'd have been close Prisoners at this Day.

NOTE. From a memorandum furnished by the donor of this paper to the Maine Historical Society, it appears the person, whose name is mentioned in the foregoing letter, was "Joseph Domette, Boston, and for a time received a pension of £80 per annum from the Government. He became an Episcopal Minister, and probably settled in Ireland or Wales. He passed through many scenes of dis-appointment." See Sabine's *American Loyalists*, i. 234.

#### XIV.—SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF MAJOR NICHOLAS FISH, OF THE ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION.

COMMUNICATED BY HON. HAMILTON FISH, OF NEW YORK,

1.—*Extract of a letter from Nicholas Fish to Richard Varick.*

NEWYORK, April 9, 1776.

\* \* \* \* \*

I have since my last been on Several Excur-

sions in military Capacity—That to West Chester County to Guard the Cannon & find out the Authors of Spiking them, has probably ere this time reached you; I shall not therefore trouble you with a detail.

You wish to hear what we are about in New York [ ] is of the 21<sup>st</sup> ultimo—To be informed, picture to yourself the once flourishing City evacuated of most of its Members, (especially the fair). Buisiness of every kind stagnated—all its Streets that lead from the North & East Rivers blockaded, and nothing but military operations our Current Employment.

I have been engaged for near three Weeks with the first independant Battalion on fatigue duty, in erecting a Redoubt round the Hospital, which we compleated on the 2<sup>d</sup> instant. This, tho' you will suppose it did not agree well with the tender Hands & delicate Textures of many, was notwithstanding executed with amazing agility and neatness, and laying vanity aside, is generally judged to be the best work of the kind in the City; the Hospital round which our Works are, is made an Arsenal for Provisions. On Bayards Mount now called Montgomerie Mount, as a Monument to that great Heroe, who honorably fell supporting freedom's cause, there will be a Fortification superior in Strength to any my Imagination could ever have conceived. Several hundred Men have been daily employed there for upwards of four Weeks. The Parapet of the old Battery is raised to a proper Height, with a sufficient number of Ambersures—as also the Parapet on the Fort Wall. There are two fortifications on Long Island opposite this City to command the Shipping, one on Gour<sup>s</sup> Island, one at red Hook, and the City itself and Suburbs filled with them. Sundays we have none of, all Days come alike when [ ]

is in Question. We have Gen<sup>l</sup> Putnam, Sullivan, Heath, Thompson, & L<sup>d</sup> Sterling among us, with I believe about 14 Thousand Troops; fresh arrivals from Cambridge Daily. And Washington hourly expected with many more—on Sunday the 7<sup>th</sup> instant there was an Exchange of many shot between our Rifle Men on Staten Island, and the Man of War, who sent Barges thero for Water, of which the Riflemen prevented their supplying themselves—We know of four of their Men being killed, nine wounded, and have 12 Prisoners. Our Com<sup>d</sup> now Guards the Records of the Province which are removed to Mr N. Bayards Farm—Your John has joined us. Have you heard that Cap<sup>t</sup> Willet has declined the service? which makes you 2<sup>d</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup>—The Congress offered me a 1<sup>st</sup> Lieut: in your C<sup>o</sup> when the Warrants were granted, I had almost determined to accept it.

\* \* \* \* \*

2.—*Extract of a letter from Nicholas Fish to Richard Varick.*

NEWYORK, May 30, 1776.

\* \* \* \* \*

As there is a very great probability of a speedy arrival of troops from Europe, I think it most advisable not to leave the City.—\* \* \* We have been in great Confusion this afternoon and Even<sup>g</sup> owing to a report of there being a considerable fleet arrived at the Hook; but the Alarm is now somewhat abated by the arrival here of one of our Cruisers, informing that there is but one ship there, which is supposed not to be of the Fleet from Europe, but a Man of War from Philadelphia.

3.—*Extract of a letter from Nicholas Fish to Richard Varick.*

RUIN BRIDGE, ON THE ROAD FROM  
EASTON TO WYOMING—& SIXTEEN MILES  
FROM THE SHADES OF DEATH,  
May 21, 1776.

MY DEAR VARICK

\* \* \* \* \*

You have doubtless heard of the service we are ordered upon; it will in all probability be exceedingly arduous, (but in my opinion not more so than necessary) provided this Expedition be founded upon so general and extensive a Plan as I imagine, (an undistinguished Destruction and Carnage.—I shall encounter every difficulty with cheerfulness.

It is our Fortune to be employed in conjunction with Spencer's Regt in opening a Waggon Road from Fort Penn to Wyoming; we are about fifteen miles on the way, & have to complete a Road of thirty Miles more, through such a Country as may with propriety be called by the above name.

4.—*Extract of a letter from Nicholas Fish to Richard Varick.*

CAMP SHADES OF DEATH, June 11, 1776.

DEAR VARICK,

\* \* \* \* \*

We are just now entering the Shades of Death: I shall use every possible measure to make the passage as rapid as can be. \* \* \* \* \*

We shall reach Wyoming the Day after to Morrow, with the Road complete—the Army destined for the Western service will be there in two or three Days after.

5.—*Extract of a letter from Major Nicholas Fish to Lieutenant-colonel Richard Varick.*

CAMP VALLEY FORGE, May 9, 1778.

\* \* \* \* \*

Doubtless you have heard the cause, and prob-

ably the Particulars of our Rejoicing in Camp on the 6 inst—We were for one Hour employed in returning Thanks to the Supream Governor of the Universe, for the signal Display and Manifestation of his approbation of our just and righteous Exertions in Defence of this infant Empire, and supplicating a continuance of his Favours—At ten o'clock A.M. the Signal Gun for assembling the Troops into Brigades was fired—at 11 agreeable to previous Disposition the Signal was given for the whole line to move in Columns of Brigades to their new Ground, where we past a Review by his Excellency the Commander in Chief—At one o'clock P.M. a Continental Salute of 13 Cannon was given, and immediately succeeded by a *fue de joy* of a running Fire from right to left thro' the whole line, & concluded with three Cheers of the Line, with the following Exorcession "Long live the King of France."—The same Process was repeated and concluded with three Cheers and "Prosperity to the friendly European Powers"—and again repeated, and concluded with "Prosperity to the united States of America"—The Afternoon was celebrated by all the Officers of the Army in the most rational and jocund Amusement at Head Quarters, and the Day concluded with universal Happiness & the strictest Propriety.

6.—*Extract of a letter from J. Lansing, Junr to Col. Richard Varick.*

KINGSTON, March 27, 1777.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Detachment of the Enemy's Forces which, landed at peek's Kill were drove back by Colonel Willett with only 84 Men. altho' their Number was 600—In less than three Hours after Colonel Willett made his appearance the Enemy had embarked and unfurled their sails, this was done with such evident precipitation and confusion as plainly indicated their Terror—This account is confirmed by several persons from peek's Kill—The British Forces lost three Men who were killed, and one taken prisoner. \* \* \* \* \*

J. LANSING, JUNR.

XV.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them: and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—*Ed.* HIST. MAG.]

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE AND LORD DARTMOUTH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ROUND TABLE.—A writer in the December number of *Harper's Magazine*, in an interesting article—*South Coast*

*Saunterings in England*—very justly condemns the absurd practice into which the early settlers fell, in giving the names of the Old World to our towns and villages, instead of preserving the beautiful and appropriate aboriginal names which they found ready to their hand. The writer, however, falls into an error when he says:

"But to go on naming places Dartmouth, Exeter, and the like, when the Indians had already left such natural and beautiful names, was too bad, especially as the Indians had so much to do with its foundation. There is no classic or other reason why Lord Dartmouth should have given his name to one of our chief colleges."

Now, the fact is that there was the *best* of reasons why, in this instance, the name of the College should have been Dartmouth. Dartmouth College, as, of course, is well known, was originally started at Lebanon, Connecticut, by Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, under the name of the Moore Charity School, as a place in which to educate Indian youths for the ministry. The resources of the institution, however, having failed, the school would have been given up had not Governor Wentworth, of New Hampshire, granted it a township on the eastern bank of the Connecticut River, whither it was removed in the fall of 1769.

Without funds, however, this Grant was of no avail; and it accordingly languished until 1772, when Lord Dartmouth, an active Christian and greatly interested in the welfare of the Indians, at the solicitation of Sir William Johnson, heavily endowed the institution, which henceforth became a College, and very properly received the name of *Dartmouth* in honor of its chief patron and founder.

In the *Life of Sir William Johnson*, (Volume II, Chapters XV and XVIII), this subject is discussed at length.

WILLIAM L. STONE.

NEW YORK CITY, December 8, 1868.

#### AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF HENRY CLAY.\*

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR: I received your favor transmitting the inclosed. The piece in *The Arena* expressed correctly the views which I entertain on the subjects to which it refers. In respect to Internal Improvements and the Tariff, my opinions are unchanged as to the powers of the General Government; but the expediency of the exercise of any given power with which that Government may be invested must depend upon and be regulated by circumstances.

1. As to the Tariff. I had supposed and hoped that the Compromise Act settled and terminated all our unhappy disputes. By that Act, to which I have uniformly adhered, I have been and am willing to be governed. I wish it faithfully executed; and I have no purpose of disturbing its provisions.

And 2. As to Internal Improvements; considering how much each of the States has done for itself, and considering how much Congress did, by the passage of the Distribution Act, I have no wish to see anything more done by the General Government, except to pass, at some suitable time, the Land Bill which I formerly proposed. And *this* is not the time to press the passage of that Bill. These opinions may be collected from my public course, and especially from my speeches on the Land Bill and other subjects. This being the case, I cannot consent to the publication of anything *as coming from me or by my authority*, upon either of those subjects. And my objection to such publication is that I cannot consent to *seem* to propitiate any one for the purpose of advancing what may be thought to be an object personal to myself.

Poor Leigh! I hope that we shall not, but fear that we shall, lose him. My heart yet bleeds for my lamented friend Kent; and I trust that it may not soon be put to fresh trials.

I left Mrs. Clay in excellent health; and at one time she had made up her mind to accompany me; but domestic duties, she thought, required her to remain. My warm regards to Mrs. Brooke.

Faithfully your friend,

H. CLAY.

The Hon. F. T. BROOKE.

St. Julien,

near Fredericksburg, Va.

THE RUINED CITY IN ARIZONA.—A correspondent of the *Tribune* says: "Statements have recently been published in all of the papers in regard to the ruins of a city said to have been recently discovered in Arizona, on the Little Colorado-river. This discovery is not so very recent after all. In July, 1859, a party, headed by a Captain Thompson, in which were D. C. Collier, Editor of the *Central City Register*, Wm. B. Byers, Editor of the *Denver News*, Captain Sopris, Dr. Bowly, and a number of other scientific men, left Denver, and struck a line of march for the Southwest. Some time during the month of August, they came upon these ruins, and upon their return made a voluminous Report, which was published, at the time, in the Colorado papers. Not having any maps with them, they were under the impression that the city was on Grand River, an affluent of the Colorado. Some of the build-

\* From *The New York Tribune*.



"ings were in an excellent state of preservation, "and an aqueduct, seven miles in length, built "of hewn stone, with which the city had been "supplied with water, was so well preserved "that but little repairs were necessary to make "it available for its original purpose. The "style of architecture was similar to that described by Mr. Stevens, in his travels in Central America, and described by him as being "of Aztec origin. The report of the discovery "was made at Denver in September, 1859; and "nothing but the persistent hostility of the "Navajo Indians prevented the organization of "a company for further explorations."

#### XVI.—NOTES.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM BENJAMIN HARDING, ESQ., TO DOCTOR MITCHELL, DATED MISSOURI, MARCH 16, 1831.

"RESPECTED SIR: Permit me to commune "with you on the subject of a natural American "relic of antiquity. It is the skeleton of an "individual of the human race, measuring nearly "ten feet in length which I have discovered in "this western country. Should you think it "worthy of a place among the rarities of the "land, be pleased to inform me, Having read "in the public prints of the last year, an offer "by one of the learned Societies, (I believe the "Geographical, of Paris, in France,) of four "hundred francs, for the greatest remnant of "American antiquity, it is thought by many "gentlemen that this would be entitled to it. "Your opinion on the subject would be very "desirable.

"Yours, with high consideration,  
"BENJAMIN HARDING."

This was probably addressed to the eminent physician so well known, in St. Louis. It may elicit further information regarding the final destination of that skeleton, and add to the links in the history of a lost race, so often found in Kentucky caves, in the shape of immense skeletons and skulls, in which a modern skull can be placed with ease. The minute record is preserved of the discovery of a gigantic female skeleton, (with the skin dried to the bones and entire.) in a stone tomb in the Mammoth Cave, where the atmosphere will preserve a body like the Egyptian tombs. The details of this female's dress, are also preserved.

MANSFIELD TRACY WALWORTH.

EDGARTOWN, November 30th, 1824.

SIR:

Your friend, J. A. G——, showed me your

last paper, in which some observations were made respecting the neglect of suitable respect to Colonel Prescott. He is not the only one that is neglected. I make no objection to the movement on Breed's-hill, but, I think it a great neglect, that so little notice is taken of Concord-bridge and the men who first faced the British troops.

Much is said of Lexington—the British met with no opposition there. I was an eye-witness to the following facts: The people of Medford and Acton, and some few of Concord, were the first who faced the British at Concord-bridge. The British had placed about ninety men as a guard at the North-bridge; we had then no certain information that any had been killed at Lexington; we saw the British making destruction in the town of Concord; it was proposed to advance to the bridge; on this, Colonel Robinson of Medford, together with Major Buttrick, took the lead; strict orders were given not to fire, unless the British fired first; when they advanced about half way on the causeway the British fired one gun, a second, a third, and then the whole body; they killed Colonel Davis of Acton, and a Mr. Hosmer. Our people then fired over one another's heads, being in a long column, two and two; they killed two, and wounded eleven. Lieutenant Hawkstone, said to be the greatest beauty of the British Army, had his cheeks so badly wounded, that it disfigured him much, of which he bitterly complained. On this, the British fled and assembled on the hill, the North side of Concord, and dressed their wounded and then began their retreat. As they descended the hill, near the road that comes out from Bedford, they were pursued; Colonel Bridge, with a few men from Bedford and Chelmsford, came up and killed several men. We pursued them and killed some; when they got to Lexington, they were so close pursued and fatigued, that they must have soon surrendered had not Lord Percy met them with a large reinforcement and two field-pieces. They fired them, but the balls went high over our heads. But no cannon ever did more execution; such stories of their effects had been spread by the Tories through our troops, that, from this time, more went back than pursued. We pursued to Charlestown Common, and then retired to Cambridge.

When the Army collected at Cambridge, Colonel Prescott, with his Regiment of Minute-men, and John Robinson, his Lieutenant-colonel, were prompt at being at their post. On the sixteenth of June, Colonel Prescott and Colonel Bridge were ordered upon Breed's-hill, to heave up a breast-work; they labored all night, and were left to fight the British. Reinforcements were ordered; but not one Company went in order. Many went to Bunker's-hill; some went from

there as volunteers, part of which belonged to General Stark's Regiment.

Among the volunteers was the ever-to-be-lamented General Warren. When he was introduced to Colonel Prescott, the Colonel said, "General Warren, I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with you, but from your known character, I shall fight with cheerfulness under you." General Warren replied: "Colonel Prescott, I have not come to take command, but to learn to fight under you." This I had from Colonel Robinson, and believe as much as if I had heard with my ears; a braver and more upright man I never knew.

Such men as Prescott and Robinson ought not to be forgotten by those who write the history of the commencement and prosecution of our glorious Revolution. The vile slanders cast upon old General Putnam are totally without foundation. He did all that man could do to reinforce Prescott, on Breed's-hill. A braver man never lived. At that time, our Army was little better than a mob, without discipline, and under little command, till General Washington came, and Gates, and gave it some regularity. Whole Regiments were ordered on perilous duty at once; and the loss of men was from a small circle. The Breed's-hill loss fell upon the County of Middlesex: about one half of the loss was in Prescott's Regiment, viz: forty-nine killed and forty-five wounded. This evil was remedied by Washington and Gates; and in '76, victory delivered Boston, etc. A decent monument at Concord-bridge, where the first spark was struck, and quite as glorious as Breed's-hill, considering the circumstances, would be doing no more honor to Robinson and Buttrick than they richly deserve.

I have lived in obscurity on this island, and never thought myself of importance enough and capable of doing justice to a historical account of the transactions of the memorable nineteenth of April, 1775, or of theseventeenth of June.

Many anecdotes of those days that would do honor to individuals, it is most probable will be forgotten. The following is one: the Reverend Edward Brooks, who lived at Medford, got intelligence of a small party going with relief to meet the British; they had a wagon-load; Mr. Brooks mustered a few men, waylaid them near West Cambridge meeting-house; and shot the horses and wounded the Lieutenant who commanded them; took several prisoners before the British came up; and retired.

I am, Sir, with respect, yours,

JOSEPH THAXTER.

[From *The United States Literary Gazette*, Boston, Vol. 1. No. 17, December 15, 1824.]

Horrors of War.—I send for publication in

the Magazine, the following extract from a petition, dated, May 9th, 1781—"The Memorial of "Lucretia Jewett, of Lyme, (Conn.,) humbly "sheweth, that her late husband, Capt. Joseph "Jewett, went into the Continental Service, in the "defense of this and the rest of the United States, "and, in 1776, was captivated on Long Island, "and was soon after inhumanely murdered or put "to death by our barbarous and cruel enemy, "leaving your memorialist with a large family of "small children, nine in number, the oldest of "which, being a daughter, on the sudden and "shocking news of the captivity and murder of "her father, was flung into fits of falling sickness, of which sickness she still languishes, and "has been and still is a great cost and charge."

After speaking of the debts of the estate, and that she "was left to bring up and support said "children on the freehold only, and great part of "that in lands unimproved, and of burdensome "Taxes of which Thirty-one pounds, fourteen shillings is due, more than she can any way pay;" she adds: "The heirs or children of your memorialist being all still minors under age, except the "aforesaid daughter, who is rendered almost insane by reason of the aforesaid disorder; therefore, your memorialist humbly prays your honors "to take her unhappy case into your consideration, "and grant her an abatement of said taxes, or that "some suitable person be appointed to make sale "of so much lands as to discharge said rates, or "in some other way grant relief, as your honors "in your wisdom may think best; and your memorialist as in duty bound will ever pray."—She was allowed to sell the lands.

T. F. DE V.

A CLOSING INCIDENT OF THE WAR OF 1812. The first news of Peace, received in New York, was brought by the British Sloop-of-war, *Favourite*, which was piloted in the harbor, on Saturday evening, February 11th, 1815. The introduction of this, then, "joyful tidings," is thus described by an eyewitness: "Years ago, "the office of the old (newspaper,) *Gazette*, was in "Hanover-square, near the corner of Pearl-street. "It was a place of resort for news and conversation, especially in the evening. The evening of February 11th, 1815, was cold; and at "a late hour, only Alderman Cebra and another gentleman were left with Father Lang, "the genius of the place. The office was about "being closed, when a pilot rushed in and stood "for a moment so entirely exhausted as to be unable to speak. 'He has great news,' exclaimed Mr. Lang. Presently the pilot, gasping for breath, whispered, intelligibly, 'Peace! Peace!' "The gentlemen lost their breath as fast as the "pilot gained his. Directly the pilot was able

"to say, 'An English sloop-of-war is below, with news of a Treaty of Peace.' They say that Mr. Lang exclaimed in greater words than he ever used before or after. All hands rushed into Hanover-square, crying, 'Peace! peace! peace!' The windows flew up, for families lived there then. No sooner were the inmates sure of the sweet sounds of Peace, than the windows began to glow with brilliant illuminations.

"The cry of 'Peace! Peace! PEACE!' spread through the City at the top of all voices. No one stopped to inquire about 'Free trade and sailors' rights.' No one enquired whether even the national honor had been preserved. The matter by which politicians had irritated the nation into the War, had lost all their importance. It was enough that the ruinous War was over. An old man on Broadway, attracted to his door by the noise, was seen to pull down immediately, a placard 'To Let,' which had been long posted up. Never was there such joy in the City. A few evenings after, there was a general illumination; and, although the snow was a foot deep and soaked with rain, yet the streets were crowded with men and women, eager to see and partake of everything which had in it the sight or taste of Peace."

This English vessel-of-war was allowed to pass the various Forts into the harbor, by the following order:—

"Adj't. Gen'l's. Office, 3d Ward.  
"NEW YORK, 11th Feb'y, 1815.

"AFTER ORDERS—The Commandants of the several Forts within the Harbor of New York, will permit His Britannic Majesty's Ship *Fa-vorite*, commanded by the Hon. James A. Mudd, under a flag of truce, with Anthony St. John Baker, Esq., bearer of a Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and the United States, to pass up the City to such anchorage as may be deemed desirable to the Commander of said ship."

"Mr. Baker and suite will be permitted to land at such place as he may deem proper and pass to Washington City, the seat of Government.—The Hon. Captain Mudd is requested to report his arrival in the Harbor, to the commanding officer of the District.

"By Command of Col. B. Bogardus, Comm'g Third Military District.

"THOS. CHRYSTIE.

"Asst. Adj't. Gen'l."

T. F. DE V.

BATTLE OF RAMSOUR'S MILL.—In THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for July, 1867, is an account of

Ramsour's Battle; on page 25, is the name of Captain James Houston, from Iredell County, North Carolina, who was wounded there. He preserved a list of the names of his Company, in that Battle, of which the following is a copy:

June 2<sup>d</sup>, 1780.

"W <sup>m</sup> Davidson, Lieut.,	"Moses White,
"David Eavins, Do.	"Angus McCauley,
"David Byers,	"Robert Brevard, Junr
"Robert Byers,	"Adam Terrence, Senr
"Nat. Ewing	"Adam Terrence, Junr
"Alex <sup>r</sup> Worke,	"Charles Quigley,
"W <sup>m</sup> Creswell,	"Jes., or Jas., Gulleck,
"W <sup>m</sup> Irvin,	"Benj <sup>n</sup> Brevard,
"John Hovis or, Jovis,	"Thomas Templeton,
"John Thompson,	"John Caldwell,
"John Beard,	"Joseph McCaron, or
"John Poston,	"McCauley,
"Robert Poston,	"James Young,
"Paul Cunningham,	"James Gray,
"John McConnell,	"Philip Logan, (Irish)
"John Singleton,	"W <sup>m</sup> Vint,
	"Daniel Bryson,
	"No of Soldiers, 33."

This Captain Houston was the paternal grandfather of Doctor G. S. J. Houston, now a practicing physician, in the lower part of Iredell; of Doctor James H. Houston, of Alabama; and of R. B. B. Houston, Esquire, in Catawba-county, North Carolina; and the maternal grandfather of Charles J. and W. S. Harris, Esquires, of Cabarrus-county, North Carolina.  
E. F. R.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

ANTHRACITE COAL.—The anthracite coal of Pennsylvania was first used by two blacksmiths of Wyoming Valley, in 1768.

Judge Fell, of Wilkesbarre, was the first to use "stone coal" in the common grate, for domestic heating. His original experiment, in 1808, excited great curiosity. It was made in a wooden grate much like the iron ones now used.

An old book called *The Free Mason's Monitor*, in the library of Judge Fell's daughter, has a manuscript note on one of its fly-leaves, relating to this first successful effort to domesticate anthracite coal:

"Feb. 11, of *Masonry* 5,808, Made the experiment of burning the common stone coal of the Valley in a grate, in a common fireplace, in my house; and find it will answer the purpose of fuel, making a clearer and better fire, at less expense, than burning wood in the common way.—*Borough of Wilkesbarre, Feb. 11, 1808.*

"JESSE FELL."



**THE PURCHASE OF ALASKA.**—The warrant for the payment of the purchase money for Alaska, and General Spinner's draft for the same, were duly signed some months since. The following is a copy of the receipt given by the Russian Minister:

"The undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, do hereby acknowledge to have received at the Treasury Department, in Washington, seven millions, two hundred thousand dollars, in coin, being the full amount due from the United States to Russia, in consideration of the cession by the latter power to the former of certain territory, described in the Treaty entered into by the Emperor of all the Russias and the President of the United States, on the thirtieth day of March, 1867.

"STOECKL.

"WASHINGTON, Aug. 1, 1868."

#### WHO BROUGHT NEGROES TO CHARLESTON AND SOLD THEM AS SLAVES?

We publish below, a table, carefully prepared from the records of the Custom-house, in Charleston, in 1820, showing the number of African Slaves imported from Africa into Charleston, from the first of January, 1804, to the thirty-first of December, 1807, and by whom:

British.....	19,649
French.....	1,079
American, to wit:	
Boston, Massachusetts.....	200
Bristol, Rhode Island.....	3,914
Newport, Rhode Island.....	3,488
Providence, Rhode Island....	556
Warren, Rhode Island.....	280
	—8,238
Hartford, Connecticut.....	250
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania..	200
Baltimore, Md.....	750
Norfolk, Virginia.....	287
Charleston	
By foreigners.....	5,717
By South Carolinians.....	2,006
	—7,723
Savannah.....	300
New Orleans.....	100
	18,048
Total.....	38,776

Of the thirty-nine thousand Africans imported during these years into Charleston, the people of South Carolina imported only two thousand and six. Great Britain imported and sold there, nineteen thousand, six hundred, and Rhode Island, eight thousand, two hundred, of the thirty-nine thousand slaves. Rhode Island, in order that she

might see that the auction-block realized the value of her importations, had, in Charleston, eighty-eight of her trusty natives, as the consignees of her cargoes. Now, let it be recollected, that this was long after the Constitution went into full operation, in 1789, and just before the entire prohibition of the African slave-trade took place, in 1808.

MERCURY.

**TALLY-STICKS.**—Notched Sticks were used by small tradesmen, in the interior of Germany, in the beginning of the present century. Professor Rau distinctly remembers them. An instructive suggestion is presented. They are probably peculiar to no one people or race, but have served from the earliest times, for transmitting brief items of information; and consequently for ages before writing materials were thought of. From what rude conceits the noblest Arts have sprung! Primitive agents of epistolary correspondence, *notched-sticks*, are still employed for that purpose in the East. Mr. A. S. Bickmore, in his account of the Hinos, or Hairy Men of Yesso—aborigines of Japan—says "they have no written characters, but the old men can send intelligence to one another by means of sticks, notched in different manners."

—*American Journal of Science*. May, 1868.

NEW YORK, August 16, 1868. T. E.

MR. EDWARD EVERETT HALE has written, for a recent *Atlantic Monthly*, an article on the Slave Trade, which is too good in the main to be spoiled by any flunkeyism towards Old England or New England, doing homage to hypocrisy in either or both.

Among the compliments of the newspaper critics, which the careful scissors of his publishers select for advertising repetition in announcing a new book, by this charming writer, he is credited with "a truly religious hatred of 'humbug and pretension.'"

Now, how could this righteous hater of humbug and false pretences give us such a chapter on "First and Last," without once mentioning the fact that *Boston was the first port on this Continent that began the Slave Trade*? Nay, how could he have the face to parade that old story of the negro interpreter being sent back to Guinea, in 1646, as a proof that Massachusetts made, so early, her protest against the Slave Trade? It is all "humbug," and a case of "false pretences!" For, while *that incident itself presents not a trace of hostility to the Slave Trade*, which the Puritans of Massachusetts themselves inaugurated on this Continent, a few years before, their Statue-book furnishes a law, passed in that very year, (1646), by which *the*

*export, for trade, of Indians for Negroes, was duly provided for.*

The publisher of the *History of Slavery in Massachusetts* ought to provide a cheap edition for Common Schools and Academies in that State; but the Reverend Mr. Hale is without excuse, for he is a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, and "all that sort of thing, you know." If he fails to correct himself in the next collected edition, *perhaps* his reputation as a "truly religious hater," etc., may suffer. *Verb. sap. sat.* M.

#### XVII.—QUERIES.

DR. MAGRATH.—This gentleman was a practising physician in Queens-county, in 1725. Can any of the readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE furnish particulars for a biographical sketch of him? O'C.

ANECDOTE OF GENERAL SCOTT.—The Reverend Mr. TWOMBLY, formerly Pastor of one of the Presbyterian Churches, Albany, introduced the following anecdote of General Scott, in a Sermon he preached, some two or three years ago, to the Young Men of that city. He was reported to have said, "that when General Scott was in Mexico, in front of its fortified walls, he demanded a forlorn hope to make a breach. He said to his men: 'I want three hundred men, to-day, willing to die for their country. Those who are willing to die for their country will step three paces to the front when I raise my sword.' A stillness prevailed throughout the whole line of noble hosts. Every eye was upward and upon the General; and as the sword went up, every man in the whole line advanced three paces.

"Thus we stand. Christ is our General. He wants three hundred to reform the young men." &c.

Can you refer to any work which authorizes the above statement? It appears to me very unmilitary on the part of a General, and contrary to what I have always conceived of General Scott's character, in particular.

ALBANY, N. Y.

OMEGA.

THREE years and a half ago the President of the United States was murdered, and the whole North went spontaneously into mourning. Monuments were projected; Monument Associations were formed; plenty of people nominated themselves as Treasurers to receive contributions; there were to be costly and pretentious monuments; and there were to be some erected by contributions which should not exceed one dollar

from any individual. The grief was sincere, but it was shallow; or else, in this country, we do not believe in monuments. Not one has been completed. The accumulation of the funds suddenly stopped; and the moneys paid have not been all publicly accounted for. No State, city, town, park, cemetery, or public institution has been named after Abraham Lincoln, in any really public way—not even an avenue or a tug-boat bears his name—and yet the name itself is euphonious if not elegant. Is the moral that, while the paths of glory lead but to the grave, the foot-prints of those who have trod them are soon effaced by the winds of currents in public opinion, counter to their lives or by the smooth broom of general forgetfulness? Or is the moral only another sign of the breathless haste in modern political and social movements which can hardly stop to bury the dead past, much less to remember it? Buckingham had no other monument than the detestation of the subjects of Charles I.: Lincoln needs none other than the memory of his countrymen. And yet it is not to the credit of our thoughtfulness, and does not prove the sincerity of past grief, that we have done nothing to keep his name familiar in men's mouths as household words.

#### XVIII.—REPLIES.

ITS. (*H. M.*, II., iii. 310) In the proper translation of Matthew vi. 33., the pronoun "his" and not "its" is required by the Greek; and if there be any obscurity, it belongs to the original.

B.

DISPUTED AUTHORSHIP. (*H. M.*, II., v. 57, 58).

#### I.

A correspondent signing himself "Dick," propounds a question in regard to the disputed authorship of the Poem entitled, *Tear down the flaunting lie*. It was written by Chaplain WILLIAM OLAND BOURNE, Editor of the *Soldier's Friend*, a Christian gentleman, capable of writing that, and ever a far better, piece of Poetry. Mr. Bourne can furnish every requisite proof of authorship; and has published much on the subject. To him your correspondent "Dick" is referred for farther particulars.

As to the *Prison Life of Jefferson Davis*, the following is derived from a distinguished Brigadier-general of the United States Army, who was an intimate friend of HALPINE, and near neighbor as to residence. General V., a great student of history, had already formed the idea that the *Prison Life of Davis* was *bogus*, and modelled after the work, O'MEARA'S

*Conversations with Napoleon at St. Helena*, when he met Halpine, and inquired into the circumstances. Halpine laughed, and admitted that HE had written the book within three weeks; and that, with the exception that it was founded on a few notes furnished, and on an intimate acquaintance with the taste and habits of Davis, it was nothing more than a fancy sketch.

NEW YORK CITY.

ANCHOR.

## II.

(The following, from our own scrap-book, is also responsive to the Query under consideration.—ED. HIST. MAG.)

"George Francis Train asserts that the book entitled *Prison Life of Jefferson Davis*, and 'purporting to be the work of Dr. Craven, was written in nine days by the late General C. G. Halpine.'

The above paragraph is going the rounds of the press, as an item of strange news.

The book, our readers will remember, came out in New York soon after the release of Mr. Davis on bail from his imprisonment at Fortress Monroe. It was the sensation of the day; and excited deep interest for the famous prisoner whose story of life it assumed to give. While it stirred the hearts of the Southern people, of whose lost cause he was the official head, it awakened the curiosity, removed the prejudices, and enlisted the sympathies, of Northern men, in behalf of one fallen from high estate, a weary, feeble captive, who yet challenged admiration for the equanimity of his bearing and the accomplishments of his mind.

Our readers will be astonished to learn that the averment of Mr. Train is true; and that this popular book, over which so much of feeling, of indignation, pity, interest, and admiration has been created and expended, is a work of imagination—a novel woven upon slender threads of fact.

Soon after the admission of Mr. Davis to bail, Craven, the Surgeon of the post, went to New York, where he met his quondam messmate of the same Staff, General Halpine. This literary friend congratulated him forthwith on this opportunity he had to immortalize himself in print; and at the same time make money by a book on Jeff. Davis. The idea seemed new to Mr. Craven; and he said it was impracticable. Halpine asked him where were his notes. He replied, he had none, and could not do it. Then said Halpine give me whatever materials you have; and I will write in your name, and we will share the profits. This was agreed to.

Craven furnished three letters of Mrs. Davis to him, and some notes written on the margin of a *Herald* by Mr. Davis, touching the points he desired Reverdy Johnson to make, in defending him for treason. This was all the authentic matter supplied.

At the request of General Halpine, Craven also made out a list of the officers of the post and their days for going on duty, and other little details of the post and garrison, and of Mr. Davis.

Halpine then called to see several Confederates in New York, among others, on General Dick Taylor. He pumped them as to Mr. Davis, and his views and opinions on public matters; also in regard to leading Southern men, and Mr. Davis' relations and feelings towards them, etc.

A Philadelphia publishing-house now advertised that it was soon to put forth a life of Davis; and Halpine saw the importance of anticipating this publication by his book. It was arranged in New York to get it out immediately. He agreed to furnish his publisher forty pages of foolscap, manuscript, daily. And he sat down to write—and wrote forty pages daily for nine days, when the book was completed—the web of his fertile brain and accomplished mind.

The book was of great service to Mr. Davis; and General Halpine's share of the profits was seven thousand dollars last March, when he communicated to us the above facts from his own graphic and eloquent lips.

This is one of the curiosities of literature, and illustrates the talents of the man who could so plausibly manufacture out of whole cloth the *Prison Life of Jefferson Davis*, with his private views and opinions, concerning men and things. —*Charleston Mercury*, Oct. 22. 1868.

## XIX.—BOOKS.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to HENRY B. DAWSON, MORELAND, N. Y., or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

## A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Antiquity of the name of Scott, with brief historical Notes.* A paper read before the Western Reserve Historical Society, by Martin B. Scott, Cleveland, Ohio. Boston: David Clapp & Son. 1869. Octavo, pp. 15. For private circulation.

We are glad to see so many of our active business-men engaged, during their brief hours of recreation, in the pursuit of knowledge which they do not already possess, and in the dissemination of that which they have already acquired. Among these our readers know Judge Tuthill of Iowa and Mr. Poor of Portland, Mr. Murphy of Brooklyn and Mr. Munsell of Albany, Mr. John Ward Dean of Boston and the author of this tract; and the country is enjoying the benefit of their good example as well as the results of their judicious labor.



In the tract which is before us, Mr. Scott has entered very zealously on a search for the origin of his family-name; and, in that inquiry, he has carried us back as far as the days of Moses, and eastward as far as Egypt! Thence, by way of Spain, he brings us through Ireland into Scotland; and so, if he is not mistaken, a family of primitive Gypsies—carpet-baggers of that day—is made to give a name to a country in which it “squatted”—a country which, before, seems to have had no name—instead of the country giving a surname to divers wanderers from its borders, who, before, had nothing but the single individual name which their respective mothers had given to them, in their infancy.

All this is curious and interesting, especially to the SCOTTS; and, without considering the benefit which may result from such an elaborate inquiry, it must be admitted by every one, that it has cost its Author a great deal of labor and the employment of a great variety of material.

It is a very neatly-printed pamphlet; and, we believe, was printed for private circulation only.

2.—*Louis XVII. and Eleazar Williams. Were they the Same Person?* By Francis Vinton, S. T. P. Reprinted from *Putnam's Magazine*, for the Long Island Historical Society. 1863. Octavo, pp. 12.

The curious inquiry, “Have we a Bourbon ‘among us?’” which was started some years since and advocated so zealously by Mr. Hanson, is revived by the more widely known Assistant-minister of old Trinity, in the tract before us.

There is very much in this matter, we are inclined to believe, that the world has not yet acknowledged; and, unless we are prepared to throw discredit on the veracity and personal integrity of respectable men, such as the late Mr. Hanson and the Reverend Doctor Vinton, we confess we do not see how the conclusions which they have reached will not be concurred in by every candid man. Indeed, we are not prepared to dismiss with a sneer of contempt, and wholly disregard, testimony such as we find staring us in the face, on this very remarkable subject.

As a specimen of fine book-making, especially of “privately-printed books,” so called, there is nothing in this tract which is creditable either to the artisan or the publisher.

3.—*Our form of Government.* By A. E. Kroeger. Sine loco, sine anno. Octavo, pp. 20.

We have received a copy of this tract through the Post Office; and have no knowledge of its Author or its origin. We have, however, looked over it with considerable interest; and have seen in it enough to satisfy us that its Author has devoted considerable attention to the subject of which it treats.

He denies the Sovereignty of the People, because the People would then be responsible to no one. He insists that the Declaration of Independence organized a Commonwealth; that the adoption of the Articles of Confederation was a retrograde movement, antagonistic to the Declaration; that the Constitution restored, to some extent, the order of things, as the Declaration left it; etc.,—in short, it is John Quincy Adams's *Jubilee Discourse*, hashed and served over again, with sundry additions to render the dish more palatable than it otherwise would be, to those who had no relish for it originally.

As another contribution to the literature of the Constitution it is noteworthy; and it may be usefully read by all who want reasons for becoming advocates for a despotism.

4.—*Reasons for the regulation of the use of coat-armor in the United States, including a plan for taxing the employment of such insignia.* By W. H. Whitmore. Boston: 1863. Octavo, pp. 8.

Those who desire to sport coats of arms on their wheelbarrows or to blazon them on the front of their pig-pens, it seems to us, should be freely allowed to do so, without being taxed for the enjoyment of that whim; provided their next-door neighbor shall sustain no damage by the operation. Our friend, Mr. Whitmore, seems to suppose, however, that such an use of coat-arms should be privileged to those only who shall file their claims in the Federal Court and pay an annual tax for the same.

Seriously, this farcical use of coats of arms—an Irish dry-goods vender sporting the Royal arms of Scotland, for instance—has become a nuisance; and we are sorry to see so sensible a man as Mr. Whitmore favor, ever so slightly, such a practice. The use of a family shield and crest, by those to whom they properly belong, is well enough; but the indiscriminate use of shields belonging to other people, by Tom, Dick, and Harry, on dog-collars, go-carts, and signet-rings, is simply preposterous.

5.—*The Central Water-line from the Ohio River to the Virginia Capes, connecting the Kanawha and James-rivers, affording the shortest outlet of navigation from the Mississippi basin to the Atlantic.* Richmond, Va.: 1863. Octavo, pp. 95.

One of those elaborate productions through which the public is made acquainted, from time to time, with the business peculiarities of some particular section of country or line of communication. It treats of the proposed communication, *via* the James and Kanawha-rivers, between the Western States and the Atlantic; but its Authors forget that, in the absence of a market at the outlet on the Atlantic, all lines of com-

munication are useless. Until Virginia shall establish a sea-port and a market, she cannot control any portion of the Western trade.

New York, after all, controls the commerce of the country; and the petty country towns, such as Boston, Philadelphia, and Portland, may as well make up their minds to be contented with the sight of the *sour* grapes. As for Virginia, the day has not yet come when the West shall empty its produce into her lap.

#### B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

6.—*Memorial Volume of the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the Second Reformed Church of Glenville, N. Y., November 21, 1868.* By Rev. F. F. Wilson. Scotia, N. Y.: 1868. Octavo, pp. 61.

In this very neat pamphlet, we have the record of the joyous celebration of its fiftieth birthday, by the Second Reformed Church, at Glenville, the only town in Schenectady-county which is North of the Mohawk.

It seems to be proper that the ecclesiastical representatives of the Dutch should rest their narratives on the history which their ancestors left; and we honor them for doing so, when, as is generally the case, they refer to those ancestors with modesty and fidelity to the truth, and without the exaggeration and falsehood which mark the corresponding reference, by New Englanders, to the Puritanic founders of New England. We approve, therefore, the simple allusion by Mr. Wilson, the author of the *Historical Discourse* which formed a leading portion of the exercises, to "the sturdy principles of the fatherland," of those who, in 1644, settled at Schagh-nac-taa-daa. Settlements were made there, as we said, in 1644; the land was bought from the Mohawks, by Arant van Curler, in 1661; the first "Reformed Protestant Dutch Church" was built there, in 1684; the massacre of the inhabitants occurred in 1690, when among the slain was Dominie Petrus Tasschemacher, the Pastor; a second Pastor came from Holland, in 1700; in 1748, a second massacre occurred; in 1771, an Academy was opened; the Church Academy was erected in 1785; in 1795, Union College was incorporated; in 1798, the settlement became a City!

After glancing at the rise and progress of Union College, Mr. Wilson alludes to Scotia, on the opposite side of the river, which was vested in Sander Leendertse Glen, in 1662, and seems to have mostly remained in his family, until our own day. In 1814, a prayer-meeting was commenced in this portion of the town of Schenectady, by Gerard Beekman, father of the Hon. James W. Beekman of New York; and this led to the organization, in 1818, of a Christian Church, under the title of "The North Branch of the Reformed Dutch Church at Schenectady." Professor Yates of Union College seems to have served as a

volunteer Pastor of this Church, from its origin until 1822, when Professor Proudfit succeeded him, also as a volunteer. In 1826, the first regular Pastor, Rev. James Murphy, was called; Rev. Harmon B. Stryker, in 1834; Rev. A. J. Switz, in 1838; Rev. A. B. Crocker, in 1842; Revs. John Austin Yates and Edwin Vedders succeeded, as "supplies;" and, in 1851, Rev. N. D. Williamson was called to the Pastorate. In 1857, Rev. Elbert Slingerland succeeded; and in 1861, Rev. Philip Berry. Rev. F. F. Wilson was called in 1864, and continues to occupy the pulpit to this time.

When this Church was organized, the Town of Glenville constituted the Fourth Ward of the City of Schenectady; but, in 1820, it was set off, separate from the City. In 1822, the meeting-house of this Church was completed and dedicated. In 1834, the name of the Church was changed to "The Second Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Glenville;" and prosperity and peace surrounded it.

Besides this *Historical Discourse*, which is well-written and exceedingly appropriate,—although it might have been improved by the addition of some statistics—this *Memorial Volume* contains the hymns which were prepared for the occasion by Revs. Doctor Stryker and Professor M. W. Wilson; the Addresses of the Rev. Messrs. Elmendorf, Dubois, and Wortman, and Elder John Sanders; a list of the original members of the Church, November 21, 1818; and a list of the successive Boards of officers.

As a whole, although it lacks the completeness which so peculiarly marked the address of Dominie Cole of Yonkers, (*H. M.*, II, v., 67, 68,) this *Historical Discourse* is exceedingly interesting; and as a "local" it will be found very desirable to both the student and the collector.

7.—*Address delivered by Mr. A. A. Low before the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, January 21, 1869, in support of a series of Resolutions offered by him for adoption by the Chamber, on the subject of resuming Specie Payments.* Sine loco, sine anno. Octavo, pp. 23.

Another of those solid arguments by Mr. Low, to which we have heretofore alluded. The practical wisdom of such an advocate is worth a cargo of theories started by mere speculators; and we are only surprised that one who is so well informed and so deeply interested in the welfare of the country as Mr. Opdyke, is found among those who widely differ from him.

8.—*Bulletin of the Essex Institute.* Volume I. Number I. January, 1869. Salem: 1869. Octavo, pp. 20.

The Essex Institute, judging from what we hear of it through the newspapers, is an active organization, but, as we have seen none of its recent publications except this, we know nothing of the

character of its labors, beyond this general journalistic description.

This *Bulletin* seems to be a popular exhibit of portions of its doings—what the populace are supposed to feel no interest in, is to be kept for publication in “another form.”

The number before us is very neatly printed; and will, undoubtedly, be found very useful to the Society, as a ready medium of communication with the world.

#### C.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

9.—*Proceedings of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Westchester, for the year 1863.* Charles E. Johnson, Clerk. Sing Sing, N. Y.: 1863. Octavo, pp. 465.

The County of Westchester is one of the oldest in the State; and its situation makes it one of the most important of the “rural districts.” It contains not far from a hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants; it paid, in 1863, nearly eleven hundred thousand dollars in taxes; and its assessment-rolls amounted to nearly fifty millions of dollars.

The volume before us contains the proceedings of its Board of Supervisors—the local Legislature on which devolves the duty of providing for the proper government of the several Towns, the support of the Poor, etc.;—and to those who reside in the County especially, it is peculiarly interesting.

10.—*Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York, 1863.* By Joseph Shannon, Clerk of the Common Council. [New York: 1863.] Octavo, pp. xiv, 912.

In this portly volume, we have the first of the series of *Manuals*, issued by the successor in office of our venerable friend, the late David T. Valentine, so long the Clerk of Common Council of the City of New York; and we are pleased in being able to say that the high character which the *Manual* has heretofore secured, will not suffer from this new comer, if, indeed, the volume before us does not surpass any which preceded it, in the beauty of its typography as well as in the completeness and accuracy of its statistics.

One feature of this volume, especially, will commend it to the favor of every student and lawyer in the country—for the first time, as we happen to know, the ancient Charters of the City have been *exactly copied*, with all their peculiarities of spelling, capitals, and punctuation;—and there is very little relating to the various Departments and Institutions of New York which is not minutely and accurately set forth, in its pages.

The historical matter, with which the volume closes, is very interesting. It consists of a paper on “The Battle of Harlem Heights,” by Henry B. Dawson; a series of Notes on the

destruction of Rivington's Press, by a party of raiders from Connecticut; a description of the City in 1806; a paper on “The old Fly-market ‘Butchers,’” by Colonel Thomas F. De Voe; a description of the fortifications of the Harbor and City, 1613–1812, by the late Samuel L. Mitchell, I.L.D.; a series of Notes on the City of New York, in 1753 and 1754; and a series of the Returns, by the notorious Cunningham, of the prisoners confined, during the War of the Revolution, in the old Provost (now the Hall of Records) in New York.

The pictorial illustrations of this volume far surpass in beauty those of any of its predecessors. The large bird's-eye view of the City, and its vicinity—ranging from Throg's-neck to Staten-island—is one of the most beautiful specimens of engraving which we have ever seen; while the wood-cuts which illustrate the descriptions of the various institutions, are really as many gems of art, as uncommon in such works as this, as they will be acceptable to the reader.

The form of the volume has been improved by enlarging the page and avoiding the dumpy appearance which Mr. Valentine's issues always possessed; while the clear type, and tinted paper, and excellent press-work, have served to make still more acceptable to the reader, the exceedingly important information, to the burghers of New York, which the volume presents.

The volume, as a whole, affords the best evidence that a master-hand controlled it, in its passage through the press; and we congratulate the Editor on the perfect success of this, his first, attempt at Manual-making.

11.—*The History of Woburn, Middlesex County, Mass., from the Grant of its territory to Charlestown, in 1640, to the year 1860.* By Samuel Sewall, A.M. With a Memorial Sketch of the Author, by Rev. Charles C. Sewall. Boston: Wiggin & Lunt, 1863. Octavo, pp. 657.

This volume, which we have only just received although published some months since, contains a history of Woburn, formerly Charlestown-village, by the venerable Pastor of the Parish. It originated in a series of historical lectures, begun many years since and delivered at intervals, as opportunity offered. In 1862, after the good fashion, in such matters, of our Eastern neighbors, the Town proposed to the Author that he should complete the work for the press; and the proposition having been complied with, the volume under notice is the result of the arrangement.

The settlement dates from the year 1640; in 1642, it was incorporated, with the name of “Woborne.” The Author has carefully traced the history of the Town, from that time until 1860, with great particularity; and he has added thereto a Genealogical Register of the early set-



tlers and their descendants. All this has been accomplished at the expense of great labor; and with one or two exceptions, the work is among the very best of its class.

We have noticed, much to our disgust, that there is neither a Table of Contents nor an Index to the work; and its usefulness will be necessarily impaired by this strange neglect of the Publishers—the venerable Author may be excused for leaving that portion of the work to other hands, while the Publishers can have no excuse for so great neglect of their duty.

We have noticed, also, there is no map of the town, nor any cuts of its public buildings nor of the town itself—certainly an oversight which we should not have expected from those who wrote or published for the use of the future rather than for that of the past.

We have noticed, also, that Edward Johnson, one of the founders of the Town, has been strangely confounded with an illiterate carpenter who, also, is said to have settled in the town, about 1637; as well as with a third person, of the name, a resident of another Colony, who very probably wrote *The Wonder-working Providence*. There is no more reliable evidence of the truth of this portion of the narrative than there is of the truth of *Sinbad the Sailor*; and we are astonished that the unsupported statements, on this subject, of Mr. Savage, and the still more baseless romance of William Frederic Poole, should have deceived so sensible a man as the Author of this work seems to have been.

The volume is very neatly printed; and to those who possess leisure to turn over its leaves and search for its contents it will undoubtedly be very welcome: to such as we are, however, unto whom every minute of working time is precious, it will be less useful because of its want of an Index.

12.—*History of the town of Lexington, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, from its first settlement to 1868, with a Genealogical Register of Lexington families.* By Charles Hudson. Boston: Wiggin & Lunt. 1868. Octavo, pp. 449, 296.

This volume, too, is an official town-history, prepared and published, at the expense of the Town, for the purpose of preserving its history and of making it more widely known. Unlike the *History of Woburn*, last referred to, it is provided with an ample Table of Contents and two Indices; and a variety of well-executed illustrations add to the value of the work.

The author of this work has admirably discharged the duty which his townsmen seem to have imposed upon him; and we have, accordingly, one of the very best town-histories which has ever fallen into our hands. It seems to leave nothing unnoticed, either of public interest or

family descent; and, as it should do, it views all these from the local stand-point, rather than from a general point of view.

We say it should be local, rather than general, in its character and tendencies; and we mean, by this, to assume the responsibility of all that we say. The volume is a purely local publication. It is a *Town* history; written for the *Town*; published by the *Town*. It is the plea of the *Town*; in behalf of the *Town*, in matters in which the *Town* is greatly concerned. What the *Town* does not claim in this volume, therefore, cannot reasonably be claimed for the *Town* hereafter; and as the *Town* "puts" its interests therein, "all comers" must expect to find and meet them hereafter. We say, therefore, that it is properly local, rather than general, in its character; that its author has properly presented Lexington as Lexington desires to be seen, with all her best apparel, and with none of less attractive surroundings. All this, too, he could do, and probably has done, without the violation of a single rule of propriety or of a single shade of integrity—indeed, the claims of Lexington seem to have been made fairly and fully; and, notwithstanding we conceive the testimony on some points, which has not been presented, is greatly more powerful than the testimony which has been presented on the other side, we are glad to see all that Lexington has to offer in her own behalf, in such a readable form and so skilfully displayed.

The author evidently feels the tenderness of his foundation in claiming for the operations on the village-green, in April, 1775, the honorable distinction of a "Battle;" and he accordingly labors, zealously, to show that although his townsmen, after their blustering show of resistance, actually ran away, ingloriously, they did not do so without firing a single shot—the necessity of all which is apparent, since that could not be called a "Battle" in which *all* the firing was done by one of the parties and *all* the running by another; and because, also, if the claims to the honor of having fought a "Battle" should be successfully controverted, the assemblage on the Green would cease to be belligerents and become, what it really was, very much such a party as those with which the Chinese were wont to oppose the progress of the allies, when they, too, assembled by the way-side, sounded their horns, beat their gongs, and—*ran away*.

The volume is a very neat one; and forms a valuable addition to the already large number of locals which have been thrown before the world.

13.—*Sixteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Public Library.* 1868. Boston: 1869, Octavo, pp. 114.

The Public Library of the City of Boston is one of which Boston is, or ought to be, honest-

ly proud. It contains one hundred and forty-four thousand volumes, besides pamphlets, which, in 1868, were used, more or less, by eleven thousand, seven hundred and ninety-one persons. Its Reading-room was visited by eighty-seven thousand, six hundred and twenty readers, and eighteen thousand and thirty-one who were not readers. The expenses were nearly fifty-one thousand dollars.

In the volume before us—the record of its operations during the past year—are fully and clearly set forth, with great precision, all the particulars of its workings, as “the freest public ‘library in the world.’”

14.—*History of the town of Winchendon, (Worcester County, Mass.), from the grant of Ipswich, Canada, in 1735, to the present time.* By Rev. A. P. Marvin. Winchendon: The Author. 1868. Octavo, pp. 528.

This, too, is an official History of the Town, by one of its Pastors. It is founded on four lectures on that subject, by Rev. John M. Whitt, D. D.; but it is mainly original, and has been prepared with great labor.

We have carefully examined the work and we are pleased with it. Commencing with a topographical description of the country, and its settlement; the Author has glanced at the “annals ‘of the Town from 1764 until 1800’”—including its Revolutionary history, the events of Shays’ rebellion, the statistics of education, roads and bridges, churches, population, etc. The “Annals, ‘from 1800 until 1868’ follow; and following these are given sketches of the town’s politics, paupers, experience as suitors at law, temperance movements, militia, burial-places, churches, mortality, trade, fire department, libraries, etc.—the whole embracing everything, it seems to us, that any one can desire to know about Winchendon.

We have discovered no attempt at fine writing, for mere effect, in this entire book; but a plain, homely story has been told in a plain, honest style; and, so far as we have seen, with a single exception, with remarkable accuracy. In the exception referred to, the Author has evidently been misinformed, since a personal examination of the subject would undoubtedly have prevented it. We allude to the reference to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE in his narrative of the celebrated Winchendon slave case, (pages 276–279.) The Author says, “the subject” [a case in which this Town was involved as a party at law] “is referred to in an article which appeared in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE (N. Y.) in 1866, written ‘apparently in a spirit hostile to the fair fame ‘of the State. A reply to this article appeared ‘in *The Boston Daily Advertiser*.’ The facts are these: in 1866, Mr. Moore published his celebrated *Notes on the history of Slavery in Mas-*

*sachusetts*, which were not “written in a spirit ‘hostile to the fair fame of the State,’ since, on the matter of domestic slavery, the State had no fame which was “fair,” or any more attractive than the “fame,” on the same subject, of Cuba and Arkansas. *The Boston Daily Advertiser* admitted into its columns a review of these *Notes*, from the combined wisdom and pens of more than one of Boston’s pundits; and that review, because of its known authorship and nothingness, and as the best apology which Massachusetts could offer for the hypocrisy of one class of her subjects and the wilful untruthfulness of another, we re-produced in our pages. In November, 1866. Mr. Moore responded, in December, in one of the most powerful arguments which the subject has ever called forth; and notwithstanding the Magazine was tendered for a rejoinder, neither *The Boston Advertiser* nor those who had previously used it in a bad cause, saw fit to continue the discussion. It was not, therefore, “the “fair fame” of Massachusetts which was attacked by THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, but the contemptible hypocrisy and wilful misrepresentations, by more than one of her apologists, of portions of her history which are blacker than the blackness of Egypt.

But there is another point of this matter which this volume has illustrated. On pages 102–105, Mr. Marvin has justly and honestly published a “Roll of Honor,” which is said to “contain the “names of those MEN of Winchendon who are “known to have borne arms in the Revolutionary “War.” Among those” who, “though not at “Bunker Hill, nor in the Roll of ‘Minute men,’ “were soldiers in active service,” on page 103, is “EDEN LONDON,” to whose name is appended the following foot-note: “Eden London was “the slave of Daniel Goodridge, and as such “was not liable to military duty; but he served in lieu of his master, on condition of becoming a Freeman.” On pages 276–279, Mr. Marvin relates that this EDEN LONDON, after passing through nearly a dozen hands, “enlisted in “to the three years’ service” [of the *Continental Army*] “and the said Goodridge” [who owned him] “received the whole of his bounty and “part of his wages;” that, in 1804–5, this same negro MAN who had fought the battles of his master’s country—he seems to have had no country, poor fellow—had become poor and dependent on the public for support; that the Town of Winchendon, in which, through his last master, he had “gained a settlement,” attempted to throw him off—why should she not, since he was both black and a pauper?—that Winchendon pleaded in behalf of her brutality,—as Judge Gray, and Governor Washburne, and Doctor Palfrey have since pleaded in behalf of Massachusetts’ generally—that slavery in Massachusetts had had no

foundation in law; and that—as Mr. Moore and THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE have since determined, concerning the similar stories of Governor Washburne, Doctor Palfrey, *et al*—Judge Parsons curtly disregarded the dishonest plea by telling the municipal falsifiers, “It is *very certain* “that the *general practise and common usage* “*have been opposed to this opinion,*” and made Winchendon pay the bill as a penalty for her own dishonesty, and because, when the pauper was a *chattel*—yes, a CHATTEL,—his *owner* lived there.

Mr. Marvin is entitled to unusual credit, also, for his maps, because he has constructed them after an unusual plan, which is, however, as excellent as it is unusual. A key accompanies each, from which the names of the occupants of the several residences can be readily ascertained; and the maps thus serve both as maps of the territory and directories of the localities and occupants of the several dwelling-houses.

The typography of the work and the lithographs are not good; but the wood-cuts are excellent.

#### D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

15.—*Where to emigrate, and why*, describes the climate, soil, productions, minerals and general resources, amount of public lands, quality and price of farm lands in nearly all sections of the United States; and contains a description of the Pacific railroad, the homestead and other land laws, rates of wages throughout the country, etc., etc. With Maps and Illustrations. By Frederic B. Goddard. New York: F. B. Goddard. 1869. Octavo, pp. 591.

This is one of the most useful volumes, for the purpose for which it is designed, that we have ever taken up. Its title tells its object and much of its contents; but we have never seen so perfect a collection of material on this subject, for every-day use, by practical men, in the same small space and compact form.

Opening with a general description of the public domain of the United States, its topography, etc., it furnishes various hints and much good advice to emigrants. Detailed descriptions of the lands, climate, resources, etc., successively, of California, Oregon, Washington Territory, Alaska, Nevada, Idaho, Montana, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas. The Pacific railroad is described; wages of farm labor are discussed; how to obtain titles to public lands is told; routes for the emigrant are described; etc.

All this is done thoroughly, and the authorities for the several statements are carefully noted; and we know no work which is so well calculated to instruct those who desire to find new homes in the country.

The typography of the volume is excellent; but the maps are sometimes very indistinct and not infrequently too minute to be useful.

It is what is called “a subscription book,” and is not to be found in the book stores; but its publisher supplies it through canvassers.

16.—*Heaven and its Wonders, and Hell; from things seen and heard*. By Emanuel Swedenborg. From the original Latin as edited by Dr. J. F. I. Tafel. Translated by B. F. Barrett. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1869. One vol. Demi 8vo. pp. 453.

To the professors and teachers of the prevailing theology, the appearance of this volume, from one of the most enterprising publishing houses in the world, must be at least suggestive.

Nothing short of a most unmistakable demand for the writings of Swedenborg, on the part of the public, would probably have induced a business adventure so considerable as the re-translation and re-publication of the work before us. Nor, indeed, does the style in which it is produced—a style of unsurpassed excellence—indicate that this demand originated from any inferior class of theological readers. Considering the importance of the subject of which it treats, it must be confessed that the dust of a century upon its cover bears weighty testimony either to the worthlessness of its pages, or a still sadder testimony to the inexcusable neglect of it, on the part of the Doctors, to whose exclusive care the world seems unwilling longer to entrust the public conscience or the keys of St. Peter. Still, the Doctors would perhaps have had the best of the argument, had not Swedenborg himself foretold this tardy reception of his writings. Nor, indeed, would any degree of neglect, during the first three quarters of the century, outweigh the testimony in their favor, derivable from any considerable recognition of them, during the remaining quarter.

The sensational volume runs through its successive editions and is forgotten. The volume that is exhumed from a forgotten language and brought back into living thought, reminds us of the rocks, whose silent records, unlocked by the finger of Science, give a history, in comparison with which all the treasures of the historic muse are as the fables of the hour.

But, if the neglect of these writings by the students of philosophy had its perfect parallel in the history of Science and Art, that alone would fail to account for a fact so at variance with probability. The stupendous importance of the subject treated of—the strange and thrilling disclosures of the awful and unseen existence beyond the grave, coupled with an entire system of Mental Philosophy by which such disclosures are brought to the touchstone of rational and logical Science—could not have been a matter of indifference to natures as cold and phlegmatic as that of



the metaphysician proverbially is, much less to those who would know Him whom to know aright is life eternal.

If to this be added the fact that this whole system is claimed by its author to rest, as its sure foundation, upon the Divine Word, and as to its religious doctrine, exclusively upon the *literal* sense of that Word, it is not possible to account, save upon the hypothesis of Swedenborg himself, for this strange and almost startling apathy.

The truth brought to light in the writings of Swedenborg is claimed by his followers to be the second advent of the Messiah—his coming in the Word, to make known its internal or spiritual sense, as, in His first coming, He was the Word made flesh. And if the Rabbis and Elders were least of all inclined to hear Him the parallel suggested is not without point, perhaps not without truth.

W.

17.—*Civil List and Forms of Government of the Colony and State of New York*. Compiled from Official and Authentic Sources by S. C. Hutchins. Published annually by Weed, Parsons, & Co., Albany. [Edition of 1868. Albany: Weed, Parsons, & Co. 1868.] Octavo, pp. 596. Price \$3.

This annual publication is one of the most useful to those desiring to refer to the history of New York, whether Colonial or State; and it cannot profitably be dispensed with in any collection of historical works.

The peculiarity of this work is, that it is not merely the record of the Government of the State for the current year, but from the beginning until the day of the date of publication; and it may be considered, therefore, as an abbreviated record of the *personnel*, as well as of the form, of the Government, in all its parts and at all times.

As to its accuracy, we believe there need be no question. The earlier portions, if we do not mistake, were prepared by Doctor F. B. Hough, whose capability, in such works, is undoubted; and we believe that equal care has been taken to secure correctness, since his connection with the work was broken.

The typography is good; and the illustrations, which are confined to the several Seals of the State and of its several Departments, are neatly executed.

18.—*Wild Life under the Equator*. Narrated for young people. By Paul du Chaillu. With numerous engravings. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 231. Price \$1.75.

In this entertaining volume, we have a continuation of those stories of "Wild life" which M. Chaillu knows so well how to tell, and young people love so well to read. Its ground-work, of course, is the African adventures of its Author; and it is full of exciting descriptions of

hair's-breadth escapes; of successful if not remarkable shots; and of ferocious beasts, pitted against more intelligent men, in combats for life.

Our opinion is, that this volume will find thousands of earnest readers among the young people throughout the country—an installment of the number may be found in our own house.

19.—*A History of Lowell*. Second Revised Edition. By Charles Cowley. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1868. Octavo, pp. 235.

We are not inclined to find much fault with any one who will do anything, no matter how little, for the preservation and dissemination of local history, so long as due caution is taken to make the little which is said, accurate and trustworthy. For this reason, we do not desire to find much fault with Mr. Cowley, for his defects of workmanship in the volume which is before us; and yet we cannot say of it what we should have been glad to have said, under other circumstances.

Mr. Cowley seems to have understood, however, that he has exposed himself to just censure; and, accordingly, he has plead, in advance of an indictment, the example of Moses, (*Page x*) and chronicled, not "the creation of a world," but that of Lowell and that of its great name, in much of Moses's brevity and obscurity, notwithstanding he professes to have had large masses of unemployed material, and to have had in view, "as the object of the present work," "to gather and embalm ALL that seemed most valuable in the heritage of memories and traditions," of which Lowell is said to be "justly proud."

Commencing with Herodotus, Mr. Cowley traces the history of that part of the world which is now known as LOWELL, as far as "the year of Grace, 1868." As far as he has gone, he seems to have done well what he has undertaken; and there can be no doubt, if we may judge from his foot-notes, that he has exercised due caution to ensure accuracy of detail.

Of one subject, we can speak with pleasure concerning this volume—its Author speaks fearlessly concerning both men and measures; and Kirk Boott and the factory autocrats are severely handled, in various places. He tells us, also, of Benjamin F. Butler, "the pro-consul of New Orleans"—how nearly he became a Baptist preacher; how filthily a politician he has been; how unprincipled an ouster he was, of factory-girls from church-edifices erected from their contributions; how it is that his fortune was not "derived SOLELY from the PLUNDER of Louisiana and Virginia," (*Page 54*) whatever may have been the case with portions of it; etc.

Of the typography of this volume, Lowell

need not boast; and the pictorial illustrations are execrable.

20.—*History of Fort Wayne, from the earliest known accounts of this point to the present period.* Embracing an extended view of the aboriginal tribes of the Northwest, including, more especially, the Miamis, of this locality—their habits, customs, etc.—together with a comprehensive summary of the general relations of the Northwest, from the latter part of the seventeenth century, to the struggles of 1812-14; with a sketch of the life of General Anthony Wayne; including also a lengthy biography of the late Hon. Samuel Hanna, together with short sketches of several of the early pioneer settlers of Fort Wayne. Also an account of the manufacturing, mercantile, and railroad interests of Fort Wayne and vicinity. By Wallace A. Breece. With illustrations. Fort Wayne, Ind.: 1863. Octavo, pp. xvi, 324, 33.

The very elaborate title-page renders a list of the contents of this work unnecessary. The Author has been minute in his description; and he has been not less minute and exact in the prosecution of his labors, while preparing the text for the press. Indeed, we see little to desire, concerning Fort Wayne and its vicinity, which the Author has not furnished, unless a decently-printed book. In that respect, the volume before us, is a disgrace to the printers who turned it out of their office; while the binder who would pick up such really imperfect sheets as we find in this volume—some of them being entirely illegible—should be banished into the wilderness, beyond the Mississippi.

21.—*Cast up by the Sea.* By Sir Samuel W. Baker, M.A., F. R. G. S., etc. Complete. With ten illustrations by Huard. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 419.

As the Publishers seem to make a point that this edition of this work is "unabridged," we suppose somebody has considered it of sufficient importance to issue an *abridged* edition of it; and this fact, in a work of fiction, recommends the volume to our notice.

It is a volume which has been written for boys, by the distinguished Author of *Albert N. Yanza* and *Nile tributaries of Abyssinia*; and it will undoubtedly be as eagerly read, and with as much satisfaction, by Young America, every where, as it has been by the detachment from that rising power, which is quartered around our own fireside.

The volume is a handsome one; and the illustrations are excellent.

22.—*Adventures in the Apache Country: a tour through Arizona and Sonora, with Notes on the Silver Regions of Nevada.* By J. Ross Browne. Illustrated by the Author. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 535.

If there is a more persevering tourist, one who seems to care less for a fixed home, than J. Ross Browne, we do not know where to look for him. No country, no matter how

forbidding, seems to offer an obstacle to his progress; no danger seems to appal him: no hardship or exposure seems to benumb his fingers, freeze his ink, or close his eyes and ears.

The last visible outpouring of his prolific budget—a budget which generally holds articles which are both interesting and instructive—is the volume before us, which, if we do not mistake, has already been introduced to the world, to some extent, through *Harper's Magazine*. In this, we have his "adventures" in Arizona, Sonora, and Nevada; and years hence, his narrative will be turned to by the plodding historians of those vast regions, with wonder and delight. What a storehouse of information is here, concealed under a variety of disguises! What a clear insight is given of the every-day life, and manners, and tastes, and purposes, of those who are scattered over those immense countries!

Not only do we conceive such works as this to be interesting to the every-day reader, who reads to "kill time;" but no one can pretend to investigate either the history, the resources, the geography, or the social condition of the territories referred to, without closely consulting their pages.

23.—*Constance Ayllmar. A story of the Seventeenth Century.* By H. F. P. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 347.

A story having for its scene the venerable town of Gravesend, on Long Island, and for two of its principal characters, Lady Deborah Moody and her son, Sir Henry, so well known in history.

We have looked into the work far enough to satisfy ourself that the writer of this story is just as ignorant of the character of Sir Henry Moody and his mother, as he is of the details of the history of the City of New Amsterdam, with which he assumes to be so very familiar, but really knows very little. For all the purposes of this work, therefore, its Author might as well have taken any other persons and scene, as the Moodys and New Amsterdam. As a mere story, it abounds with love, and villainy, and the various other ingredients which, compounded, generally produce a modern novel.

24.—*Madame Thérèse; or, the Volunteers of '92.* By M. M. Erckmann-Chatrian. Translated from the Thirteenth Edition. With ten full page illustrations. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 289.

25.—*The Conscript: a story of the French War of 1813.* By M. M. Erckmann-Chatrian. Translated from the Twentieth Paris Edition. With eight full page illustrations. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 347.

There are two writers, in France, named, respectively, Erckmann and Chatrian, who seem

to have been friends in youth, and in the full vigor of their manhood, even as authors, they are not separated. They work together—the one possessing traits of character which are not possessed by the other; while both, united, are capable of producing works which neither, unaided, could have written.

The writings of these co-laborers, thus working in harmonious fellowship, have made their mark in Europe; and the subjects on which the "twin-authors" most delight to write are handled with such calm precision that they are said to have arrested the ever-vigilant attention of the French Government.

In *Madame Thérèse* and *The Conscript*, we have the first two of this noted series of romances, the whole of which, we believe, are to be issued, uniformly, by Messrs. C. Scribner & Co. They relate to the troubled days of the French Wars; and the minutest details are given of the different circumstances of the plot, with a degree of precision which is truly surprising.

26.—*Æsop's Fables*. Illustrated. The People's Edition. New York: Samuel R. Wells. 1868. Octavo, pp. 72.

The Fables of Æsop are so universally known, that it is only necessary for us to say that Mr. Wells has produced a very useful and very neat edition of them, in which, with suitable illustrations, he has told the simple stories of the Lydian slave, in the simplest words and with as simple and brief an "Application," in each case, as would be at once expressive and useful.

This edition of the Fables is not as elegant as some others; but it is neat and well adapted for the general use of those who shall desire to read them and receive instruction from their teachings.

27.—*Her Majesty's Tower*. By William Hepworth Dixon. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 263.

There are so many associations connected with the Tower of London, which are particularly interesting, even to those who never saw the Tower itself, that such a description of it and of those whose names and sufferings have served to make it more famous than, without them, it would have been, must necessarily find eager readers in every direction.

Opening with an exceedingly graphic description of the different portions of the works, and of the different structures which, from time to time, have found places within the enclosures of the Tower, we find the Author continuing his work with Chapters which are severally devoted to some of the leading State-prisoners who have been confined therein—Raleigh, Laud, Courtney, Lady Jane Grey, Dudley, Cobham, etc. In each of these Chapters, without any ap-

pearance of research or desire to investigate whether or not the ordinarily-received story connected with the subject is true, Mr. Dixon has re-produced, in slightly different terms, the many oft-told tales of English history, some of which have been materially changed by recent investigators and others probably will be, one of these days.

Apart from these inaccuracies, however, the volume is a very interesting one; and its errors will not detract from the aggregate interest which is really attached to its subject.

The volume is neatly printed, and illustrated with a folding plate, representing the Tower as it was in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

28.—*An Introduction to the study of English Literature*; comprising representative master-pieces in poetry and prose, marking the successive stages of its growth, and a methodical exposition of the governing principles and general forms, both of the language and literature; with copious Notes on the selections, Glossary, and Chronology. Designed for systematic study. By Henry N. Day. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. xii, 539.

The study of the language—"our mother tongue wherein we were born," as our dear old friend, Rev. Doctor Cone, used to call it—attracts, day by day, more attention from the best minds in the country, than, a few years since, we supposed would be the case; and it is destined, we hope, to still further advancement. Indeed, its most formidable opponents, like those which obstruct the progress of American History toward the place which belongs to it, of right, in the higher grade of institutions throughout the country, are those stubborn theorists who conceive that the entire range of human learning must begin and end in the Course of Studies which President Dunster taught in Harvard, or President Cooper in King's, generations ago; and those who would "re-construct" the ancient order of things are set down as worse than revolutionists.

In the volume before us, which is from a master in literature, we find that its Author has struck out a new course for himself, and avoided, on the one hand, the line which some have followed in a merely chronological arrangement of specimens, with biographies of the Authors of the several pieces selected; and, on the other, a more formal history of authorship in the English language. He has given, instead, FIRST, specimens from the best writings of the best writers, in their original forms, and accompanied them, in each case, with an apparatus of etymological, grammatical, historical, and æsthetical Notes, which serve to illustrate the progress of the language in the constant round of changes to which it has been subjected; and SECOND, a systematic display of the elements of our language and literature, in which are exhibit-



ed the principles which govern the use and formation of language; of English orthœpy, orthography, syllabication, word-formation, etc.; the growth of our literature in its several departments; etc. A chronological table of English authors; a Glossary; and a very good Index complete the work.

The great value of such a text-book will be apparent to every one; and we are sure that such a service as the Author has rendered to the cause of English education will be appreciated by every educator, unless those of, nominally, the highest grades shall be pleased to consider it as undignified and in violation of what is assumed to be the just demands of the classics.

29.—*Annual of Scientific Discovery*: or, Year-book of facts in Science and Art for 1869, exhibiting the most important discoveries and improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc., together with Notes on the progress of Science during the year 1868; a list of recent scientific publications; obituaries of eminent scientific men, etc. Edited by Samuel Kneeland, A.M., M.D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 377. Price \$2

If we understand it correctly, this work is one of a series of annual volumes devoted to the recording of "the most important discoveries and 'improvements' in Science and the Arts; and as such its importance will be very readily understood by our readers.

The great range in the editor's inquiries will be seen in the title-page; and a careful examination of the work proves to our satisfaction, that he has discharged the very important duties of his position with intelligence and fidelity.

30.—*The Evidences of Christianity*, with an Introduction on the existence of God and the Immortality of the Soul. By Ebenezer Dodge, D. D., President of Madison University. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1869. Duodecimo, pp.

This volume appears to embrace the lectures on the Evidences of Christianity which have been read before the Senior Class of Madison University, during the past fifteen years; and they will, therefore, be recognized by very many, throughout the country.

The controlling idea of the work is that "Christianity is its own witness," when considered in its nature, its influence, its relations to Divine Providence and human progress, and its historical triumphs; but we conceive that, in such a work as this, on such a subject, this idea is entirely insufficient, if not wholly irrelevant.

The credibility of Christianity, as such, may be established to the satisfaction of some persons, on the testimony referred to; but the judgment of every one is not alike; and those who entertain doubts concerning the character of Christianity, and for whom alone these "evidences" will be

required, will demand other testimony than that which Christianity itself affords, concerning its own credibility. Doctor Dodge and those, like himself, who already profess to believe Christianity—we say "profess to believe" it, because the *works* of only a small proportion of professors indicate to a close observer that any *faith* is in them—may see, in these "evidences" of a faith which they already possess, something to confirm and strengthen it, something to cheer them forward and to make more certain what they do not question; but, we conceive that something more is required to create and establish such a faith among those who demand, or even require, "evidence" on the subject, than the internal testimony on which he seems to rely in this work. None but those who have either no opinion or an adverse opinion will need "evidences" of the credibility of Christianity; and to both of these, this volume instead of being a help will be only an aggravation. They need bread and a stone is offered; they ask for testimony and confidence is demanded of them; they declare their ignorance, but instead of instruction they receive only a demand of an unconditional surrender to the adverse judgment of others.

For this reason, while Doctor Dodge's volume will undoubtedly serve to strengthen the faith, and so far encourage, those who are already believers—those who do not as well as those who do profess—we candidly consider that for all others, it will be of little service, since it relies on internal rather than external testimony.

31.—*Pre-historic Nations*: or, Inquiries concerning some of the great peoples and civilizations of antiquity, and their probable relation to a still older civilization of the Ethiopians or Cushites of Arabia. By John D. Baldwin, A.M. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 414.

The origin of man, the date of his first appearance on earth, his increase and the organization of families and peoples, his migrations, and his primitive aggressions, have always been subjects of speculation, and are now matters of wide-spread inquiry among the learned of both Europe and America.

The volume before us is devoted to this exceedingly important and interesting subject, and it is refreshing to see the respectful boldness with which its author moves against the earth-works of what he considers, sarcastically, an "all-wise conservatism" and flouts its oracles, questions its wisdom, criticises its methods, and undertakes, successfully, to show that important additions can be made to its stock of knowledge. He has, indeed, discovered, as THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE long since discovered, that those whom he controverts, no matter how slightly, instinctively disallows and strenuously resists any interference—even the slightest—with its established creed;

and that they become as many armed men, entrenched behind as many ivy-covered bulwarks, for the vigorous defence of the old against the new. He has discovered this fact, we say, and he evidently expects and is prepared for the consequences. He is prepared to receive blows, since he expects to give them. He expects denunciation, and has no intention to withhold it, in return. He supposes, reasonably, that ignorance, and falsehood, and conservatism will oppose him by means which they can best employ; yet, relying on his own convictions, he can afford to endure criticism, and exactly as in the case of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, believing that God is just, he confidently sustains himself with the earnest faith, that "soon or late, whatever investigations sweep away venerable rubbish and open the way to progress in knowledge will enforce their claim to respectful consideration; and nowhere is this surer to be realized than among enlightened scholars, where no ardor of feeling can become fanatical, nor any prejudice or pride of opinion be transformed into cureless bigotry."

One purpose of this volume is to point out what may be known of the ancient Cushites and of the leading part which they played in developing and spreading Civilization; and in that portion of the volume he sends Usher and divers kindred chronologists into the regions of romance. This Cushite people, which he conceives to be the same as the Ethiopians of history, he insists was not of Central Africa, but Arabia; and from that people and its civilization, he maintains, have come the civilization of which some of our neighbors boast so much.

Our limited space will not allow us to follow Mr. Baldwin through all his inquiries—nor is it right that we should thus imperfectly tell his story while his volume is so readily accessible—yet we may be permitted to say that we have gone over them with the most lively satisfaction; and have laid them by for a second reading.

Without the least rudeness or irreverence for the truth, without unduly wounding by intemperate criticisms, he nevertheless brushes aside very many of those who have hitherto assumed to possess all the knowledge and be entitled to all the respect. "Biblical" chronologists, so called, fare badly; yet the Bible, itself, as far as we can see, is nowhere impeached: it has been the fate of those only who have dogmatically assumed to force the Bible into their own well-worn ruts, who must feel the weight of his timely and judicious lashings.

As we said, Mr. Baldwin considers Arabia as the ancient Ethiopia; and that the name was applied, also, to other regions than Arabia, which were nevertheless subordinate to, and controlled by, the same Cushite people who inhabited Arabia. He says that Arabia is occupied, to-day,

by two distinct Peoples, the ancient race of Cushites and the more modern Semitic Arabians—the former the descendants of the more primitive race; the latter, claiming to be descendants of Ishmael, "the originators and preachers of Mahometanism," to whom, also, belong the nomads. The antagonism of these two distinct Peoples is noticed; and the gradual disappearance of the Cushites, before their more aggressive nomadic neighbors—the Yankees of Arabia—is carefully described. Mr. Baldwin insists, also, that the ancient Phœnicians were of this race of Cushites; that its commerce was the hand-maid of civilization, and served to carry it from Arabia into other countries; that Egypt, Chaldea, Greece, India, and Western Europe, were creatures, in civilization, of this commerce; and that all history, when honestly read, confirms his opinion.

It will be seen that this little volume is devoted to a great subject; that it opens new questions and sets aside old conclusions; that it demands attention and must not be slighted. We leave it in the hands of a few of our readers unto whom it must necessarily be a work of great importance, because of its bearing on their life-long studies.

32.—*General History, Cyclopedia, and Dictionary of Free-masonry*; containing an elaborate account of the rise and progress of Freemasonry and its kindred associations—ancient and modern. Also, definitions of the technical terms used by the fraternity. By Robert Macoy, 33°. Illustrated with upwards of two hundred engravings. N. Y. Masonic Publishing and Manufacturing Company. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. xxx, 7-623.

In this very neat volume, we have, FIRST: a "General History of Masonry," with all the accompaniments of unsupported extravagances which make such chapters appear so nonsensical and tend so much to discredit what is really commendable in the Institution. SECOND: a "Cyclopedia of Masonry," in which are presented, in alphabetical order, the terms used in the Order with their definitions, biographical sketches of prominent members, historical sketches of the various Grand Lodges, etc., illustrated with neat wood-cuts. THIRD: the already well-known "Dictionary of Symbolical Masonry," by George Oliver, D.D.

As a work of reference, on all matters concerning the Order of Freemasonry, this volume seems to be very complete; and its neat appearance must make it acceptable to the most fastidious.

53.—*Ancient History*, illustrated by colored Maps, and a chronological Chart, for the use of Families and Schools. By C. A. Bloss. Revised and improved by John J. Anderson, A. M. New York: Clark & Maynard. 1863. Duodecimo, pp. 445.

The school-history of Mr. Bloss is said to have been so well received, when it was published, some years since, that it was considered advisable

to re-produce it, in an improved form; and Mr. Anderson, the author of the works next referred to, was employed to revise and adapt it to the modern mode of teaching. This volume is the result of that revision; and, as far as we have been able to examine it, it seems to be worthy of the good opinions, concerning it, which it has already secured from educators throughout the country.

34.—*A Grammar School History of the United States*: to which are added the Constitution of the United States with questions and explanations, the Declaration of Independence, and Washington's Farewell Address. By John J. Anderson, A. M. New York: Clark & Maynard. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 133, 59.

35.—*A Pictorial School History of the United States*: to which are added the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States with Questions and Answers. By John J. Anderson, A. M. New York: Clark & Maynard. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 363, 40.

It will be seen that these works form part of a series of School-histories, by the same author; and we have obtained copies for the purpose of ascertaining in what manner our country's history is laid before our children.

In the first, which is the lesser of the two, the narrative is necessarily very brief; yet we have failed to find any instance in which its brevity has obscured the author's meaning. It is clear, concise, and generally accurate; and we have not met with one of its class which has pleased us more.

In the second, which is generally a mere extension of the first, the same general good qualities prevail; and we have pleasure in recognizing it as one of the best of its class, and justly entitled to the high credit which it has secured.

In both, the maps which illustrate them are of the highest excellence; and their importance cannot be over-estimated. There are, however, in both, some matters which, we conceive, demand the author's serious attention. We refer, for instance, to his stubborn recognition of Columbus as "the discoverer of America;" to his resolute repetition of the fable of Pocahontas and Captain Smith; to the fiction of the establishment of the Colony at Plymouth for an asylum from religious persecution; to his error in considering Henry Hudson as the discoverer of the river which bears his name; to "the first burst of opposition" to the Stamp-act appearing in the Legislature of Virginia; to the errors in his description of the occupation and defence of Breed's-hill, generally known as "The Battle of Bunker's-hill;" to his description of the death of Jane McCrea; to his incorrect description of the purposes of the Shays' Rebellion against the authority of Massachusetts; to the inaccuracy of his description of the ratification of the proposed Constitution for the United States; to his errors concerning the Citizen Genet; to the part said to

have been taken by Hamilton in the Battle of Long-island; to the important inaccuracies in his copy of the Declaration of Independence; and to the improvements to which his copy of the Constitution is susceptible.

In making these suggestions, however, we have no desire to depreciate Mr. Anderson's excellent volumes: we desire, rather, to see improved, what is already unusually good and worthy of improvement.

36.—*The Law of Love and Love as a Law*; or, Moral Science, theoretical and practical. By Mark Hopkins, D. D., LL.D., President of Williams College. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. xix.

The substance of this work was delivered, some months since, in a course of lectures before the Lowell Institute, at Boston; and as a treatise of Moral Sciences, it has arrested the attention of the best minds in the country.

A very elaborate Introduction treats of the different systems of Moral Science respecting "obligation and its ground;" yet, although we have followed the Author through the nine theories which he describes so minutely, we fail to understand that he either adopts or rejects either of them. The same uncertainty attaches to his Definitions; and, for our life, so far as President Hopkins is concerned, we cannot learn what a Law is.

We have not yet found time to go over the entire volume, since it requires the most careful reading; but we have found in several portions of it, the same want of precision which we have noticed in the Introduction, and, in every portion of it, a much greater degree of obscurity than we are wont to find in works of a similar class. We are not insensible of the fact that it is claimed that it is unusually profound; but, with a noted preacher of old, we "had rather speak five words with our understanding, than by our voice we might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue," which others cannot receive profit from.

We shall endeavor to return to this subject in a future number.

37.—*A Manual of General History*: being an Outline History of the World from the Creation to the Present Time. Fully illustrated with Maps. For the use of Academies, High-schools, and Families. By John J. Anderson, A. M. New York: Clark & Maynard. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 401.

A History of the World, from the Creation until the present time, in less than four hundred small pages, must necessarily be very brief—a very "Outline History," as stated in the title-page of this volume; and useful only for very limited purposes. The volume before us, therefore, is little more than a glance at even the leading events in the several histories of the nations, to which it refers.



It very neatly printed; and its Maps, printed in tints, are very well executed.

38.—*Dombey and Son*. By Charles Dickens. With eight illustrations. Small octavo, pp. vi, 543.

*The Adventures of Oliver Twist. Also, Pictures from Italy, and American Notes for general circulation*. By Charles Dickens. With ten illustrations. Small octavo, pp. viii, 519.

*Our Mutual Friend*. By Charles Dickens. With eight illustrations. Small octavo, pp. ii, 525.

*Little Dorrit*. By Charles Dickens. With eight illustrations. Small octavo, pp. vi, 522.

*Barnaby Rudge, and Hard Times*. By Charles Dickens. With ten illustrations. Small octavo, pp. viii, 559.

*A Tale of two Cities, and Great Expectations*. By Charles Dickens. With ten illustrations. Small octavo, pp. vi, 504.

*Black House*. By Charles Dickens. With eight illustrations. Small octavo, pp. vii, 540.

*Christmas Books, and Sketches by Roz illustrative of every-day life and every-day people*. By Charles Dickens. With sixteen illustrations. Small octavo, vi, 552.

*The personal history of David Copperfield*. By Charles Dickens. With eight illustrations. Small octavo, pp. vi, 533.

Several months since, we noticed, successively, the appearance of the first three of this series of the writings of Charles Dickens—"the Charles Dickens Edition," issued by Messrs. Ticknor & Fields, of Boston. The succeeding volumes, although long since sent by that house, have only just reached us; and, notwithstanding it is somewhat behind time, we now invite the attention of our readers to the work, as it stands, complete.

The series embraces twelve volumes; and it is printed with a small, but exceedingly distinct type, making it a very desirable edition for those whose eyes are not grown feeble by age or disease. The illustrations are those which ornamented the several volumes, as they originally appeared, in London. Taken as a whole, with the clearness of the letter of the text, the peculiar fitness of the illustrations, and the convenient size of the volumes, we know no edition of Dickens which would be more acceptable to us.

39.—*The life of Father de Ravignan, of the Society of Jesus*. By Father de Ponlevoy, of the same Society. Translated at St. Benno's College, North Wales. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. xvi, 693.

Among the great pulpit orators of modern times, Father GUSTAVE XAVIER DE RAVIGNAN, S. J., stands in the front rank.

He was born at Bayonne, on the first of December, 1795. Successively a Soldier, an Advocate, and a Priest: in each of the three, he was professionally pre-eminent; and in all he was an humble and devoted Christian.

In the volume before us, the work of a member

of the Society, we have a minute account of the inner, or private, life of this gifted man; and as we glanced over its pages and read the record of his childlike simplicity and devotion, we were led to reflect that a truly good man will be good wherever he shall be found, while the wicked will be only wicked, despite their professions and associations. We have seldom laid down a more deeply interesting volume, or one which we can return to with more complete satisfaction.

As a specimen of book-making, this volume is one of the neatest.

40.—*The Rightful Heir*. A drama in five acts. By the author of *Richelieu, The Lady of Lyons*, etc. As first performed at the Lyceum Theater, October 3d, 1868. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. 16mo., pp. 61.

This drama, in an imperfect form, was written "many years ago;" and it was then produced on the stage, under the direction of Mr. Macready. It is now re-produced, re-written, with improvements; and seems to have found favor, as the greater part of Lord Bulwer's productions have done before it.

It is a neat little tract; and will undoubtedly command a large sale.

41.—*Guide to Long Branch, the great sea-side Summer Resort of the United States*. Long Branch, N. J.: James B. Morris. 1865. pp. 41.

A very neat little hand-book of this celebrated watering-place and its immediate vicinity. As a little "local," too, it is worthy of notice by those who collect such matters.

42.—*ALMANAC, The Year Book of the Unitarian Congregational Churches, for 1869, with Calendar adapted for use throughout the country*. Boston: Am. Unitarian Association. pp. 70.

—*The Democratic Almanac and Political Compendium, for 1869*. New York: Van Evrie, Horton, & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 82.

—*The Catholic Family Almanac for the United States, for the year 1869*. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1869. Octavo, pp. 76.

—*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Almanac and Repository of Useful Information, for 1869*. New York: Frank Leslie. 1869. Quarto, pp. 64.

Although late in the day, we embrace the earliest opportunity to thank the publishers of the several Almanacs referred to, for copies of their respective publications.

All are well adapted for the several specialties to which they are devoted—the religious and political to their several parties; the Leslie's to every family, with whom it cannot fail to be very welcome.

A number of Book Notices which we had prepared for this number are necessarily laid over for the next.

THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. V. SECOND SERIES.]

APRIL, 1869.

[No. 4.

I.—HISTORY OF GUILFORD, CONN.

A FRAGMENT.

By REV. THOMAS RUGGLES,

*Pastor of the Town, from 1729 to 1770.*

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.\*

GUILFORD Dec<sup>r</sup> 31 1769.

The History of Guilford From its first Settlement.

Guilford whose Indian name was *Menunkatuck* was purchased of the Native Indians who Dwelt upon the Land<sup>s</sup> there. The Inhabitants who purchased, & first Settled it, were a part of the Adventurer<sup>s</sup> who came in the first Embarkation with Mr Eaton & to New-Haven, for the Sake of Religion & Liberty: and was the first Town, Next after new-haven itsel<sup>e</sup> Settled in the Colony.

The Inhabitants who Purchased & first Settled it Principally came from Kent & Surry adjoining to London, And in Remembrance of the Land & place of Their Nativity from whence they Embarked, they Gave the name of Guilford to the Town,

As they were a part of Mr Eaton<sup>s</sup> & Hopkins<sup>s</sup> Emigrants, They at first Landed, with them at New-Haven, Were a part of those who Signd the agreement in Mr Newman<sup>s</sup> Barn, and There abode until the year-39: And After their Removal, yet had an immediate Connection with New-Haven, of whom the whole Colony then Consisted, which Union & friendship continued, as Long as the Government [ ] Tho they by Local Distance were a body by themselves.

The Accounts of the first Transactions of the town, for Severall year<sup>s</sup> are not to be found. Reported they were Burnt, by accident The house where they were Lodg<sup>d</sup> being Consumed by Fire.

The first Thing upon Record is what follows: By which, Compar<sup>d</sup> with the first Record<sup>s</sup> of New-Haven to which They all Relate, a pretty Clear Idea of its first Settlement may be formed.

The Record Stand<sup>s</sup> Thus, viz: Jan<sup>y</sup> 31: 1649:—

\* We are indebted to WILLIAM L. STONE, Esq., for the use of this ancient and interesting manuscript.—EDITOR OF HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Upon a Review of the more fixed Agreements, Laws, and Orders, formerly and from Time to time made; The General Court here held the Day & Year aboves<sup>d</sup> Thought fit, Agreed, and Established them, according to the Ensuing Draught, as Followeth, viz.—

First: We do Acknowledge, Rattify, Confirm, & Allow, the Agreement made in Mr Newmans Barn, at Quiliapiack now called New-Haven; That the whole Land<sup>s</sup> called Menuncatuck, should be Purchased for us, and our Heirs, But the Deed<sup>s</sup> and Writings there about to be made & Drawn (from the Indians) in the names of these Six Planters, viz Henry Whitfield, Robert Kitchill, William Leete, William Chittenden, John Bishop, and John Coffinge Notwithstanding, all, and Every planter, Shal pay his proportionable part or Share to wards all the charges, and Expences, for purchasing, Setling, Surveying, and carrying on the Necessary publick affairs of this Plantation, according to Such Rule, and Manner of Rateing, as Shal be from time to time agreed in this Plantation—

The Draught of which purchase or writeing from the Indians are as Followeth viz.—‘ Articles of agreement, made and Agreed upon the 29<sup>th</sup> of September, 1639. Between, Henry Whitfield Robert Kitchil, &c, English Planters, of Menuncatuck, And the Sachem Squaw of Menuncatuck, together with the Indian Inhabitants of Menuncatuck as Followeth, viz—First, That the Sachem Squaw, is the Sole owner Possessor & Inheritor of all the Land<sup>s</sup> lying between Ruttawoo, & Agicomock Rivers.

2. That the S<sup>d</sup> Sachem Squaw, with the Consent of the Indians there Inhabitants (who are all, Together with herselfe to Remove from thence) Doth Sell unto the S<sup>d</sup> English planters, all the Land<sup>s</sup> lying within the fores<sup>d</sup> limits of Ruttawoo, & Agicomock Rivers.

The Third Article contains the particulars of the pay of the purchased Land<sup>s</sup> agreed upon: not Material to Relate.

Sign<sup>d</sup>, The Sachem Squaw her mark:—Henry Whitfield in the name of the Rest, —Witnesses John Higgison, Robert Newman. However Imperfect this Short account may be, Yet from it, It fully Appears—That the purchase from the na-

tive Indians was full, Clear, and Satisfactory—That the purchase was made for and the purchasers Acted in Behalf of the planters as well as themselves—That all divisions of the purchased land were made to the Respective planters, in an Exact proportion to the Summ<sup>e</sup> they Advanced, & Expended, in the purchasing and Settling the town, to Some more to others a Less Quantity of Land as their Charges were,—And that the Indians Inhabiting the town were to, and accordingly did Remove from the Land<sup>s</sup> Sold by them Where they went is not Certain, the Tradition is, that they Remor<sup>d</sup> to the west:ward; to where Bradford, and East:Haven now are: So that now there is not one of the original Indians belonging to the whole Township.

From Agicomick (now East River) to Taxis Shoag (a Pond Just beyond East:Guilford meeting house) was purchased, as by Deed upon Record appears, of Uncass Sachem of the Mohegin Indians, From which one pretty Important point of History appear<sup>s</sup> viz that our East River was the Westernmost Limits or Boundary, of Uncass Jurisdiction.

The Remaining part of the Township from Taxis Shoag to Hommonoset River: M<sup>r</sup> Fenwick of Say:Brook Gave to the town upon this condition. That the town Should Accommodate M<sup>r</sup> Whitfield (who was his particular Friend) with Land agreeable to his mind in the town.

There were Some Small purchases made of particular Indians within the Limits of the Township, who claimed a Right to Some particular parts, which is no way material to mention at Large.

As Soon as The first purchase as above mentioned was made the Planters immediately Before winter Removed from New:Haven, and Settled themselves at Guilford, which they So called for the Reason above mentioned.

How The planters Conducted, with Respect to their Settlements of the town until the year. 1643, does nor appear upon the Record<sup>s</sup>. Only this That the Land<sup>s</sup> were left in the hand<sup>s</sup> of Those Six purchaser<sup>s</sup> to whom the Indians Gave the Deed<sup>s</sup> as Foesics in trust, until Such time as a Church Should be Gathered, Into whose hand<sup>s</sup> they might Commit the fee of The Land<sup>s</sup> to be properly Divided & Distributed among the planters. And while they Remained in this Unsettled State, they Chose foure of the Principal Planters to whom they agreed to Commit the full Exercise of all Civil power for Administring Justice and preserving the Peace among the Planter<sup>s</sup> whose power was to Continue also until the Church was formed or Rather appear<sup>d</sup> in form when Their power was to End.

As Therefore so much Depended upon This point. So Soon as Their Wilderness State would admit, They did in the month of April 1648:

Form themselves into a Congregational Church; Into whose hand<sup>s</sup> The purchasers of the Land<sup>s</sup>—and those persons in whom the Civil power, had been intrusted did Actually in a formall manner in writing Resign all Their Rights & Authority unto the Church gathered on that Day:—

Presently After this the planters who were Chiefly Church members made particular Divisions of the Land<sup>s</sup> according to their Respective Shares, [agree]able to their original agreement, Reeced according to their [ ] and number in Each family (Servants Excepted). But Then these Divisions of Land<sup>s</sup> were under These two Restrictions: First, That no [ ] Planter Should put in more Than five hundred Pound<sup>s</sup> in Stock without Leave, And Secondly That no person Should Sell or Aliene in any manner, Or Purchase the Share or any part of the Share allotted or Laid out to them in the Division of Land, with out Express Leave from the Community. This Last they observ<sup>d</sup> very Strictly. It Saved the plantation by preventing any Engrossing of to much Land, And Sundry persons were punished by Fines, or Whipping for Transgressing This Agreement.

As this plantation was Connected with New:Haven, So they carefully conformed to the Agreement in M<sup>r</sup> Newmans Barn in all their affairs Religious and Civil. Like their Brethren at New:Haven they Adopted and Acted upon that Unhappy Mistake That it is a Thing of More importance to Save, & be governed by the Steeple than the State. This is an Error many have fallen into, Imagining the Saints Should Rule the Earth, But if Christs Kingdom is not of this world taken in its True & plain Sense, it is very bad Policy. Yet it Should Seem no wonder, at all, that a number of Sober & Virtuons persons, who had no Immediate Civil Authority to act under, And whose mind<sup>s</sup> were So heated with a warm Sense of Liberty, having fled, or Rather withdrawn themselves from the fire of what they esteemed persecution, Especially by Civil power. into a wilderness. Should prefer Religion & its Sacred Laws, to Civil Power, by which they had been so Troubled, & Disquieted:—The plain Truth is, There may be an Error on Both Sides: Civil power may Rise too high, & Intrude upon the Churches Right in things Spiritual: As the Church on the other hand may Assume what they have no Right in or to, Either from Reason or Scripture. No Church purely as a Church or Spiritual body has a Right to possess or have property in many Good<sup>s</sup> or Land<sup>s</sup> for Christs Kingdom is not of this world—Tho' it be in the world: he Himselfe possess<sup>d</sup> none of these.

He has given no person: no body of persons, meerly as his Disciples a Right to possess these: This pretence is properly what the Father<sup>s</sup> Stiled Simony: The Spirit of Simon Magnus. All Temporal<sup>s</sup> Belong to Caesar, But Then it is as Certain



the Church of Christ Can<sup>d</sup> Subsist in this world without these things: To Ruin the State is Certain Destruction to the Church of Christ, Their Interests are Mutual, Inseparable, yet Quite Distinct.

Its Granted the Church of Christ Subsisted, flourished Hundred of years without the State being a nursing father to it, yea it Continued, under against the Persecuting power. of the Civil Magistrate: But Then The world was not without Civil Government: And The Civil power could not Suppress or Destroy the Church: The Church never pretended to put an End to Civil power, and take the Government in Temporals into her own hands. The Civil Government Continued, & must Continue, for no State can Subsist or Continue without Civil Government: nor the Church of Christ be Continued, There must be A Moses as well as Aaron, and It is Moses who must Lead the people.—What Ever Weak the Warm Imagination may pretend: Tis a Certain truth the Sword of the Spirit is not Sufficient to Govern this Wicked world: God has Therefore Ordained Civil power & put the Sword into Their hands for Good to the world and his Church. The world cant Live without the higher power. It is to them this world [ ] These Good Mistaken People, as Their Brethren before them at New: Plymouth, had done. Soon found They were Sadly Mistaken; They [ ] ly by a Little Experience & Short Tryal found Civil Government Not [ ] for them Absolutely. And Accordingly Appointed Those Higher powers to whom all must be in Subjection: For no power on Earth is or can be higher., then the Highest power upon Earth, as Civil power Certainly is,—and by a proper Exercise of it these Brave people were Supported, & flourished.

The plantation Finding Civil Government absolutely necessary for their Subsistence, Established it in the best manner they could, agreeable to the Grant from the Lord: Say and Brook to Mr Eaton &c: Their form of Government was Indeed Something Singular. Like that at New:Haven it was a Pure Aristocracy, yet modeled & Exercised in a Peculiar way. They had One Magistrate, (who was Mr Desborough,) allow<sup>d</sup> them, as a part of New:Haven Colony of which he was one of the Assistants & Council, who was their Head, and Invested with the whole power. But the Planters were Allowed to chuse Annually Three or four Deputies, or Representatives, to Sit with the Assistant, to advize and assist him in Judging & punishing in all Civil cases in his Courts held by him—which Courts were named or Called General courts.

In order to carry on Their Government Regularly, The Inhabitants were Divided into two Classes, orders or Ranks, viz Freemen: and Planters. The Church member\* who partook of the Sacra-

ment, were all Freemen and none but Such were or allow<sup>d</sup> Their privileges: These freemen were under Oath agreeable to Their Plan of Government, obliging them to be—Faithfull thereunto. out of this number were these Representatives, and all other publick officers Chosen, and all the affairs of the plantation they Look<sup>d</sup> upon important or honorary were managed.

The Second or other Class, Contained the whole of the Inhabitants of the Town, who Composed their Town meetings. These Town Meetings were Called Emphatically General Courts, All the planters who were Qualified by age, and Estate, (much as Town meetings now are) were allowed to meet and act in them, In these Town Meetings, or General Courts, were, all Divisions of Land: Granted Limited and Established. All The by: or peculiar Laws for the well ordering the plantation were made by them: And in General all Transgressions of the Town Laws and orders Relating to the buying or Selling of Land: &c and fines or Stripes were Imposed & Executed according to the nature of the offence, & Judgement of the Court.—

Besides these General Assemblies of the Planter\*: They Appointed Particular Courts for the Administration of Justice, Much Resembling our Justices Courts at present. These Annually were held Quarterly.

The first was on the first Thursday of Feb<sup>r</sup> &c Th<sup>r</sup> the year, The Magistrate or Assistant Sat Chief in these courts, who had The Deputies Chosen by the freemen Annually for that purpose to Sit with him to assist & counsel him, Like New:Haven They had no Juries in any Tryal, these Deputies in Some measure Supply<sup>d</sup> that Defect: And from the Judgement of this court Lay appeals in allow<sup>d</sup> cases to the Court of Assistants at New:Haven, Mr Samuel Disborow, is the first Magistrate upon the Town Record\* who held these courts with the Deputies. In General Their Judgement was final, and Decisive.—

Besides they Held a Court of Probate, by which court as often as there was occasion, Will\* as well as Intestate Estates were Settled: As has been Related, the whole Land\* Belonged to the Community; and the title to any particular Land\* was by order of the Town, in Their meeting So upon this principle That the fee was Really in the Community, they in Settling Estates Sometimes Departed from the Rule of East:Greenwich Tenner. And Sometimes Settled the Intestate Estate upon the Widdow Sometimes on one of the Children: or Sometimes on a Stranger Ally<sup>d</sup> to the family as best Served the General Good of the Family: and the Prosperity of the Infant plantation in its Minority.

But neither This court or this practice continued Long: As Soon as New:Haven Colony Government became better Settled, & more fixed Sett-

ing all Estates was Transferred and Determined by the court of assistants at New-Haven, agreeable to the present Rules of Courts of Probate.

Town Officers that were necessary were annually Chosen at their town Meetings or Generall Courts as they called them, viz A Marshall, a Secretary, Surveyors of high ways &c; much in the forms and office that Constables Town Clerks &c are now Chosen.

Military order and Discipline was Soon appointed, And Watch and ward were Kept Day and night, Their Charge was very Strict, And the punishments for Defaults in this Duty were very Severe and Exactly Executed, Many of the Houses were Garisoned, with Palisadoes Set Deep in the Ground. And a Guard of Soldiers under a proper officer, was appointed Every Sabbath Day In time of publick worship which continued until Since my Remembrance That no Enemy might Surprize them. And All affairs of the Town were Regularly and Carefully Conducted for the Safety Peace & Prosperity of the Plantation.

All these Orders, Laws, Appointments and Regulations are Entred at large, and Preserved carefully upon the Town Record<sup>s</sup>.

Having Gone Thro<sup>e</sup> With their Political or Civil affairs, I Shall now Return to Relate matters Ecclesiastical.

As it was Principaly for the Sake of Liberty Especially Religions Liberty according to the pure Gospell plan these Good people Removed from their native Land into this Then Dreadfull Wilderness that they might here Set up & Enjoy the True worship of God in Purity and Peace according to the Judgement of their own Consciences according to God<sup>s</sup> word. These Christian Heroes as Soon as Their Circumstances would any way prudently admit of it apply<sup>d</sup> Seriously to this main & Grand End of Their Emigration, And Agreeably So Early as 1643 A Congregational Church was Gathered, or Rather, they Then Combined into a visible Church State:—They Adopted, Mr Davenports Notions, And formed the Church by Covenant upon Seven Pillars as They Termed it.

The Names of the Seven Pillars (Persons) were; Mr Henry Whitfield, Mr John Higginson, Mr Samuel Disborow, Mr William Leete, Mr Jacob Sheefe, John Miphram, & John Hoadly. and on the nineteenth Day of the month of April, (probably the very day the Church was Thus Settled) The Records Say The Fees in Trust formally in writing Resigned the Land<sup>s</sup> purchased by them to the Church It was not Their Design hereby to make the Church properly the owner of the fee, but as they were a Regular visible Body who had power to act and order. So The Land<sup>s</sup> were Entrusted with them for the use and Improvement of the proper Proprietors, who were all Tennants

in Common according to their Respective Charges. The Church never pretended to Claim any Property in, or Dispose of any of The Lands in the Plantation, They were only as an Anchor to the vessel to Hold Sure.

But whatever was the Design, or End of their Doings: the Church was Thus Invested with & put in possession of all the property: and all the power Civil and Ecclesiastical that was in the Plantation. However Strange this may appear at first view: Probaly it was the very best if not the only method they could take: For as the Church never claimed any Right to or Exercised any power, over Property or in Civil things: yet as they were a Regular body: they held all Steady united and Compacted, until Civil power, was Regularly, and Effectually Established, This apparent Ecclesiastical nominal Dominion did not Last Long—The Higher power<sup>s</sup>, Soon Rose, and took their place; Civil Government was Established, The Church Retained only what belong<sup>d</sup> to it Things Spiritual: All Temporal affairs were managed by Civil power, and Ran in Their own proper Channel, as they Continue to do to this Day.—

The manner of Gathering or forming the Church was This viz A Doctrine of Faith was Drawn up and Assented unto as the foundation of Their Connection, And Then They Mutually Entred into Covenant First with God to be his people in Jesus Christ Then one with another to walk together in attending all the Duties of the Christian Religion, & Enjoyment of all the ordinances that belong to a particular Visible Church. Their Doctrine of Faith was Judiciously Drawn: It is Short Comprehensive & Rational upon True primitive Calvinistical, & Congregational Principles: This Doctrine of Faith with the Covenant, is Continued & Made use of Constantly in admitting Church members to this Day by the First Church.—

The Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Henry Whitfield, who led forth this Little flock into this Wilderness Was Their first Pastor and Minister. He had been Episcopally Ordained in England, no mention is made on Record, or by Tradition of Any Ordination of him, here to the Gospell, As the members of this Church came with him and were in his cure in England, Gathering the Church here Seems to be only matter of Form Arising from place, or Local Distance in Their Removal, but he Exercised his ministerial Authority in the Same manner, & by the Same power he had done in old England. Neither Minister Church or People were Ever Dissenters, or Seperates from the Church of England, only by Local Remove from the Realm; The Minister and Church were as Truly Such in Guilford, as in England. All which Rights Powers & privileges Remain to this Day:—and To Depart from its Communion from any pleas of the Profes-

sors of the Church of England are Unreasonable, and without any True Foundation.—

After the Church was thus Gathered The Rest of the members which were the Most of the Planters, were Joynd to these first Seven and other Members were Admitted afterward<sup>s</sup> as they Desired to be.

There was no Ruling Elder<sup>s</sup> allow<sup>d</sup> by the Church: Pastors & Teacher<sup>s</sup> and Deacons being the only officers in the Church. Pastors Such Parsons as were ordaind, & had Right to Administer the Seals: Teacher<sup>s</sup> Such as might preach the word when Qualified & Desired So to Do.

And like New: Haven in Admitting new members into the Church they Required a Relation of Their Experiences:—

Mr Whittfield Their pastor, was a Well bred Gentleman, A Good Scholar, a Great Divine, and an Excellent Preacher: He was Properly The Father of the Plantation. Lov<sup>d</sup> his flock Tenderly: and was Extremely Belov<sup>d</sup> by them, Whose advice they Peaceably follow<sup>d</sup> in Love.

He was possess<sup>d</sup> of a Large Estate; by far the Richest of any one of the Planters, all which he Laid out and Spent in the plantation for the good of it. At his own charge and Expense, he built a Large, firm, and for those days Handsome Stone house, which Serv<sup>d</sup> as a fort for himselfe and many of the Inhabitants Upon the Land<sup>s</sup> Allotted him by the Planters in a very Sightly place, having a full view of the Sound before it. and with a Comparative Small Expense might be made by much the most durable and best House in the Town. A lasting memorial of his Greatness, and Benefactions to the Town: But in the change of times in England under the Common wealth, he Returnd there Several of the Planters Return<sup>d</sup> with him in Particular Mr Disborow: a near Relation of Collonel Disborow, Mr Jordan, &c, It was the General opinion the whole plantation would be deserted as Soon as they could have opportunity to Transport themselves and their families. In consequence of his own personal Expenses in purchasing the plantation, and Mr Fenwicks Gift of the Eastern part of the Township, He had a Large and very valuable Allotment of Some of the best land<sup>s</sup> in the Township allow<sup>d</sup> him, upon his Returning to England, he offered all his Estate to the planters upon very Low terms; but partly from poverty. but chiefly on account of their perswasion, that in a Short time they Should all follow their Pastor, they, did not make the purchase: But as it is often the case, when it was too Late they Hartily Repented their neglect or Refusal. No mention is made on Record or by Tradition of any male Heir left by him. After his Return home, he Sold his Estate to Maj<sup>r</sup> Thompson, to whose Heirs it belongs to this Day.

There is no mention on Record of the precise

time of Mr Whittfield<sup>s</sup> Removal, Tradition is he continued in the plantation about Twelve year<sup>s</sup>—When he Left them, he left Mr John Higginson (Tradition is his Son in Law), their Teacher. he was Son to Mr Higginson the first Pastor of Salem Church. he was Educate<sup>d</sup> in a private manner, by benevolent friends, Preacht at first at the Fort at Saybrook, as Chaplain, about 43. Remov<sup>d</sup> to Guilford was one of the Seven Pillars of the Church, and assisted Mr. Whittfield in Preaching until his Removal to England. He never was ordaind at Guilford, but Mr. Whitefield left him to take care of the flock as a Teacher; in this work he continued about Twelve years and then Determined to Go to England to Mr Whittfield: Accordingly he Shipt himselfe & family and Saild: But meeting with bad weather, the Vessel put into Salem for a Harbor; Going ashore to his father<sup>s</sup> people, they wanting a pastor, prevaild with him to preach,—and Then Unship his family and Good<sup>s</sup> and Settle with them. He accepted their call, was Ordaind Their Pastor, Livd and Died there, Left a numerous Posterity, which have been in Renown there in their Several Generations. This is the account he Gives him Selfe in a book of Sermons printed by him in his old age, and Dedicated by him to the Church & people of God at Salem Guilford and Say: brook where he preacht first in the time of the Pequod war. The Good man Looks upon it as a Strange providence that brought him to, & Settled him at Salem: as he Expresses it.—

After Mr Higginson<sup>s</sup> Remove, for about Twenty year<sup>s</sup> the Town was in a very unsettled State, There were Several persons who ministred to them in the word and Doctrine, as Teachers, as they Called them. Especialy Mr. Bower<sup>s</sup> who had a house and Land in the town and afterward<sup>s</sup> Remov<sup>d</sup> to New: Haven, and Darby—but they had no ordained Pastor. In this period and Headless State of the Church, they fell into Great Confusion, by Diversity of Religious opinions: Many of the Planter<sup>s</sup> Removed, Espicealy to Killingworth which was then Settling, particularly Doct<sup>r</sup> Rossetter, Meigs; the Stephen<sup>s</sup>, Parmely, & Chatfield, &c, who were Usefull in that town and continue to be Respectable in Church & State there, Some of these Especialy Rossetter & Miegs Returned after the Town was Restored to a peaceable Settlement of a Pastor.

After they had Waded thr<sup>o</sup> these Troublesome times, Providence Provided for them A pastor after God<sup>s</sup> own hart, to feed them with Knowledge and Understanding. For about the year 64: or 65, The Renowned Mr Joseph Eliot, Son of the famous & Pious Mr John Eliot of Roxbury The Indian New: England Apostle, was Called and Introduced, And by the Laying on of the Hand<sup>s</sup> of the Presbytery was Ordaind to the pastoral office



in the Church. Mr Mather of North Hampton, with whom Mr Elliot had lived for Some time before he came to Guilford being the Chief in the ordination.

The Church and Town Greatly flourished under his Successful Ministry; and Rose to Great Fame in the Colony.

After this Burning & Shining Light had ministered to this Good people About 30 years, he Deceased May 24 : 1694, to the inexpressible Grief of his beloved flock whose memory is not forgotten to this Day.

Some time in the Summer this year, The Rev<sup>d</sup> & pious Mr Thomas Ruggles Likewise from Roxbury, was Perswaded to come and preach to them as a Candidate for the ministry. and in the fall of the year 1695. was Ordained The pastor of the Church by the Laying on of the hand<sup>s</sup> of the Presbytery under whose ministry the Church Enjoy<sup>d</sup> Great peace, & Religion flourished Tho the Seed<sup>s</sup> of Division were then Sowed.

After he had faithfully fed the flock, he Deceased June 1 : 1728, in the 34<sup>th</sup> year of his ministry, And 58 of his Age.

His Eldest Son Thomas Ruggles was Called to Succeed him, and was ordain<sup>d</sup> by the Laying on of the hand<sup>s</sup> of the Presbytery March 26, 1729 : who Still Continues in that Relation.

And at his Desire. Occasioned by Bodily Infirmary June 8<sup>th</sup> 1757 The Church Called, and Ordained by the Presbytery Mr Amos Fowler a Colleague Pastor, who also is alive in that place.

In the Month of May 1703 the Hon<sup>ble</sup> General Assembly divided the Town, by forming a Society at the Desire of those Inhabitants who Lived upon the Eastern parts of the Town. Giving to this new made Society the Name of East Guilford; and Allotting its bound<sup>s</sup> by a Line. And in the month of Nov<sup>r</sup> 1707 : the Rev<sup>d</sup> & Learned Mr John Hart who came from Farmington, was by the laying on of the hand<sup>s</sup> of the Presbytery Ordained the first Pastor of the new Gathered Church in this new Society. He proved one of the first Eminence of preacher<sup>s</sup> in his Day. He died March 1732 Aged

The Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Jonathan Todd from New : Haven was ordain<sup>d</sup> their next Pastor, Oct<sup>r</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> 1733 : by the hand<sup>s</sup> of the Presbytery. Who is Still living their Excellent Pastor.

Out of the First or Western Society the General Assembly upon the Desire of the Inhabitants, & Consent of the Society, Made another Society Calling it North : Guilford : And in June 1725 the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Samuel Russel from Branford, was by the Laying on of the hand<sup>s</sup> of the Presbytery ordained the first Pastor of the new Church Gathered there, he prov<sup>d</sup> a Worthy & faithfull Minister, He Deceased January 19 : 1746 : And the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr John Richards from Waterbury was ordained by the Laying on the hand<sup>s</sup> of the Pres-

bytery Pastor of the Church. In the Month of Nov<sup>r</sup> 1748.

He at his Desire was by the Council of the Association of New : Haven County, Dismiss<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1765. from his Pastoral office there.

And Mr Thomas Well<sup>s</sup> Bray from Farmington, was Ordain<sup>d</sup> Pastor of the Church Dec<sup>r</sup> 31 : 1766 :

Within the Limits of the First, The General Assembly made another Calling it the fourth Society in Guilford May 10 : 1733 Mr Edmund Ward of Guilford was Ordain<sup>d</sup> Their pastor but being Soon Dismiss<sup>d</sup>—They did in Aug<sup>t</sup> 1743 Call and Ordain Mr James Sprout of Middleborough their Pastor ; who being Dismiss<sup>d</sup> from them in Oct<sup>r</sup> 1768. They now are Destitute of a Settled Pastor.

And May 17 The Honourable Assembly made another Society in the North : East part of the Town, partly out of the first Society, and partly from East Guilford. They gave the name of North Bristol to this Society. And the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Richard Ely from Lyme was by the Laying on of the hand<sup>s</sup> of the Presbytery Ordain<sup>d</sup> the Pastor over them June 8<sup>th</sup> : 1757 : who now Continues in that Relation to the Church, and people there.

In the year 1743 A Number of the Inhabitants of the first Society Declard themselves of the Communion of the Church of England, And in 1745, Built an house for Their Publick worship. They have no Crate, Their number Small, but meet Every Sabbath to attend Church Service, and Ju 1748 a number at North : Guilford also Declard for the Church, have built an house, and meet on Sabbaths for worship : perhaps there may be About Sixty or Seventy in all young & old belonging to the whole Town, of Communicants.—

It is a Thing Uncertain who were the first or original planters or what were the names of all of them, The first Account of names upon Record is so late down as 1650. These forty Six persons following are Entred, & named as Such, viz.

Henry Whitfield,	John Parmelin, Senr	Richard
Samuel Dishorow	Thomas Eetts,	George Chatfield
John Higginson	Richard Guttridge,	William Stone
William Leete	Richard Bristow	John Stephens
Robert Kitchil	John Parmelin, Jr.	Benjamin Wright
William Chittenden	Jasper Stillwell	John
Thomas Jordan	George Bartlet	John Johnson
George Hubbard	John Scanton	John Sheder
John Hodley	John Fowler	Samuel Blatchley
Thomas Jones,	Edward Benton	Thomas French
William Dudley	Abraham Crutten-	Stephen Bishop
	(den	
Thomas Cook,	John Everts	Thomas Stephens
Henry Kingsnoth	John Bishop, Senr	William Boreman
John Stone	Francis Bushnell	Edward
William Hall	Henry Dowd,	George Highland
	Abraham Crutten-	Ju <sup>r</sup>

—It is a thing Evident by this List of the planters that the Account of all the original names, is not Ascertained, for Some of the first planters are not mentioned in it. Particularly Mr. Collinge who was one of the purchaser<sup>s</sup> from the Indians : Tra-

dition concerning him is that he Soon Died leaving no Heir, or memorial of his name but a Small Island in the Salt Meadow near the Sea Called to this day Coffinages Island.—

And Some that are named it is Certain were not original Planters or purchasers, In particular Hubbard & Fowler. They came from Hartford or Weathersfield, and as many others were, who came into the town afterwards admitt'd Planters in it, and had Land<sup>s</sup> Laid out, & assign'd to them. Among Such was Dr Bryan Rossetter, One of This Dr Rossetter's Daughter<sup>s</sup> Married a Cotton, and his posterity Continue to this time in Town. Dr Rossetter purchased Mr Disborow's House & Land<sup>s</sup> of him when he Left the Town with Mr Whitfield, and Returned to England.

As the Town was an Immediate part of New : Haven Government they were from the Early times Allow'd an Assistant or Magistrate. Mr Samuel Disborow, Who next to Mr Whitfield was Esteemed the first & Richest of the Planter<sup>s</sup> was the first Assistant.

The next Assistant in the Town was Mr William Leete: He came from England a Young but very hopefull man, as he proved to be afterward<sup>s</sup> both in New : Haven, and after the Union in Connecticut Colony. The family Tradition is that in England he was a Clerk in the Quarter Session<sup>s</sup> of the County bred for the Law. He was an Excellent writer for the times. And for many year<sup>s</sup> Serv'd as Secretary, or Clerk of the Town, All the Ancient Record<sup>s</sup> being written in his hand, and had a Good Understanding in Law, & Draughting with his Pen. His Eldest Son John Leete it is Said was the first Child born in the Town. and has left a Numerous Posterity. He was Deputy Gov<sup>r</sup> of New : Haven Colony: and After the union was Governor of the Colony. Remov'd to Hartford, and There died & was Buried.

The next Magistrate in the Town was His Second Son Mr Andrew Leete. He married a Daughter of Mr Jordan of the original planters, and possess'd his Share in the plantation After Mr Jordan's Return to England. Like his father he prov'd an Excellent man, who it is Said and believed was the principal hand in Securing & preserving the Charter, when it was Just upon the point of being Given up to St. Edmund Andross. In his house it found a Safe Retirement until better Times. Next after Mr Leete was Mr Josiah Rossetter Son of Dr Rossetter, and Since him Mr Abraham Fowler, Son of John Fowler.

The first planters who came to the town were of two Ranks, viz Such who in England were Called Gentlemen, and Commonality. none were poor men and few or no Servants: The Gentlemen were all men of Wealth, And they bare the Appellation of Mr as Mr Desborow &c, While according to the plain custom of those times the Comonality were named only Goodman or Neigh-

bor Such, or Such an one. How Greatly are times now Changed.

Every man almost is Cail'd, Mr Every Woman, Miss, Mad<sup>m</sup> or Lady. Popularity Destroys all Civil Distinction.

The first planters<sup>s</sup> Wheither Gentlemen or Yeomen, were almost all of them Husbandmen by profession few Tradesmen, not one Black: Smith among them. it was with Great cost the town obtain'd one to live among them: In this Respect they were Quite Different from the first Settlers of New : Haven, altho they came with them: The Good people who came with Mr Davenport, were Londoners<sup>s</sup> bred to Merchandize, and fixt upon a place proper for Trading which was their Design: But Mr. Whitfield's people were Quite the Reverse. Country people: and there: fore chose their Land<sup>s</sup> for Different Ends. Milford and, Guilford were some time under Consideration, but at Length they fixt their choice upon Guilford: as they came from Kent &c So they chose for their plantation Land as near Like those as they could, viz Lowe, Flat, and Moist Land. Such as the Town is near their first Setling. South of the Town Plat toward<sup>s</sup> the Sea Lies What is now Call'd the Great plain, this with Some of the Points of Land adjoining the Sea were all Clear'd by the Native Indians, were Rich & fertile, and by the Skill and Industry of the Inhabitants afforded Quickly a Comfortable Sustenance for themselves and families. I have never heard of any Great Distress in the town at first for want of Bread; as was the Sad case of the first Settlers of the Country in Generall and what Justly Deserves to be Remark'd is, that the [*Ancestral Skill*?] and Spirit of the first: planters<sup>s</sup> in husbandry has Descended and Still continues among their posterity. There is a Certain niceness and Delicacy, where in the perfection of Good Husbandry Consists, This is Conspicuously, to be found among them. It would be Look'd upon as a piece of Vanity unsufferable, to Say all the Good Husbandry in the Country has been Learnt from these Skilfull people; But it is no vanity to say there is no where better in the Country to be found: All Strangers & Europeans agree to Say there is no place in the Country to be found where the Husbandry so nearly Resembles the Husbandry in England. Especially in that fine piece of Land Called the Great Plain.

It was a Great many years the planters were Chiefly Confin'd to the Land<sup>s</sup> Clear'd by the Indians near the Sea in Their Husbandry they indeed Early made a Law that Every planter Should Clear up yearly Itafte an Acre of new Land. This was a Hard piece of Labour It was all done by Hand, by Diging and Stubbing up the Trees, and Small Growth<sup>s</sup> by the Roots, Altho they Quite Spoild the Land by it. but they knew of no other way, and it was a Severe penalty to be Guilty of Transgressing This Town order, It



was a Long time before the present way of Clearing new Land was practised. The first Adventurer herein was John Seranton, Upon the Top of a Good hill of Land now the property of Mr Ruggles; he Cleard about an Acre.

The Inhabitants were Amazd first at his Courage that he would venture So far, about Two miles Into the Wood to Labour. Then at his folly that he Should think a crop of Wheat would Grow in Such a way, So Strange are new things to the world: But They were perfectly Astonished, when they Saw Twenty Bushels of the best of Wheat Reaped at harvest from only Three pecks of Seed on an Acre of Ground Sown in that manner, by Such Tillage.

Experience from whence almost all usefull Knowledge Especially in husbandry is Derived, Convinc<sup>d</sup> them of the truth, and the Same Spirit Spread, and the Wood Land<sup>s</sup> Soon became fields of Wheat.

As the first Planters of the town were like Jacob plain men, bred to Tillage & Keeping of Cattle, So a Great Deal of the Same Temper Spirit and manners Remains among their proper Descendants to this Day, as it was in Israel among the Recabites; Industry, Labour, and frugality are in General the Reigning Spirit of the inhabitants. There is no Such thing as Tavern Haunting and Little of Wasting of time, in drinking or fruitless Diversions. The Inhabitants are perhaps as little in Debt, as Any Town, and possess of as much Solid Estate, Yet with Grief it must be Said That of Late years Fashionable Vices, by a flowing in of Strangers and a Great Encrease of Sailors<sup>s</sup> and Some other Incidents are too sadly Predominant, Thus Evil Communication will ever Corrupt good manners. It is a Disease as Catching as Deadly as the Plague it Selfe, Alas: what Pity is it that the Countrey in General is So much overspread with, and Polluted by Luxury and its attendants: and these Recommended by the fair Carracter of Politeness, and Good Breeding: —The poor in the town are Comparatively few. In General the Inhabitants are Good Livers on Sollid and wholesome food—.

—The Situation of the Town where first Settled is Pleasant En<sup>e</sup>. It Stands on a flat plain a mile and halfe from the Sound, or Harbor, and laid out as near like New: Haven as the land would admit of. The town plat is Surrounded with Hills on Every Side Except toward<sup>s</sup> the Sea, on the South; So that Travellers<sup>s</sup> in the Road<sup>s</sup> leading to it, cant See any thing of it, until you are Just Ready to Enter among the Houses. Strangers<sup>s</sup> in General Recon the Land<sup>s</sup> are Rather too Low for a town to Stand upon and it is Rather too much Encumberd with Water & wet land<sup>s</sup>, but the Great plain Induc<sup>d</sup> the planters<sup>s</sup> to fix it here. In the Centre is a large Area or Oblong Square, Round the Edges of Each side of which the Houses stand

thick. There are Several Squares of Land hid Adjoining hereto with Streets Leading Conveniently about them, which are all fill<sup>d</sup> with buildings. So that at a Distance as you Enter the town it Look<sup>s</sup> very Compact. The Meeting House of the first Society Stand<sup>s</sup> on this Green or Great Square and the Society has these three things that are memorable viz That they built the first Meeting house in the Present form, The first Steeple and had the first Town Cloek of any in the whole Government.—The Buildings of the town are Generally Good, but none of them very Grand, Elegant, or Sumptuous.

The Bound<sup>s</sup> of the Town as ascertain<sup>d</sup> by the patent from the Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly are on the West by Branford beginning at the mouth of Ruttawo (now Stony Creek) at the Sea, Running Northward to the Great Pond called Pistapaug, Until it meet at Right angles in the middle of the pond Wallingford & Durham, So that a Supposed point in the pond is the Boundary of four Towns Guilford Branford Wallingford & Durham. all meeting there as the centre of the Lines. bounding Each town, From Pistapauge Eastward it Runs to the Westernmost Branch of Homonasset River, Durham Lying to the North. From this North Line it Runs Southward by S<sup>d</sup> Homonasset River to the Sea The middle of the River being the Bound<sup>s</sup> between Killingworth, & the town and Southward by the Sound. It Lies in Latitude 41°:45': according to Hadlys Quadrant.

With Respect to the natural History of the town it is in Brief This As on the South the Township Lies upon the Sea, So from Ruttawoo to Homonasset River the Land<sup>s</sup> in General are flat plain and exceeding Rich & Good having many Small necks where the Indians Dwelt, and fill<sup>d</sup> with oyster and other Shells from the Sea, by which it is Greatly fertilized: and This was what Induced the first planters to Settle here. Quite to Homonasset very Soon. So that all along the post Road the houses stand Quite thick En<sup>e</sup> to the River, and there is no ten miles pleasanter Road on the Sea Side then from Guilford to Killingworth, the Sea being Generally in full view.

The town does not Abound with fish. Yet there would be En<sup>e</sup> to Supply the Inhabitants of Every Kind of Shell fin fish & Lobsters, were there a proper number of Skilfull fishermen applying to it. But the Inhabitants are more inclin<sup>d</sup> to Husbandry then fishing and Generally prefer much, Good Beef & Pork to fish of any Kind.—

The natural Soil of the Township is very various, About Halfe a mile from the water it is Exceeding Good: a Black fertile Looime Excellent for wheat, and other Grain, and free from Blasting. About Two miles farther upwards it is Either a Good Gravail or Sandy: The Gravail Land being Sweet & Good, is Quite Good for all Kinds of Growth, Especially Where well Dung<sup>d</sup> for Grass, and crops of Summer Grain when plenty of Rain,



but pinches Greatly with Drought, But Especially Excells for Crops of Indian corn. And where pretty moist for Raising flax : perhaps no part of the Globe where flax Grows more perfect, or Exceeds in Quantity or Quality: four & sometimes five Hundred weight being Commonly the produce of an acre:—Within these Limits, The Township Abounds with Good Salt marsh. This is the Great Reasoner of the Town for Raising Stock, and making the Best of Dung, when [●] and well Rotted in a Cowyard, to this is chiefly owing the Great fertility of the [ ] Stands and was first [ ] by the planters.—The rest of the Township Northward is a mixt Soil, Some very Good, others very Indifferent, It is very Hilly, but not Good Wheat land it is too moist & Clayey,—There is much Broken and Waste land in the town, Incumbered with Prodigious Ledges of Rocks, or very Stoney, yet Good for Grass—Wood & Timber of all Kinds grow plentifully in the Township, Even Cedar and Some white Pine. But what particularly Exceeds for in wood is White Oak & White Wood which for Tallness, Cleareness of clift and Bigness Round, are not to be Equaled in quality any where. And the Broken Lands Especially near the Town, are full of firewood, near and Good.—

The Township is Exceedingly well watered with Springs from its Hills Brooks from its Swamps, and smaller Rivulets: Two Large Rivers Run thro<sup>o</sup> the Middle of the Township named the East & West Rivers which both Empty into the harbor, near together. The old Town Stands adjoining to the West : River, and both Serve plentifully for Mills, &c.—

The Harbor Lies South of the Town. We Go [ ] the Great plain [ ] is a very poor Thing Shallow and Encumbered with many Rocks: [ ] Then About Two miles Westward from it is an Excellent Tho<sup>o</sup> Small Harbour. It is Land Lock<sup>d</sup> on all Sides but the Southwest. the Entrance or mouth narrow It is well known by Coasters. It is Called Sachems Head. It may not be uninteresting to mention the Occasion of its Taking this Extraordinary name, After the Pequod Indians were driven [ ] forts [ ] Westward towards Fairfield, the English pursued them, and Tho<sup>o</sup> most of the forces went from the fort of Say-brook by Water, A number of Soldiers With Uncas and his Indians Scoured the Shores near the Sea, least Any of the Pequods Should lurk there. Not a Great way from this Harbour they came across a pequod Sachem with a few Indians: whom they pursued. As the South Side of the Harbor is formed by a Long narrow point of Land, the pequods went onto this point Hoping their pursuers would have pass<sup>d</sup> by them, But Unas knew Indians Craft, and Ordered Some of his men to Search that point. The pequods perceiving they were pursued, Swam over the mouth of the Harbor, which is narrow.

But they were Way Laid, & Taken as they Landed. The Sachem was Sentenced to be Shot to Death, Uncas shot him with an arrow. Cut off his Head, and Stuck it up in the Crotch of a Large Oak Tree near the Harbor where the Skull Remained for a Great many Years. Thus from this Extraordinary Incident this name was adopted to the Harbor.

There are many Spots in the Town to be Chosen out that are Excellent Good for Gardens—and for Orchards. In particular for an Apple we call a Bristow Apple. It took this name from Richard Bristow one of the first Planters, and who had the first tree of the kind. The true perfect Bristows, are a Large fair very Deep Red Coloured apple. They are as much Esteemed by the Inhabitants, as the famous Red Streaks are in England. The proper soil for the \* \* \*

## II.—COLONEL JOHN HARDIN.

By MANSFIELD TRACY WALWORTH, Esq.

The following sketch of the famous Scout and Indian-fighter, who rendered such valuable service in the cause of the American Revolution, at the Battle of Saratoga, and afterwards commanded the advance-guard at the memorable conflict on the Wabash, in 1791, has been perfected by the receipt, within the past year, of letters from the Honorable Mark Hardin, of Shelbyville, Kentucky.

This venerable correspondent, now remarkably strong and vigorous for one who has come down to us from the last century, is a son of the Revolutionary officer, and is still a wonderful marksman with the rifle which rendered his father so terrible an enemy of the red-coated Royalist and the red-skinned savage. He writes: "I recollect well my father's saying that at the taking of Burgoyne his gun became so hot he had to cool her in water three times; and that unless some of his balls dropped out of his shot-pouch, he had fired about forty-nine times, as there were that many balls missing; that each time he took deliberate aim, and was so protected himself that he felt no fear of danger; and that his enemy, in each case, was in full view and wholly unprotected, and as near as he wished an object to be to be sure of hitting it."

At the time of these successive Battles on the banks of the Hudson, which are now called "The Battle of Saratoga," John Hardin was twenty-four years of age, and a Lieutenant in Morgan's famous Rifle-corps. He was constantly detached by General Morgan on perilous reconnoitering and ambush duty; frequently gaining the rear of Burgoyne's Army, and capturing prisoners and correspondence.

General Wilkinson, in his *Memoirs*, thus refers

to his merit: "On the twelfth of September, the Army took possession of Behm's heights. The General had received no information of the situation of the enemy subsequent to the visit of Doctor Wood, at which time Burgoyne occupied Duer's house at old Fort Miller; in fact he knew not whether they were advancing, retreating, or stationary. This circumstance was embarrassing, etc. I believed I could conduct a reconnoitering party with effect, and proposed it to the General, who approved my purpose; and accordingly, after night fall the same day, I marched with one hundred and fifty Infantry, and *twenty select riflemen under that incomparable subaltern, Lieutenant John Hardin.*"

On page 244, General Wilkinson says: "Prior to the action of the nineteenth, Lieutenant Hardin had been detached with a light party to the rear of the British Army, to take a prisoner and pick up intelligence. On his return, near Saratoga, on the twenty-second, he met an Indian courier in a path on the summit of a sharp ridge: they were within a few paces, presented, and fired at the same instant; the Indian fell and Hardin escaped with a scratch of his antagonist's ball on his left side. The letters of Burgoyne to Powell and several others were found in the shot-pouch of the dead Indian, and delivered by the Lieutenant at Head-quarters."

The letters recently received from the Honorable Mark Hardin enable me to present this occurrence as he heard it from his father, the actor in the affair. He committed to paper many years ago, when in his prime, his recollection of his father's account of the encounter, and that paper now lies before us. He writes:

"Lieutenant Hardin and his men reached the war-path, and took their position at a place just suited to such an enterprise. Two ravines made up to the path, from their junction some distance below, the same forming the shape of a V. They were sufficiently distant at the lower point of the V. to be unobserved, and of course would let a superior force pass unmolested. If the enemy were coming from the right, they would reach the war-path up the left-hand ravine unobserved. So, also, if they were coming from their left, they could in the same manner reach the path by the right-hand ravine. From their position, they saw a Mohawk Indian and two British officers, in Indian file, the British a few paces in the rear. Hardin whispered his men to follow, and crept lightly to the war-path, and when he chose to discover himself, presented his gun and demanded a surrender. They grounded arms, the breech of the Indian's gun on the ground, the barrel clinched in his hand. Hardin's men not having crept as fast as he

did, were not immediately with him. He turned his head, and at that instant he heard the Indian cock his gun; his own was held at arm's length, his arms hanging by his sides, but being cocked and his finger on the trigger. His head was no sooner turned and his eye on his adversary than he fired. The Indian fired almost at the same instant and burnt off one of Hardin's whiskers, but himself received a ball from Hardin's rifle through his body, and, after having run about fifty yards, fell. This is the only Indian of the many he killed that *he scalped.*" In another letter this son of Lieutenant Hardin informs us: "I have often seen the scalp, and of course heard the circumstances of it frequently from the enquiries of strangers when seeing the same."

We have encountered in our historical researches several allusions to the fact that some of the pioneers of the West, in their terrible conflicts with the savages, who spared neither age nor sex, adopted the retribution of *scalping* as the only efficient terror to stay the ravages of the red-men. But this is the first authentic account we have seen of the practice; and it reaches us in the handwriting of the most estimable son of Colonel John Hardin, whose name, virtues, and incessant hazards in the cause of his country, and his State, we find eulogized in the post-Revolutionary press, when he lost his life in carrying a flag of truce to the Indians, and also in the private and public letters of cotemporary Generals and gentlemen.

From Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, we learn that the two British officers who were captured by Lieutenant Hardin on this Saratoga war-path were Lieutenant Lundie and Ensign McMartin, who were honorable enough to remain passive after they had grounded arms and surrendered. In addition to the letters of Burgoyne, captured by Lieutenant Hardin on the body of the Indian, he found another letter on the person of one of the British officers, signed by no less a personage than Barry St. Leger.

From this same son of Colonel John Hardin, we have, within the year, received the following written statement, the particulars of which he derived from his father's brother:

"Colonel John Hardin's brother, Martin Hardin, of Washington-county, Kentucky, has repeatedly said that his two neighbors, Josiah Wilson and P. Harrigan, both now dead, were a portion of the thirty men detailed to reconnoitre Burgoyne's Camp, and report his position to General Gates. Their orders were to proceed as far as possible with safety, and to get the best information possible. Captain James Wilkinson commanded, and Lieutenant John Hardin was second in command. They proceeded some distance, and without stopping

"to relate what they said in relation to a proposition to return, and the kind of report to be made, which was objected to, we will proceed at once to detail that Captain Wilkinson replied, 'Thirty men are too many to go as far as we are expected to go; you, Lieutenant Hardin, call for *twelve* volunteers of the thirty, and complete the order; and I will here await your return.'

"Hardin's reply was brief. 'No, Sir, not Volunteers—let me *pick* my twelve, and I will proceed.'

"Wilson and Harrigan were two of the twelve. From a distance, the Army of Burgoyne was scrutinized, from some time in the afternoon until it was dark. The place of entering within the lines was selected; and, as soon as it was dusk, Hardin reached a position, and remained secreted until the sentinels were posted, and he was sufficiently near to get the countersign. As soon as the sentinels were all placed and quiet prevailed, he stealthily crept between two of the sentinels, without being challenged, and then at his leisure, completed all that they had been detailed for, and returned in the same manner to his men, and then made his Report to Captain Wilkinson, who, as the senior officer, reported the same to General Gates. On this information, such dispositions were made on the next day, that Burgoyne was hopelessly involved and forced to surrender. For this signal service of Captain Wilkinson, he was sent express to Congress with the intelligence of the surrender."

John Hardin was born in Fauquier-county, Virginia, in October, 1753. At twelve years of age, he had become skilled in the use of the rifle. He traversed the valleys, and climbed the wooded hills in pursuit of deer, elk, and bears, until he became a thorough master of the back-woodsman's craft. He became famous for the rapidity and accuracy of his shots. He supplied three families with venison by means of his rifle. His hardy pioneer life qualified him for the positions of military trust which for so many years were confided to him.

In 1774, Governor Dunmore led his famous expedition against the Indians. Young Hardin received the appointment of Ensign in a Company, being at that time under twenty-one years of age. A few months later, under command of Captain Zack Morgan, he encountered the savages; and while on one knee, in the act of firing, received a ball which lodged near the groin, and was never extracted. That bullet clung to him through all his subsequent hazardous service—at Saratoga, Philadelphia, and, after the Revolution, in the Indian wars of the Wabash and the West. While still using his crutches from this wound he started with Governor Dunmore on the expedition against the Indians.

After this war was finished, and he was about to leave Virginia for a new home in the midst of the warlike savages who ranged the untamed wilderness of Kentucky, he ascertained that Congress were about to raise troops for a contest with the English Crown. He raised a Company of recruits, and received a Commission as Second Lieutenant. He afterwards joined General Morgan's famous Rifle-corps, which gave him ample opportunity for the display of his peculiar gifts as a scout and skirmisher; and he soon gained the confidence of that General, who led him to the battle-fields of Saratoga, and entrusted him with many enterprises, where skill and intrepidity were demanded. He was ever spoken of as a man of gentle manners but of a wonderful firmness and tenacity of purpose; and when delivering the deadly fire of his rifle, as cool and calm as when on parade.

Colonel James Knox, who served a part of the time with Hardin, in Morgan's Rifle-corps, described the terrible execution the young Lieutenant's rifle inflicted upon the British officers. Often on their scouting parties, when retreating before a superior foe, Hardin would halt behind a stump or tree; await the approach of the enemy within striking distance; pick off an officer with his rifle; and retreat under the smoke of his own fire. Colonel Knox related that he had seen more than a hundred guns thus fired at him by the enemy. He was swift of foot, and had become so accustomed to such scenes that it produced no delay or apprehension for him among his men. They knew that he did everything with cool deliberation, and would come off safe. Many efficient officers among the red-coats were thus cut off by his marvelous accuracy of aim. These scenes, his sons never heard him relate; but his widow remarked to them, when speaking of Colonel Knox's statements, that Hardin, when looking back upon the scenes of this protracted and vindictive civil war, said to her that it looked to him so much like murder that he did not choose to detail these events and familiarize his children with them. Such are civil wars. The brave man looks back upon them with regret, and even expresses sorrow, that his vindictive Tory enemy has fallen with the torch and the tomahawk of the savage in his white hand.

It appears that some of Morgan's Rifle-corps were armed with the tomahawk. This was a weapon used at least in the following affair, which is given accurately, and for the first time in full, to the public. While the British occupied Philadelphia, Washington was desirous to detain them within as narrow limits as possible. Lieutenant Hardin was on the lines with his command; and, on a particular occasion, he was officer of a guard to prevent supplies being sent in to the enemy. Three wagons, loaded with flour, forced the



guard, and, at a rapid rate, were pushing on. Hardin sprang on a horse, and alone pursued, rifle in hand. He passed the first and second wagon, and on reaching the head horses of the third wagon, he drew his tomahawk, and struck it into the head of one of them. The horse fell, and, of course, halted the teams. At this moment, the owner of the wagons presented his gun from the inside of the hindmost, or third, wagon; but, before he could fire, he received the contents of Hardin's rifle. This partisan officer was quick as the lightning. Thus, alone, and a mile away from his men, he captured three teams and their drivers, and forced them to drive back into the American Camp. The Pennsylvania Tory whom he thus killed was a very wealthy farmer, whose name is withheld in this place for certain adequate reasons. The commanding officer in consideration of this exploit, offered the three wagons and teams to Hardin; but he refused to receive the present. He never was known to accept or appropriate Tory property, so thoroughly did his American heart despise those traitors to the soil.

At the close of the Revolution, he moved to the State of Kentucky, and there became a citizen of influence, a magistrate, and an efficient adviser of the Government, in peace and war. Particularly were his services in demand in the subsequent battles with the Indians. His acquaintance with their mode of warfare, his alacrity in volunteering for the various campaigns, and his wonderful qualities upon the forest and prairie-trails, made him a general favorite in Camp and Court, as well as those other noble qualities which distinguished him when not in military command.

The name of Hardin is a proud name in Kentucky. His grandson, whose name is inscribed upon the exquisite soldiers' monument at Frankfort, Colonel John J. Hardin, of Illinois, fell at the head of his Illinois Regiment, at Buena Vista. It will be long before Illinois ceases to remember her favorite statesman, lawyer and soldier. The sons of this last-named favorite of Illinois were both soldiers in the recent Civil War—one of them serving in the Confederate Army, and the other commanding a Regiment of Pennsylvania Reserves, at one of the most bloody battles in Virginia, where he was desperately wounded.

Colonel John Hardin, the subject of this sketch, was so thoroughly identified with the Indian wars of Kentucky, that no history of them can be written without the frequent recurrence of his name and services in the record.

From an account taken from the Report of Brigadier-general Charles Scott, who commanded the forces sent to the Wabash, in 1791, we take the following, which, in substance, is immediately after the account of the rout of the Indians on

the bank of that river: "At this time, a messenger came dashing up on horseback, with a request from Colonel John Hardin for assistance. That gallant soldier had routed the enemy and was encumbered with prisoners. He had discovered another village farther to his left, stronger than those he had carried, and was proceeding to attack it. Captain Brown, with his Company, was immediately sent to reinforce him. Colonel Hardin was six miles distant from Head-quarters. That resolute officer, growing impatient at the delay in receiving assistance, pushed forward and captured the town, after a sharp conflict, and before Captain Brown's Company came up. At sunset, he joined the Commander-in-chief, having killed six warriors, wounding or scattering everything before him, and bringing in fifty-two prisoners."

In an official letter, written to the Secretary of War, from Lexington, Kentucky, and dated the twentieth of June, 1791, the Commander of the expedition says: "I consider it my duty to mention Colonel John Hardin, who had command of my advance-party and the direction of my guides, for the discernment, courage, and activity with which he fulfilled the trust I reposed in him."

In the engagement, Colonel John Hardin commanded sixty mounted Infantry and a Troop of Light-horse under Captain McCoy.

After the above contribution of new material for American history, we may be pardoned for the following interesting addition to this sketch, taken from history already published: "Towards the close of 1792, what had been apprehended with great anxiety, the death of Colonel John Hardin, who had been sent with overtures of Peace to the Indians, was reduced to a certainty. He had been solicited by General Wilkinson, commanding at Fort Washington, early in the Spring, to leave his home and private affairs, to become the bearer of a white flag, as the messenger of Peace to the hostile tribes of savages, North-west of the Ohio: as the General's letter expressed: 'from the Delaware to the Potawatomies.' Said he, 'I wish you to undertake the business, because you are better qualified for it than any man of my acquaintance, and because I think it will lead to something of advantage to you.' The service was believed by both to be extremely dangerous, and might be fatal to the undertaker. \* Certain it is that Wilkinson persuaded and pressed Hardin to the undertaking as he did Major Trueman, an officer of great merit under his command, and with whom he was known to be at variance, to undertake a like commission, in the same season, to another section of hostile Indians, and who shared a fate similar to

"that of Hardin. They were both known to be men of great firmness of character, and a ready self-devotion to dangerous enterprises when their country called. \* \* \* \* What has been learned is, that Colonel Hardin, attended by his interpreter, on his route toward the Miami villages, arrived at an Indian camp about a day's journey from where Fort Defiance was afterwards built, by General Wayne, and nearly the same distance from a town inhabited by Shawanese and Delawares; that he was well received by the Indians in camp, but had not been long there, before five Delawares came in from the town: upon learning of which, the Colonel proposed to them to go with him the same evening to the place. They, however, refused to go back that day, but seemed peaceably disposed; and he concluded to camp with the Indians the ensuing night, which he did without molestation. In the morning, however, without provocation or particular reason, a parcel of them shot him to death; if with any particular circumstances of barbarity is not known. They seized his horse, gun, and saddle-bags. His companion they made a prisoner, and murdered him on the road to Sandusky. It has been said, that when the news reached the town that a white man with a peace talk had been killed at the camp, it excited a great ferment and the murderers were much censured. At that time, Colonel Hardin had two Indians in his household, who, for several years, had been treated as members of his family, with the intention of restoring them to their nation on the return of Peace, and which was accordingly done by his widow.

"Hardin fell in the thirty-ninth year of his age. While he was out, and before his death was known, upon Kentucky's becoming a State, he was appointed a Justice of the Quarter Sessions, in Washington-county, where he had resided, and General of the First Brigade of Kentucky Militia."

### III.—DIARY OF REV. ELEAZER WHEELLOCK, D.D., DURING HIS VISIT TO BOSTON, OCTOBER 19, UNTIL NOVEMBER 16, 1741.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

COMMUNICATED BY REV. E. H. GILLETT, D.D.

*Oct. 19, 1741.* I left my family under some difficulties, by reason of Betty's sickness and John's weakness, and was disappointed in my purpose to visit dear Mr. Kirtland, by reason that the flood had carried away the bridges; and with much difficulty arrived about 6 o'clock at Cap<sup>t</sup> Johnson's, where we are courteously receiv-

ed. O that God would give me courage, zeal and skill to deal faithfully with my friends. God grant thy presence with me and my dear companion, in every place where we shall come.

*Oct. 20.* Preached at 10 with some enlargements, Present: Revs. Messrs. Coit, Kirtland, Dorrance, Barber, Avery, Wood, &c. The Assembly large and considerably affected. Dined at Bro. Woodworth's.

Preached in the afternoon at Plainfield to a full assembly. A number cry'd out. Held a conference at night—Young Christians don't rise, as in some places—One Converted—O when shall I learn to live always upon God, and be thankful for all the least enlargement and assistance?

*21.* Had little sleep; arose before day. Rode with Mr. Coit and my friends to Voluntown—went to meeting at 10, heard Mr. Gid: Mills preach well. I preached after him. There is a great work in this town, but more of the footsteps of Satan than in any place I have yet been in. The zeal of some too furious—they tell of many visions, revelations, and many Strong impressions upon their imagination. They have had much of God in many of their meetings, and his great power has been much seen, and many hopefully converted. Satan is using many artful wiles to put a stop to the word of God in this place. Went to the Conference at night, but was very low and flat in my Spirits for want of sleep. However, I mentioned to them some of those devices of Satan which I apprehended them in danger of, and heard the accounts of a number of new converts; prayed, sung, &c.

*22.* Rose this morning refreshed. A pleasant day. Found my soul stretching after God. Good Lord, let me not go alone. Dear Jesus, help thou me. The Lord has this day, in some measure, fulfilled my early desires. Preached twice with enlargement by Mr. Smith's barn to great assemblies. Many cried out, many stood trembling. The whole assembly very Solemn and much affected. 4 or 5 converted; one woman who came from Kingston against a great deal of opposition on purpose to hear me, came out clear, and went away rejoicing in God, longing to have her husband and others taste and see with her. Heard Mr. Mills preach in the evening from *John, iii. 5*. A very good Sermon it was. I think he is a very dear Brother.

*23.* Woke this morning about 3. Something indisposed. Dear Lord, I commit my body, my soul, my life, health, and all to thee; use me as thou wilt, only let me glorify thee, and seek that as my last end. Left Voluntown about 9, accompanied by a great number of wounded and comforted. I never heard so many imaginations as young Christians tell of here in my life, Some tell of a long course and series of them. . . . Came to Mr. Cooper's of Situate. Preached to a consider-

able assembly, but much spent. I am always thronged with company and han't time to talk with the 10th part of those who desire it. Dined and rode with a great number of Voluntown people to Capt Angill's; Preached there. . . Rode with Lieut. Dorrance to Elder Fish's in hope to find him a Servant of Christ; but found him a bigoted ignorant Baptist, who seemed to know nothing as he ought to know &c. . . Left him, and came about 8 to Mr. Henry's, about 4 miles from Providence. Received with love and respect. Found some good Christians, but myself much spent. O that I might be kept humble.

24. Rose early. Prayed and Sang. Discoursed with some wounded; afterwards exhorted a company who came in. Sang an Hymn, prayed, and rode with a great number of Voluntown people and others to Providence. About 2 miles from Providence met Mr. Knight and another man, who came out to meet us. His first salutation was—"God bless you, my dear Brother;" Went to his house; was treated with much friendship and respect by him and his family. Dined, Wrote, Prayed, Sang, spent the evening in Christian conversation; Rev<sup>d</sup> Cotton came; invited me to preach; felt freedom and Sweetness in my Soul.

25. Rode with Mr. Knight into town in his Calashe. Preached 3 Sermons, *II Cor. xiii., 5, Mark i. 2, Luke, x. ult.* O the dreadful ignorance and wickedness of these parts. O what a barren dear Mr. Cotton has daily to bear. Found Mr. Searing at Rode Island here.

26. Rode with Mr. Cotton back 7 miles to Mr. Bennit's. Preached at 1 o'clock to a numerous and affected Assembly. One converted. Dined at Mr. Henry's. Returned with a great number to Providence. Preached to a full Assembly. Many Scoffers present. One man hired for 20 s. to come into the meeting house and fall down, which he did, and made great disturbance. Ordered all who had a real concern for the Salvation of their Souls to follow me to Mr. Cotton's in order to have a conference with them. A considerable number came. Many of them belonged to other places, who seemed considerably moved, and Christians enlivened. Exhorted, Sang, and prayed, and dismissed them.

27. Went with Mr. Cotton and Madam over the ferry to Rehoboth, upon Mr. Greenwood's invitation. Preached at 1. Rode in Mr. Cotton's calash with Madam, Mr. Cotton and my friends in company to Swansey. Came about 8 to John Finney's. Preached there, &c.

28. Br. Finney and his Br. John went to Dn. Kingsley's for liberty to preach in the Baptist meeting house, but he refused it. But Dn. — sent for the Key and unlocked the doors. I went in and preached at 1, and again in the evening. O poor bigoted, ignorant, and prejudiced People. I went after meeting to Capt. Wm. Turner's, a Sep-

crate Baptist. Was exceedingly pleas'd with his wife, a true and shining Christian, and a woman of great knowledge and prudence; her family exceedingly well governed by her. Stayed with them, and discoursed about their spiritual concerns, etc. I think that the principles of the Separate Baptists are the most uncharitable, unscriptural, and unreasonable that I have yet met with.

29. Came with Mr. Cotton, Madam and many more to Attleboro. Very courteously received by Mr. Wells. Heard Mr. Turner of Rehoboth, who seemed the day before to discourse very ignorantly about conversion; but my esteem of him is now raised by what I heard. Preached after him. A great deal of affection and sobbing, thro' the whole assembly. Had great enlargement. Exhorted in the evening at Mr. Wells.

30. Slept well last night. Had a great sense of my own badness and unworthiness, and what a cursed heart I have. O Lord, let me see and know more of it. Rode with Mr. Wells and many others to Norton. Kindly received by Mr. Avery. Preached to a full assembly. Much affection and sobbing through the whole assembly. Rode after lecture to Taunton. Lodged at Madam Danford's; who lives with her daughter Hodge. Preached at 10. A great outcry in the Assembly. Many greatly wounded. Dined at Mr. Danford's, son to the former minister. Rode to Rainham with Mr. Wales and Br. Byram, who came to me at Norton. Conversed with my friends, . . . and wrote my Journal. O that I may be kept low in my own eyes.

*Nov. 1.* Rose this morning, was much pleas'd with the conversation of Mr. Wales and Madam. Preached in the forenoon to a full assembly. One cried out: many affected. Advised those who belonged to the assembly not to follow me to Taunton, but stay and hear their own Preacher. Went with Mr. Byram to Taunton. Preached there, *Job, xxvii. 8*, One or two cried out. Appointed another meeting in the evening, *Hos. xiii. 13*. I believed 20 cried out: almost all the negroes in the town wounded, 3 or 4 converted. A great work in the town. Dear Br. Crocker, a true Servant of Jesus Christ, preaches here upon probation. Colonel Leonard's negro in such distress that it took 3 men to hold him. I was forced to break off my Sermon before I had done, the outcry was so great. Continued the meeting till 10 or 11 o'clock. Went with Br. Crocker to his lodgings, Judge Williams's. Was kindly received.

2. Rode with Mr. Crocker to the tavern to see Capt. L——'s negro, Found him under a very clear and genuine conviction. Dear Br. Rogers came to me here. Rode with me to Mr. Weeks, and he joined us with a great number to Bridgewater. Preached to a full assembly in Mr. Shaw's meeting-house. Present, the Rev<sup>d</sup> Messrs. Jno. Wales, Jer<sup>s</sup> Patten, Mr. Cotton, Daniel Perkins,



Jno. Shaw, Jno. Porter. Lodged with Mr. Parker, at Mrs. Shaws.

3. Rode with a great number to Mr. Perkins' meeting. Very full assembly. After Sermon the Lecture was appointed at Mr. Auger's, but so many wounded that I could not leave them, and therefore preached again to a full assembly, *Ezek. xxii. 14.* A great outery. 4 or 5 converted. Lodged with Dr. Wm. Rogers at Mr. Perkins'.

4. Rode to Mr. Porter's. A great multitude. Preached upon a Stage, (*Hos. xiii. 13.*) One converted in Sermon. After dinner rode with Mr. Belcher and a great multitude to Easton. Br. Rogers preached. A very great outery in the assembly. I preached after him, (*Acts. vii. 51.*) 4 or 5 converted. Lodged at Mr. Belcher's.

5. Came to Mr. Niles' of Braintree, [Braintree]. Preached with great freedom. (*II. Cor. xiii. 5.*) Present, Messrs. Eells and Hancock. Mr. Wester came in the evening.

6. Set out for Boston. Met my dear Mr. Prince, and Mr. Bromfield about 8 miles from Boston. Came in to Mr. Bromfield's. Received in a most kind and Christian manner by him, Madam and his family, a dear Christian family, full of Kindness, love and goodness. . . His eldest son is now in his last year at Cambridge College. I believe a real converted person. Messrs. Price and Bromfield accompanied me back to Boston. Soon after I got into Mr. Bromfield's, came the Honorable Jos. Willard, Secret'y, Rev. Mr. Webb and Mr. Cooper, and Maj. Sewall to bid me welcome to Boston. At 6 o'clock rode with Mr. Bromfield in his shays to the North End of the town and preached for Mr. Webb to a great Assembly. (*II. Cor. xiii. 5.*) After Sermon returned to dear Mr. Webbs, where I was pleased with the conversation of dear Mr. Gee. Returned with Mr. Bromfield.

7. Slept comfortably. Rose and prayed with Mr. Rogers. At 10, rode with Mr. Bromfield to Mr. Webb's. Preached (*Hos. xiii. 13.*) to a full assembly. Returned and was invited by Dr. Coleman and Mr. Cooper to preach for Dr. Coleman, in the forenoon the next day, being Sabbath, and by Mr. Prince and Dr. Sewall in the afternoon. Preached to the Workhouse, (*Ezek. xxii. 14.*)

8. Went to Dr. Coleman's meeting. Preached with considerable freedom, (*Job. xxvii. 8.*) Dined with the Dr. Went with Br. Rogers to Mr. Prince's. Preached (*Mat. xxi. 16.*) to a full assembly. After meeting, was followed by a great throng of children, who importunately desired me to give them a word of exhortation in a private house, which I consented to, though I was designed to go and hear Mr. Prince, who, being by, desired that I would have it publicly, which I consented to. After 6 we met again. Preached (*Mat. vi. 33.*) to a very full assembly. Rode with Mr. Bromfield, in a close shays; followed to his

house after me a great many children, to receive a word of exhortation at the gate, which I could not stand long to do, being very wet with sweat.

9. Visited this morning by a great number of persons under soul-trouble. Refused to preach because I designed [*going*] out of town. Discoursed with Mr. Bromfield's dear children. Took my leave, by prayer recommending them, and one another to the Lord. Just as I was going, came Mr. Webb, and told me the people were meeting together, to hear another Sermon, and said if I would not stay without they would hold me. At 4 P.M. I consented to preach again. A scholar from Cambridge being present, who came to get me to go to Cambridge, and by a little after 6, a great part of the scholars had got to Boston. Preached to a very thronged assembly, many more than could get into the house, (*Psa. xxix. 8.*) with very great freedom and enlargement. I [*consider*] the church of God were very much refreshed. They told me afterwards they believed that Mather Byles never was so lashed in his life. This morning Mr. Cooper came to me in the name of the Hon. Jacob Wendel, Esq., and earnestly desired a copy of my Sermon preached in the forenoon, Lord's day, for the press. O that God would make and keep me humble. Appointed to preach to-morrow for Mr. Balch of Dedham, at his desire.

10. Madam Bromfield gave me this morning a shirt and pair of gold buttons, two cambrick handkerchiefs, a pound of tea and part of a loaf of sugar, and he a preaching Bible in 2 vols. same that Dr. Hinchman, of whom he bought them, gave 11 s. [*for*] Came out of town with Mr. Dyre and another Gentleman. Met Mr. Cotton of Providence about 8 miles from Boston, who came at the desire and by the vote of his church to get me to come back that way, and informed me of some very good beginnings, and very hopeful appearances among his people and the people of other persuasions there, and was very importunate with me to go with him, but I tho't it my duty to go directly home, encouraging him that I would come or send to him before long. He accompanied me to Mr. Balch's. Preached (*Mark xvi. 16.*) Went to Medfield.

11. Preached at 3 P. M. (*Mark. i. 2, 3.*) with some freedom. Went in the evening to see Mr. Baxter.

12. Being Thanksgiving, preached (*Ps. xxix. 8.*) and in the evening at Medway for Mr. Buck [*in*] ham. He seemed displeased that I told his people that Christians generally knew the time of their conversion. Returned to Uncle Adams's. Gave a word of exhortation, sang and prayed with a number of young people there.

13. Went with Uncles Wheelock, Adams, Aunt Wheelock, Elisha Adams and many more to Bellingham. Preached to a very large assembly

in the woods, (*Mar. xvi. 16.*) Many appeared affected. Present, Messrs. Dor, Messenger and dear Mr. Havens. Went with Mr. Dor and dined at Mr. Obad. Wheelocks. Received and treated with much respect by him and family, and his brother Benjamin. Much importuned to preach at Mendon, [*Mendon*] but came to Uxbridge. Lodged at Woods, the tavern. Importuned to preach the next day, but tho't best to pursue my journey.

14. Came to Thompson. Preached three Sermons for Mr. Cabbot; one to the young people at night. Many affected.

16. Came to the Consecration at Windham, and after it, home about 1 o'clock. What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits?

#### IV.—GENERAL W. F. SMITH'S REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF COLD HARBOR.

FROM THE ORIGINAL DRAFT, NOW FIRST  
PRINTED.

COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM SWINTON, ESQ.

STONINGTON, CONN., Aug. 9, 1864.

Chief of Staff.

Dep't of Va. and N. C.

SIR,

My continuous and active service in the field has prevented me from making out Reports of certain operations of the troops under my command at an earlier date; and as many of the subordinate Reports have not been made to me for reasons similar to those which have delayed mine, I can now give but a resume, and propose to include in the Report to your Head-quarters, operations of my command while with the Army of the Potomac, and not under the orders of General Butler.

On the twenty-seventh of May, I received orders to concentrate my Command, (to consist of the two white Divisions of the Eighteenth Corps, and the Divisions of Generals Ames and Turner, of the Tenth Corps,) in rear of the lines at Port Walthal, preparatory to embarking at Bermuda Hundreds, to join the Army of the Potomac.

In a conversation with Colonel Shaffer, I suggested, that as the transports were not expected to be ready within three or four days, the intervening time should be taken up by the capture of Petersburg, which place I looked upon as of great importance to us, from its rail-road connections, and its giving to us the line of the Appomattox.

The suggestion was adopted, and the necessary orders issued by Major-general Butler. The next day, my preparatory Orders were given; and the movement was to begin soon after nightfall. Late in the day, Colonel Shaffer

called upon me, and asked me whether I proposed to embark my men as fast as the transports arrived, or wait until all were at the Hundreds; to which I replied, that if it were left to me, I should start the men as fast as the transports arrived. The Order to attack Petersburg was then countermanded by the following Order:

"H.D. QR" IN THE FIELD.

"May 28<sup>th</sup> 1864.

"MAJ. GEN. SMITH

"Commanding 18<sup>th</sup> Corps.

"The transportation for your column having arrived, although in my judgment not sufficient, yet, in consequence of imperative Orders from General Grant, your column will move to his assistance. You will use the utmost expedition in embarking and getting on. If you desire any Cavalry to accompany you, please designate what Regiments or Battalions. I grieve much that this weakness of the Army of the Potomac has called the troops away, just as we were taking the offensive, and that the attack on Petersburg, which was agreed on, to take place to-morrow morning, must be abandoned; but it is so ordered, and, however against our wishes and judgment, we must obey. I propose to give you every facility in going off. You will have to use great caution in going up the Pamunkey, and in getting in to White House.

"The torpedoes in the water or a well arranged surprise on land would bring your expedition to grief. As you will not have the advantage, in going away, which we had coming, your destination will be exactly known by the rebels, the moment you start. Indeed, they have heretofore predicted it, in their newspapers.

"I have the honor to be

"General

"Your obedient servant

"BENJ. F. BUTLER

"Maj. Gen'l Commandg."

This was about half past six, P.M.; and in half an hour, the two columns were on the march. General Brooks's Division and that of General Ames moving towards the Hundreds; while General Martindale, with the rest of the Command, crossed the Appomattox and took the road to City Point. The night was very dark and stormy and the mud was very deep; but the heads of columns reached their destination in the proper time, and began to embark.

My Orders were to land on the North side of the Pamunkey, to protect the Engineer Troops, who were to be sent to work on bridges at that point. The following is the Order upon which I moved:

"WASHINGTON, 2.30, P. M.

"May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1864.

"MAJ. GENL. SMITH.

"Lieutenant-general Grant directs, that on reaching White House you will put the Rail-road (Bridge) there in condition for crossing troops and artillery; and have a sufficient force to hold it. Ask General Butler to give you artillery enough for that purpose. The Rail-road Bridge Corps will immediately leave Alexandria with men and materials for executing the work, as soon as you occupy the place. Telegraph here your progress in ascending the River, and landing.

"MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK."

My Command consisted of very nearly sixteen thousand Infantry, sixteen pieces of artillery, and one Squadron of Cavalry, of about one hundred men. As I knew of no landing-place on the North side of the Pamunkey, near the White House, I asked permission from Washington, through General Butler, to land at West Point, and march to the designated point; but this was refused. I, however, took the responsibility of sending General Ames and one Brigade, in fast steamers, to land at West Point, and march to protect my landing, if it should become necessary, and requested Admiral Lee to cover the landing of this Brigade by gun-boats. The necessary Orders were promptly given by the Admiral, with his usual zeal in all his coöperations.

By Sunday morning, at eleven, A.M., on the twenty-ninth, the embarkation was so far advanced, that I started to overtake the head of my Command. On arriving at Fort Monroe, a telegram gave me information that General Grant had crossed the Pamunkey, with the greater part of the Army of the Potomac; and then deeming my proper course to be up the Pamunkey, landing at the White House, I immediately gave the necessary Orders, and reached the landing at the White House, with my Head-quarters, on Monday, the thirtieth of May, at eleven o'clock, A.M.

The transports were as rapidly unloaded as the inadequate means of landing would admit; and several fast steamers were sent back to assist in towing barges and schooners, and in aiding those steamers which had run aground on the shoals in the James-river. During the night of the thirtieth and the morning of the thirty-first, I received three copies of the following Order:

"HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE  
"ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,  
"HANOVER-TOWN, VA.,

May 28, 1864, 1 P. M.

"Maj. Gen. W. F. SMITH.

Hist. Mag. Vol. V. 22

"Commanding 18th Army Corps.

"GENERAL:

"The Army of the Potomac is now crossing to the South side of the Pamunkey-river, and massing at this place. The most of it has already crossed. You will leave a Garrison at the White House, until it is relieved by General Abercrombie's Command from Port Royal, and, with the remainder of your Command, move direct to New Castle, on the South side of the Pamunkey, and there await further orders. Order the Garrison left by you at White House, on being relieved, to follow after and join you.

"By command of Lieut. Gen. GRANT.

"JNO. A. RAWLINS,

"Brig. Gen., and Chief of Staff.

"Official.

"E. J. PARKER.

"Asst. Adjt. Gen."

As my troops had not all arrived, and none of my wagons or ammunition, I sent to ask if my Command should move as I then stood, or wait until I could take supplies with me; but, later in the day, upon the receipt of a letter from General Grant, I determined not to wait for a reply to my letter, but to march at once.

I left General Ames with about two thousand five hundred men to garrison White House, and marched about half-past three o'clock, P.M., with about ten thousand men and my artillery, and without wagons to carry my supplies or extra ammunition. About ten o'clock, P.M., I reached Bassett's house, near Old-church, and distributed my troops to cover the roads leading to New Castle-ferry. The men had had but little experience in heavy marching, and that, together with the heat of the day, caused much straggling, which I was unable to prevent, as my Provost-guard had not arrived when I left the White House.

From Bassett's, I sent to inform General Grant of my position, and asking further orders. The next morning, at daylight, I received an Order to proceed at once to New Castle-ferry, and place myself between the Fifth and Sixth Corps. Deeming time to be of great importance, I moved the Command without allowing the men time to get their coffee. On reaching New Castle-ferry, I found that we were in the broad valleys of the Pamunkey, surrounded by hills within artillery-range, which, if occupied by the enemy, would force us to carry them by assault.

The Fifth and Sixth Corps were not in this vicinity. I at once sent Captain Farquhar of the Engineers to say to the Lieutenant-general, that I was certain, from my position, there was some mistake in the Order; and to ask that it be rectified. While my lines were being formed, I began the construction of a bridge across



the river; and during these operations Lieutenant-colonel Babcock, of General Grant's Staff, arrived to say there had been a mistake in my Order and that it should have been to march to Cold Harbor, instead of New Castle-ferry.

The Command was immediately marched back, over the road we had just travelled, and in the direction of Cold Harbor.

The day was intensely hot, and the dust stifling; and fatigue and exhaustion thinned my ranks during the march. On the road, I received the following Order from General Meade:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,  
"12 M. June 1st. 1864.

"Maj. Gen. WM. F. SMITH,

"Commanding 18th A. C.

"GENERAL:

"As soon as General Wright opens the road  
"from Old Church to Cold Harbor, you will fol-  
"low him, and take position on his right, en-  
"deavoring to hold the road from Cold Harbor  
"to Bethesda Church. General Wright is or-  
"dered to attack as soon as his troops are up;  
"and I desire you should coöperate with him,  
"and join in the attack. The enemy have not  
"long been in position about Cold Harbor; and  
"it is of great importance to dislodge, and, if  
"possible, to route, him, before he can entrench  
"himself.

"Respectfully, Yours,

"GEO. G. MEADE,

"Maj. Gen. Comdg."

My scant force would not have filled the space between the Fifth and Sixth Corps; and, making that connection, I should have had no lines with which to attack; and as I could not obey both the requirements of the Order, I determined to aid in the attack, and began the formation of my lines immediately. At this time, I sent an Aide to General Meade to say that I had no ammunition, save what my men had on their persons, and to ask that a supply might be sent to me, to be held in reserve.

On reconnoitering the ground in my front and on my right, where I had no support, I found the roads from Mechanicsville and Bethesda Church uniting in quite open country, and with topographical features such that, if that junction were held by the enemy, they would command the ground over which my attack was to be made. I was therefore obliged to give up my third line of battle to extend my line to hold this point. My line was formed thus: General Devens on the left, connecting with the Sixth Corps, in two lines; General Brooks next on the right, in two lines, with half a line in reserve; General Martindale on the right, in Battalions, in column, closed in mass, the masses being *en echelon*, with the right refused.

The left Division occupied a narrow strip of woods, the rebel lines being in another wood, separated from us by cleared ground, varying in width from one thousand two hundred yards to three hundred yards. While my lines were being formed, General Wright sent to ask me for reinforcements, as the enemy was turning his left flank. Two Regiments were sent to him from General Martindale's Command; and, shortly after, a message was received from General Wright to the effect that it was exceedingly important for him to begin the attack; and I determined to move forward, leaving General Martindale to form his troops and hold the roads and our right flank. General Devens's front line then advanced; crossed the one thousand two hundred yards of open ground, under a murderous fire; entered the woods; and the second line moving up to support the first, the two lines captured the rifle-pits and about two hundred and fifty prisoners. Pushing on through the woods, they came upon another opening, in which was a rebel line of works too strong to attack, and so they held the line of woods.

The leading Brigade of General Brooks's Division pushed through the clearing in their front, driving the enemy before them, until, on reaching the second clearing, they were met by so heavy a fire as to cause them to fall back within the woods. The leading Brigade of General Devens's Division lost heavily in Officers and men, (among others, its gallant Commander, Colonel Drake, of the One hundred and twelfth Regiment, New York Volunteers;) and when the fight was over was commanded by a Major. The Brigade of Colonel Barton, Devens's Division, held gallantly what had been won, until other troops could be thrown in to support them on the flank.

The Brigade of Colonel Guy V. Henry, of the Fortieth Massachusetts Volunteers, entrenched themselves in the woods they had gained. The advance of my lines, with the necessity of holding the roads on my right, caused an extension of my front, which, properly filled, left me only one thin line of battle in General Martindale's front, a partial second line with General Brooks, and the same with General Devens.

While arranging my troops for the night, to hold what they had gained, my Aide returned from Head-quarters, and informed me that General Meade had said, in answer to my request for ammunition: "Why the hell didn't he wait for his supplies to come up before coming here!" My justification was the Orders I had received from the Lieutenant-general, and the fact that he knew my condition when I moved. During the posting of my troops, the following letter was sent to Head-quarters:

"HEAD-QUARTERS 18TH CORPS, June 1, 1864.

"Maj. Gen. MEADE,

"Comdg. Army Potomac.

"GENERAL:

"All the Infantry ammunition I have is upon the person of my men—will you please make some arrangement to send me a supply immediately. At eleven o'clock this morning, none of my supply-train of wagons had arrived. I have only one wagon per Regiment; and some Brigades have less. I would respectfully ask that a supply-train be sent to the White House at once, to the Quarter-master and Commissary of this Corps, for supplies. Forage gives out to-night: rations to-morrow night. I have one Regiment with Austrian rifles, one with Spencer, and one with Sharp's carbine.

"Respectfully &c.

"W. F. SMITH,

"Maj. Gen. Comd'g."

Later in the night, being compelled to make other dispositions, I sent this note, as follows:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, 18TH CORPS,

"June 1st, 1864, 10.30, P.M.

"Maj. Genl. A. A. HUMPHREYS.

"Ch. of Staff, Army of Potomac.

"GENERAL:

"I have the honor to inform you that my line extends from the Woody House, across the Bethesda Church-road—partially along a rifle-pit, occupied by the enemy when I assaulted—the left Brigade occupying a line of pits taken from the enemy to-day; making my line like a very obtuse V. On the right, General Martin's line is spread out in one thin line, without any reserve. The centre, by General Brooks, has a partial second line, his third Brigade forming a second line to General Devens, who is on my extreme left. I have already had the honor to report my necessities and requirements for ammunition; and having now given the present condition of my situation, must leave it for the General-commanding to determine as to how long I can hold this line if vigorously attacked—one Division being almost entirely out of ammunition, and one Brigade of General Brooks's having but a small supply on hand. Fearful that the note of mine to General Meade may have been miscarried, I again state that I have one Regiment armed with Austrian rifles, one with Sharp's, and one with Spencer Carbines. I have not yet been able to ascertain the extent of my loss to-day. I have to request that medical stores be sent to my wounded; as I left before mine had been sent to me.

"Respectfully &c.

"Wm. F. SMITH,

"Major-general."

The Brigades of General Devens held the pit that night, with hardly any ammunition; and Colonel Henry had not enough left to resist a serious attack.

About half-past twelve, P.M., I received the following Order:

(Telegram)

"HEAD-QUARTERS. A. P.

"10.5, P.M., June 1st, 1864.

"Major-general SMITH.

"You will make your disposition to attack to-morrow morning on Major-general Wright's right, and in conjunction with that officer's attack. This attack should be made with your whole force, and as vigorous as possible. You will send Orderlies to the telegraph office at General Wright's Head-quarters, and keep me frequently advised of your operations. I have had no Report of your operations this afternoon.

"GEO. G. MEADE,

"Maj. Gen."

To which I returned the following reply:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, 18TH CORPS,

"June 1st, 1864.

"Major-general MEADE,

"Commanding Army of Potomac.

"Your Order, for an attack in the morning, is received. I have endeavored to represent to you my condition.

"In the present condition of my line, an attack by me would be simply preposterous—not only that, but an attack on the part of the enemy, of any vigor, would probably carry my line more than half their length. I have called on General Wright for about a hundred thousand rounds of ammunition; and have asked it to-night. Deserters report enemy massing on my right, for an attack early in the morning.

"Wm. F. SMITH,

"M. G."

About half-past two, A.M., on the second of June, the following Order was received:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF POTOMAC,

"June 2d, 1864, ½ o'clock, A.M.

"Maj. Gen. SMITH:

"Commanding 18th Corps.

"The Major-general commanding directs that the attack ordered for this morning shall take place at five o'clock this afternoon.

"Such examinations and arrangements as are necessary, will be made immediately,

"A. A. HUMPHREYS

"Maj. Gen. and Chief of Staff."

About seven o'clock, A.M., on the second of June, I received from General Wright a supply of ammunition sufficient to fill up my boxes,

and so I had, at that time, one thin line of battle and my boxes filled with ammunition.

During the morning, by order of Major-general Meade, General Devens's Division was relieved by the Second Division, Sixth Corps; and Major-general Birney's Division was posted on my right flank; and remained there through the day.

The day was spent in readjusting my lines and strengthening my position. During the afternoon, the following Circular Order was received.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

"June 2d, 1864, 2½ o'clock, P.M.

"CIRCULAR.

"The attack ordered for five, P.M., this day, is postponed to half-past four, A.M., to-morrow. Corps Commanders will employ the interim in making examinations of the ground on their fronts, and perfecting their arrangements for the assault.

"GEO. G. MEADE,

"Maj. Gen. Comd'g."

Anxious to have, as far as possible, a co-operating attack, I sent to Major-general Wright to ask his plan of attack, and signifying my willingness to make mine subordinate to it. His reply was that he was going to assault in his front. I was therefore forced to make mine independently; yet keeping up the communication with the Sixth Corps. In front of my right was an open plain, swept by the fire of the enemy, both direct and from our right: on my left, the open space was narrower, but equally covered by the artillery of the enemy. Near the centre was a ravine, in which the troops would be sheltered from the cross-fire; and through this ravine I determined that the main assault should be made. General Devens's Division had been placed on the right, to protect our flank and hold as much as possible of the lines vacated by the troops moving forward.

General Martindale, with his Division, was ordered to move down the ravine, while General Brooks, with his Division, was to advance on the left, taking care to keep up the connection between Martindale and the Sixth Corps; and if, in the advance, those two Commands should join, he (Brooks) was ordered to throw his Command behind General Martindale, ready to operate on the right flank, if necessary. The troops moved promptly, at the time ordered, and driving in the skirmishers of the enemy, carried his first line of works, or rifle-pits. Here the Command was halted, under a severe fire, to readjust the lines. After a personal inspection of General Martindale's front, I found that I had to form a line of battle faced to the right, to protect the right flank of the moving column; and also that no further advance could be made, un-

til the Sixth Corps advanced to cover my left from a cross-fire. General Martindale was ordered to keep his column covered as much as possible; and to move only when General Brooks moved. I then went to the front of Brooks's line to reconnoiter there; and General Brooks was forming his column, when a heavy fire on the right began, which brought so severe a cross-fire on Brooks, that I at once ordered him not to move his men further, but keep them sheltered until the cross-fire was over. Going back to the right, I found that Martindale had been suffering severely; and having mistaken firing in front of the Sixth Corps for that of Brooks, had determined to make the assault, and Stannard's Brigade had been repulsed in three gallant assaults. The following Report was at the time made to General Meade:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, 18TH CORPS,

"June 3d, 1864.

"Maj. Gen. MEADE,

"Comd'g A. P.

"GENERAL:

"General Martindale got into so hot a place, that he was forced to assault the works without the assistance of the column of General Brooks; the assault was made three times, and each time repulsed. While I was on the front of General Brooks, the enfilading fire of the enemy was so heavy as to force me to give the Order to General Brooks not to attempt to advance his column of attack until the fire was slackened. This fire being entirely on my right, I have had nothing but artillery to use against it; and have therefore been unable to silence it. My troops are very much cut up; and I have no hope of being able to carry the works in my front, unless a movement of the Sixth Corps, on my left, may relieve at least one of my flanks from this galling fire.

"Respectfully

"WM. F. SMITH,

"Maj. Gen. Comd'g."

In answer to which, I received the following Despatch from the Chief of Staff, Army of the Potomac:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

"June 3d, 8, A.M., 1864.

"Maj. Gen. SMITH,

"Comd'g 18th Corps,

"General Wright has been ordered to assault and to continue his attack without reference to your advance. And the commanding General directs that your assault be continued without reference to General Wright. General Wright had, but a very short time before the receipt of your communication through Major West,



"reported that he was waiting your advance to enable him to assault.

"A. A. HUMPHREYS,

"Maj. Gen. & Chief of Staff."

General Devens's Command held my right flank; and had been so much cut up in officers and men, during the two days previous, that I did not deem it in condition to do more than act on the defensive. Of the two Brigades of General Martindale's Division, General Stannard's had been too much reduced by the assault to be sent in again, and Colonel Stedman's Brigade, in addition to having been repulsed, was holding a line that I could not neglect. Of the three Brigades of General Brooks, two had suffered severely during the first advance and the holding of the ground gained under a terrible cross-fire; and there was left of fresh troops only the Brigade of General Burnham, which was ordered to the front, to form a column of assault, in obedience to the wishes of General Meade. The enemy on my right, having a strong position and no force in their immediate front, was at liberty to play on my advance with a severe flank-fire, that went through the width of my line and into the right of the Sixth Corps.

I did what was possible to silence this fire with artillery; but could not prevent it from being very destructive. About eleven o'clock, the following note was received from Major-general Meade:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

"June 3d, 1864, 10 o'clock, A.M.

"Major-General SMITH.

"Your note in reference to artillery ammunition received. General Hunt was, and is, directed to provide you all the ammunition you require, and additional batteries if you could use them. This Order will be reiterated; and I beg you will call and expend as much as your judgment dictates, without regard to General Hunt's strictures. I am sorry to hear Martindale is unable to assault. I have just heard from Warren, who is forcing the enemy back on his right. I have directed him to push forward his left in order to relieve the attack you are able to make.

"Respectfully

"GEO. G. MEADE,

"Maj. Gen. Comd'g."

After the reception of the above note, I wrote as follows to General Meade:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, 18TH CORPS, June 3d, 1864.

"GENERAL MEADE,

"Commanding A. P.

"GENERAL.

"Please send me two fresh Batteries of rifle-guns: it will save time and the danger of send-

ing fresh men forward with ammunition; the Sharp-shooters trouble my Batteries very much, and I am obliged to keep my Batteries in the same position, and at work. My last four Regiments that I have got for an assault are now forming for an attack; but I dare not order it till I see more hopes of success to be gained, either by General Warren's attack or otherwise.

"Respectfully &c.,

"WM. F. SMITH,

"Maj. Gen. Comd'g."

After this, Colonel Comstock, senior Aide to the Lieutenant-general, was sent to reconnoitre my front; and the next Order I received was as follows:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

"June 3d, 1.30, P.M., 1864.

"ORDERS.

"For the present, all further offensive operations will be suspended. Corps Commanders will at once intrench the position they now hold, including their advance positions, and will cause reconnoissance to be made, with a view of moving against the enemy's works, by regular approaches from the advanced positions now held. Should the enemy assume the offensive and succeed in breaking through any point in our line, the Corps Commanders nearest to the assaulted point will throw their whole force upon the enemy's column making the assault.

"By Command of Maj. Gen. MEADE,

"S. WILLIAMS,

"Ass. Adj. Gen."

The troops were put under cover as rapidly as possible, and the front line strengthened. The fight, as an Artillery affair and between Sharp-shooters, was kept up during the day. Towards sunset, I received the following Order:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

"June 3d, 6½ P.M., 1864.

"CIRCULAR TO CORPS COMMANDERS.

"The Commanding-general directs you to report the condition of affairs in your front, and what it is practicable to do to-morrow.

"A. A. HUMPHREYS,

"Maj. Gen. & Chief of Staff."

In obedience to it, I made this Report:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, 18TH ARMY CORPS.

"June 3d, 1864.

"GENERAL A. A. HUMPHREYS.

"Chief of Staff, Army of the Potomac,

"GENERAL.

"In reference to condition of affairs in my front, I would respectfully state that I now

"hold, and have held, all that I have gained, and am entrenching myself as rapidly as possible.

"In reference to what it may be practicable to do to-morrow on my front, I can only say, that what I failed to do to day, namely, to carry the enemy's works on my front, by columns of assault, in the most practicable point, (on my front) I would hardly dare to recommend as practicable to-morrow with my diminished force. General Ames's column is reported quite near here, which will a little more than make good my loss of to-day.

"I am very Respectfully

"Your Obedient Servant,

"WM. F. SMITH,

"Maj. Gen. Comd'g."

Towards the close of the day, some Regiments which had been detained by want of transportation came up to me; and, during the night, General Ames, with his command, joined me. General Devens, who had done duty during the third, carried about on a stretcher, was relieved, on account of his health, by General Ames.

From this time until the night of the twelfth, the time was spent in making approaches nearer to the works of the enemy, in strengthening our own position, and in Artillery and Sharp-shooting practice.

Many valuable officers fell during these days; and for their names I respectfully refer to the subordinate Reports.

On the night of the twelfth, in obedience to Orders to move to the White House, embark there, and proceed with my Command to Bermuda Hundreds, I withdrew shortly after dark, with the exception of a strong picket left under the command of Colonel Guy V. Henry, of the Fortieth Massachusetts Volunteers; and, at daylight, had arrived with the bulk of my command at the White House.

The embarkation immediately began; but we were much delayed by the want of transportation. During the day, Colonel Henry came up with his Command, having successfully carried out his Orders and brought his men off with little molestation from the enemy. I respectfully commend him to the notice of the Government.

By sunset of the fourteenth, I had reported in person to General Butler, and received orders to move at daylight on Petersburg.

The Cavalry of the Department, under Brigadier-general Kautz, was assigned to my Command, as well as the Division of Colored troops under Brigadier-general Hinks. General Kautz was ordered to cross the river at one o'clock, A.M., followed by such of the troops of the Divisions of Generals Martindale and

Brooks as had arrived. General Kautz was to proceed with as little delay as possible to threaten the line of fortifications near the Norfolk and Petersburg Rail-road, and at the same time protect the left flank of the Infantry.

General Hinks, with his Division, was ordered to move from Broadway, in rear of General Kautz, taking up a position across the Jordan's Point-road, as near as possible to the enemy's works.

General Brooks was ordered to follow General Hinks and form line of battle on his right; while General Martindale was ordered to proceed on the river-road to a point near the City Point-rail-road, and await orders. The transports were arriving all night; and, with the exception of the Commands of Generals Hinks and Kautz, it was impossible for any General to tell what troops he had or would have with him.

From information gained at Headquarters, from the General commanding the Department and from refugees, I was led to believe that we should encounter no line of works until we reached the main line near Jordan's-hill; that there was a small force opposed to us; and that my right flank, on the Appomattox, would entirely command the position of the Army there. In addition to this, the works were represented as being such that Cavalry could ride over them at almost every point.

General Kautz was unavoidably delayed in his march, which prevented the movements from Broadway till some time after daylight. The Cavalry advance struck the enemy's pickets within a mile, and continued skirmishing until they came upon a rifle-pit, near the rail-road, lined with Infantry and armed with a Light Battery.

On receiving a Report of this, from General Kautz, he was ordered to withdraw and move into his position by the left; while General Hinks was ordered to deploy his line and assault the works. This was gallantly done by his troops; and a piece of artillery was captured by them.

This unexpected affair delayed us until about nine o'clock, and produced a further delay by General Hinks being out of his assigned position; and as it was important, on account of his knowledge of the country, he was ordered to move by the flank to his place, while General Brooks deployed his line, and moved forward along the City-point rail-road and wagon-road. A march of a mile and a half brought us under fire of the guns in the defences of Petersburg.

The skirmishers were halted in the edge of the woods nearest to the works; and I began to reconnoiter the position and get the troops formed for assault.

General Martindale had come up; and in his front was a broad low valley, perfectly swept by the enemy's fire of artillery, and cut up by deep ditches and ravines; while a strong line of works, open in the rear and connected by heavily-profiled rifle-pits, were occupied by the enemy. General Brook's command was at the salients of the line, which consisted of a strongly-profiled work, heavily flanked on our left by redoubts and rifle-pits, "*en echelon*"—these flanking works also fronting the line of General Hinks. Wherever I went on the line, I found a heavy cross-fire of artillery from the enemy. The few artillery positions I could find, I tried to get our guns to open from; but they were always driven in by the superior fire of artillery, behind earth-works.

The reconnoissances were necessarily slow, and while anxious to lose no time, I was yet determined to take no step in the dark to get my Command badly repulsed before such works, and in wide open fields. Very little Infantry could be seen; but that was not positive proof that it was not there; and it was not probable that the number of guns at work against us would be there without strong support.

Heavy firing was going on clear to our left, where Kautz was; and it was evident that he was unable to force his way into the city.

About five o'clock, P.M., after a reconnoissance in General Martindale's front, I came to the conclusion that nowhere on my line could I hope to get a column of assault over the wide open space between me and the enemy, subjected to the heavy fire of artillery which would be brought to bear upon it; and that I would try a heavy line of skirmishers, with my artillery massed upon the salient, near General Brooks's centre.

In obedience to this plan, Orders were sent to the Division Commanders on the right and left to conform to the movements of the centre Division. The skirmish line was doubled, and the line of battle held in readiness to move forward when the skirmishers had reached the works. Upon ordering up the artillery, it was found that the Chief of Artillery had, upon his own responsibility, taken every thing to the rear and unhitched the horses to water them; and this detained the movement for an hour. About seven o'clock, the Order was given to the skirmishers to advance; and Captain Follett opened all the Batteries upon the bastioned salient, which made no response.

The long and heavy line of skirmishers advanced gallantly under a sharp Infantry-fire, and carried the works, taking between two hundred and three hundred prisoners, and four pieces of artillery, double shotted with cannister, which had been kept waiting for our column of assault.

The pieces were quickly turned on the retreating foe. In the mean time, the lines of battle were moved forward to occupy the works. General Brooks's Command was formed to resist an attack, should one be made upon us; while General Martindale, on the right, and General Hinks, on the left, were following up our advantage. Four redoubts on our left, which commanded our position, were carried successfully and gallantly by the negroes, the last one coming into our possession about nine o'clock, P. M. In each redoubt artillery was captured. We had thus broken through the strong line of rebel works; but heavy darkness was upon us, and I had heard, some hours before, that Lee's Army was rapidly crossing at Drury's Bluff. I deemed it wiser to hold what we had than, by attempting to reach the bridges, to lose what we had gained and have the troops meet with a disaster. I knew also that some portion of the Army of the Potomac was coming to aid us; and therefore the troops were placed so as to occupy the commanding positions and wait for daylight. The Second Corps began to come in after midnight and relieve my extended lines; and our gallant men rested, after a toilsome day.

Before closing this Report, it is my duty as well as a great pleasure to bear witness to the gallant and soldierly conduct of the officers and men of my command.

Hardships of no ordinary kind were borne without a murmur; and desperate gallantry upon the field attest the deep interest they had in the prosecution of the War to a Peace that would never again be broken by the same cause. Brigadier-generals Martindale, Brooks, Devens, Marston, Stannard, Ames, and Burnham, and Colonels Drake, Barton, Stedman, Bell, and Henry, gave to me the most hearty and cordial coöperation in all the marches and battles referred to in this Report. Among those who commanded Regiments, I will mention Colonel Pickett, wounded; Colonel Mead, Lieutenant-colonel Perry, Lieutenant-colonels Anderson and Marshall, killed; besides many accomplished staff officers and brave and zealous subordinate officers, who are mentioned in Reports herewith enclosed. My own Staff rendered me every possible service, and are most worthy of commendation. Lieutenant-colonel N. Brown, and Major William Russell, Assistant-adjutant-generals, Captain Farquhar, Engineer; Captain P. C. F. West, Coast Survey; Captains Van Ness and Hall, A. A. Q. M. and C. S.; Captain Fleming, Provost-marshal; Captains Butler and Young, Fifth New Hampshire Volunteers, in charge of Ambulances and Ordnance; Lieutenant Patterson, Signal Officer; Lieutenants Duer and Tucker, Aids-de-camp, and Messrs. J. C. Tyler and Strymer, Volunteer-aids, were unremitting in their devotion to duty.

Surgeon George Suckley was my Medical Di-



rector; and I have never seen his zeal and abilities in that capacity equalled, and I trust he will meet with the advancement which he has so well earned.

I remain, Colonel,  
Very Respectfully,  
Your Obedt. Servt.,  
WM. F. SMITH,  
Maj. Gen. Comd'g, 18th A. C.

V.—SKETCHES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THIS COUNTRY BEFORE THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

NEW JERSEY.—CONTINUED.

By REV. E. H. GILLET, D.D.

TRENTON, HOPEWELL (EWING AND PENNINGTON) AND MAIDENHEAD, (LAURENCEVILLE.)

"The first authentic notice," says Rev. Dr. Hall, in his *History of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton*, "of any effort on the part of the 'inhabitants of the two townships,' (Maidenhead, now Pennington, and Hopewell, now Laurenceville) 'to provide a permanent place of worship, is found in a Deed, dated March 18, 1698-9. In that instrument, Jeremiah Basse, Governor of East and West Jersey, and Thomas Revell, 'Agents of the Honorable 'West Jersey Society in England,' conveyed 'one hundred acres, 'for the accommodation and 'service of the inhabitants of the township of 'Maidenhead, within the liberties and precincts 'of the said County of Burlington, and the inhabitants near adjacent, for the erecting a meeting-house, and for burying-ground and school-house, and land suitable for the same.'"

The first ascertained existence of a house of worship at Maidenhead, dates from the fifth of June, 1716, when the Court adjourned to meet there. It is most probable that the edifice had been erected some years before. In 1703, land was given for the erection of a Church at Hopewell, which ere long passed into the exclusive possession of Episcopalians. About six years later, the Presbyterians took measures for erecting a house of worship for themselves; and this, after the founding of the township of Trenton, was known as Trenton First Church—now within the new township of Ewing.

In May (11) 1709, the following Minute was adopted by the Presbytery of Philadelphia: "Ordered, that Mr. (Joseph) Smith go to the people of Maidenhead and Hopewell, and confer with them on such matters as shall be propounded to him by them, concerning his being called to be their Minister; and that Mr. Smith preach to the people aforesaid, on his way to New England or return from it, or both; and that this

"be intimated to Mr. Smith; and the people 'aforesaid be writ to by Mr. Andrews."

Three years later, a log Church was built at Hopewell. This was succeeded by a frame building, in 1726, which was in use till 1795, when one of brick was erected. In 1711, the people of Maidenhead and Hopewell, who do not appear to have made any arrangement with Mr. Smith, applied to the Presbytery to assist them in procuring a Minister. It was four years later, however, before they were supplied; and, in September of that year, the united congregations presented a call to Mr. Robert Orr,\* who was ordained on the twentieth of October. Andrews, Morgan, Dickinson, Evans, and Bradner participated in the exercises which took place, in presence of a large congregation, at Maidenhead.

The pastorate of Mr. Orr continued somewhat short of four years. He was succeeded by Moses Dickinson, a younger brother of Jonathan Dickinson of Elizabeth town, whose pastorate continued from 1719 to 1727. On his removal to Norwalk, Connecticut, his place was supplied by Joseph Morgan, whose pastorate extended from 1729 to 1736.

Meanwhile, Mr. William Trent, a merchant of Philadelphia, had purchased (1714) Mahlon Stacy's tract of eight hundred acres, on both sides of the Assanpink-creek, and soon after removed thither. Trent's town increased so rapidly that, in 1719, the Governor directed that the County Courts should be held there; and, in 1724, it became the seat of the Supreme Court. It is reasonable to suppose that, at least, soon after this, the Presbyterians began to hold religious services there. In 1727, Enoch Andrus conveyed, for the nominal sum of five shillings, a lot one hundred and fifty feet square, to eight grantees, five of whom were the signers of the call made to David Cowell, the first Pastor of the Trenton Church, in 1736. As the Congregation was not incorporated till 1756, it was held in the hands of the grantees, and only conveyed to the Congregation in 1763.

The house is said to have been built "in or about 1726† for the convenience of that part of 'the Congregation hitherto worshipping in the 'Old House' (Hopewell) in and near the town. The preaching, for some years, in the new house, was by Messrs. Hubbard, Wilson, and Morgan; but the first settled Pastor of what at length became a distinct Congregation, was David Cowell. The call was made to him in behalf of the United Trenton Church. He was a native of Dorchester, Massachusetts, born in 1704, and graduated at Harvard, in 1732. On the second of November, 1736, he was ordained by a Committee of the

\* Sackett and Woolsey visited the people previous to the ordination of Orr; and doubtless supplied them for considerable time.

† Mss. of Rev. J. F. Armstrong, cited by Hall.

Presbytery, and at this meeting an inquiry was made as to what provision had been made for the vacant Congregations of Hopewell and Maidenhead, (Pennington and Lawrenceville). Mr. Cowell was directed to supply the former, and Eleazar Wales, who had been settled at Allentown (1730-4) and was now Pastor of Millstone, was directed to supply the latter.

Mr. Cowell remained the Pastor of the Trenton Church till his dismissal, in 1760.\* But, during the period of the Great Revival, Hopewell (Pennington) became dissatisfied, and united with Maidenhead (Lawrenceville) in asking for John Rowland, irregularly licensed by the New Brunswick Presbytery, as a Supply. (1738-9.) Cowell told him that if he went, it would produce dissension.† He went, nevertheless, and dissension followed. Some of the people of both Congregations complained of him to the Philadelphia Presbytery. But his friends asked that a new Congregation might be erected. This request was refused; and Rowland, without regarding the implied censure of his course by the Synod, continued to preach. The church-doors were shut against him; but the barns were opened. Amwell, also, was the scene of his labors. A powerful revival prevailed there and at Maidenhead.

Rowland left them for a time, to itinerate. But in September, 1744, a "New Side" Church of Maidenhead and Hopewell was organized by Tennent of Freehold. At Maidenhead, Rowland was admitted to use the meeting-house; but at Hopewell, "the New Side," erected themselves a house of worship, about a mile from Pennington, towards the Delaware. In 1747, Rowland died.

Meanwhile, the portion of the Old Side Congregation of Hopewell which adhered to Philadelphia Presbytery, had called John Guild, a graduate of Harvard College, to settle with them. This was September 18, 1739. It was more than two years later, on the eleventh of November, 1741, before he was ordained. Cowell, of course, ceased to supply the Church, after Guild commenced his labors. These labors were crowned with success; and he maintained his position notwithstanding the withdrawal of the "New Side." The latter, in 1748, the year after the death of Rowland, called Timothy Allen, a New Light from Connecticut, where he had felt the rigor of State legislation directed against his "Shepherd's Tent." He supplied Hopewell and Maidenhead for three or four years, when he removed to New Providence. He was succeeded by the celebrated James Davenport, now recovered from his enthusiastic and almost insane notions. Before the settlement of Rowland, in 1744, the two Congregations had asked leave to employ him; but for some reason he did not at that time consent to remain with them.

In October, 1753, he received their call; but, through their negligence, he was not installed till the twenty-seventh of October, 1754.\* His stay at Hopewell was harassed by a number asking leave of Presbytery to join adjacent Congregations—doubtless those of Cowell and Guild—and, in 1757, a Petition was presented for his removal. He died, however, in the Autumn of that year, and was succeeded by Thomas Lewis (June 13; 1758—May 20, 1760.) previously of Bethlehem. The reunion of the two Synods took place in 1758; and the zeal that would maintain a distinctively New Side Organization must have greatly cooled. It is probable that, already greatly weakened under Davenport's ministry, the Congregation felt discouraged on the dismissal of Lewis. Moreover, the re-union of 1758 had prepared them to receive the services of Old Side Ministers; and when (1760) William Kirkpatrick commenced his labors (though never formally installed) as permanent Supply at Trenton, it is probable that Maidenhead and Hopewell looked to him for at least occasional services. One reason given for Kirkpatrick's remaining at Trenton when he had been called to Amwell, was the happy union of "all 'Societies,'† in the last call that had been made him.

In 1766, Mr. Kirkpatrick accepted a call to Amwell; but died in the following year. The Trenton Congregations must have had only temporary supplies till they united with Maidenhead (Oct. 1769) in a call to Elihu Spencer, who had previously been settled at Elizabethtown. He was a man in whom all parties could unite; and, from this time, the distinction of Old and New Side seems to have vanished away. The New Side house of worship ceased to be occupied; and passed eventually into the hands of the Methodists.

The pastorate of Mr. Spencer, whose career at Elizabethtown has been noted in connection with that Church, continued at Trenton, from 1769 till his death, in 1784. "The town and country Congregations of Trenton still preserved their union. The people of Maidenhead had their distinct Corporation, but shared the services of the same Pastor with Trenton. Each of the Trenton houses had its own spiritual officers."‡ Upon Mr. Spencer's settlement, he was to preach one Sabbath in the town meeting-house, one in Maidenhead meeting-house, and every third Sabbath "at the old house in the upper part of the township of Trenton; and so to continue one-third part of the time at each meeting-house." Each Congregation was to contribute to his salary an equal amount of fifty pounds.

\* He died in the same year.

† Webster, 469.

\* Webster, 542.

† Hall's Trenton, 186.

‡ Ib., 229.

Mr. Spencer's death occurred in 1784, (Dec. 27). Like his predecessor, he seems never to have been formally installed. His funeral sermon was preached by James Francis Armstrong, who supplied the pulpit vacated by his death, and was called to succeed him on the seventeenth of October, 1785. In his case also there is no record of installation. On the twelfth of March, 1788, a new arrangement of the Congregations was made. Trenton paid half of Mr. Armstrong's salary and was to have half his time. The Congregations of the "Old House" and of Maidenhead were to pay the other half, and arrange for his services as they could agree among themselves. In 1806, Mr. Armstrong became the exclusive Pastor of the Trenton Church; and his pastorate continued till his death, on the nineteenth of January, 1816.

The Church of which John Guild became Pastor in 1737, or the Old Side of the Hopewell church—since known as Pennington—retained his services till 1785; and his death followed two years later. His successor was Joseph Rue (1785-1826), who, from 1789 to 1821, had charge also of what was originally the New Side Church of Hopewell, known afterward as Ewing. When Mr. Armstrong became the exclusive Pastor of the Church at Trenton, he was succeeded at Lawrenceville by Isaac V. Brown, (1807-28.)

#### AMWELL.

Amwell was probably embraced in the extensive field over which Robert Orr was settled—as Pastor of Hopewell and Maidenhead—in 1715. We know nothing further of it till it became a part of the charge, temporarily, of John Rowland, in connection with Maidenhead, in 1738 or 1739. When he returned to the field in 1744, Amwell doubtless continued to share his labors. In 1751, Eliab Byram, a native of Bridgewater, Mass., and a graduate (1740) of Harvard, accepted a call to Amwell. He was the devoted friend of David Brainerd. His death occurred in 1754; and he was succeeded by Benjamin Hait, in 1755. Amwell and the Forks asked for him.\* His dismissal took place in 1765; after which he removed to Connecticut Farms, where he died in 1774.

The successor of Mr. Hait was William Kirkpatrick, who had been laboring for several years at Trenton, supplying Amwell also, in part, after the death of Mr. Hait. He received calls at about the same time, from Trenton, where he had been repeatedly urged to settle, and from Amwell. He hesitated between the two for a considerable time, until the Presbytery threw upon him the responsibility of a choice. He

finally decided in favor of Amwell. He was settled there in 1766; but his death occurred three years later, in 1769. After his death, we have no record of a successor till the settlement of John Warford, in 1782. Mr. Warford's pastorate ceased, however, before 1789, when the Church was reported vacant.

#### GREENWICH, MANSFIELD, OXFORD, MOUNT BETHEL, AND ALLENTOWN.

In 1739, when the Presbytery of New Brunswick was in session at Maidenhead, they were presented with "a supplication for supplies of preaching in Mr. Barber's neighborhood, near 'Musconnekunk' (Musconetcong River)." Mr. John Cross and Mr. James McCrea were directed to supply certain Sabbaths at Lamington (Lamington) and Mr. Barber's. "Mr. Barber's neighborhood" was identical with parts of old Mansfield and Greenwich; and its name is subsequently replaced on the Records by "Mansfield Woodhouse." The "Mr. Green's" associated also with "Mr. Barber's," as applicant for supply, changes on the Record to Green's Ridge—Greenidge—Greenage, and, at last, to Lower Greenwich. "From 1739 forward, frequent mention is made of supplies being appointed 'for Greenwich, for 'Mansfield Woodhouse,' 'Durham, and other places in this region.' 'Greenwich upon Delaware' was the district now occupied by Belvidere, Oxford, and part of Harmony, 'for, in the later Records, the 'supplies were appointed for Axford's or 'Greenwich upon Delaware; and Axford's 'and Oxford are used as the *alias* of 'Upper 'Greenwich' and 'Greenwich upon Delaware.'"

James Campbell, settled at Newtown and Tehicken or Tinicum (across the Delaware), was sent to the Forks of Delaware and Mr. Green's, as frequent supply. The field to which he thus ministered was that of Greenwich, Mansfield, and Oxford.† In 1742, he was ordered to divide one-half of his time between Forks and Greenwich. In 1744, we find David Brainerd, who had just entered upon his Indian-mission field, a few (10) miles distant, preaching occasionally at Greenwich. This was Lower Greenwich; and a log Church-edifice had doubtless been erected here, some years previous. A house must also have been erected at Lower Mount Bethel, where the Brainerds labored as early as 1747.‡ In 1746, Daniel Lawrence was sent into that field; and, soon after, (April 2, 1747) was installed at Forks of the Delaware. He left, however, in 1751.

\* Historical Discourse by Rev. D. X. Junkin, D.D.

† Webster, 130.

‡ Junkin's Discourse.

\* Webster, 667.



Oxford Furnace asked supplies in 1746; and Thomas Lewis (at Bethlehem) gave a portion of his time to Oxford or Upper Greenwich. No Pastor, except Lawrence, seems to have been settled in this field till John Roseborough, in October, 1764, was called to Mansfield, Greenwich, and Oxford. He was ordained on the eleventh of December, in that year; but he was dismissed from the three Congregations, on the eighteenth of April, 1769. He was called, however, the same day to the Forks of Delaware—Brainerd's Irish Settlement (Forks West is Allentown, and Forks North is Mount Bethel)—where he remained, as the successor of Lawrence, till murdered by a party of Hessians, in 1777.

After his death, these Churches were supplied for a time by Joseph Treat, driven out of New York by the British forces, and seeking a refuge in the valley of the Delaware. He resided for a time in Lower Mount Bethel, and served that Church in connection with Greenwich, preaching alternate Sabbaths in each. His labors were succeeded by occasional visits from the Reverend Francis Peppard, of Allen Township, and the Reverend John Hannah, of Alexandria and Kingwood, and doubtless of several others.

Meanwhile, Oxford had been left vacant. Till 1775—after the dismissal of Roseborough in 1769—it was dependent on supplies. In that year, John Debow was engaged, first as a supply, and subsequently received a call from "Oxford and Mount Bethel." In 1777, Philip Stockton accepted a call from Oxford, in connection with Knowlton and Mansfield, and remained for three or four years. In 1787, Asa Dunham was settled over "Oxford and Mount Bethel;" and here he continued till about 1800.

Greenwich and Mansfield must, for a long period, have been destitute of any settled ministry.\* We have no record of the former being favored with any regular supply after Joseph Treat had withdrawn, although he was dismissed to New Brunswick Presbytery, in 1785, and doubtless continued to labor in this region till his death, which must have occurred previous to 1789, when the Church was reported vacant. His remains lie in Greenwich Cemetery, without a stone. Mansfield was more favored, and in conjunction with Independence (Hacketts-town), a newly-formed Congregation, secured the labors of Peter Wilson, who was Pastor of both places, in 1789. At the Forks, or Allentown, Joseph Clark, subsequently (1796) Pastor at New Brunswick, commenced his labors in

October, 1783,\* although he did not accept a call or receive his installation till 1788. His pastorate here closed eight years later. Francis Peppard is reported at Allentown in 1789; but he had probably ceased to labor as Pastor.

#### HARDWICK, NEWTON, AND SHAPANACK.

In 1789, Hardwick, Newton, and Shapanack formed the charge of Ira Condict. In 1786, the two former united in an application for his ministerial services. In the following year, he was settled over them as Pastor—Shapanack probably becoming, a few months later, a part of his charge. Of Newton, he was the first Pastor; but at Hardwick, he had been preceded by Francis Peppard, a graduate of Princeton College, in 1762. When the latter commenced his labors at Hardwick is unknown; but it was probably not long after his graduation, as he supplied, to some extent, the vacant Churches of Mansfield and Greenwich. Allen Township, in conjunction with Hardwick, formed a part of his charge. It is uncertain when his connection with Hardwick ceased. In 1789, he was residing, and perhaps laboring, at Allentown.

#### BETHLEHEM (OR ALEXANDRIA) AND KINGWOOD.

Bethlehem was a vacancy of Philadelphia Presbytery in 1736; and, in 1745, it was divided into Upper and Lower. In 1747, (Oct. 14) Thomas Lewis, a graduate of Yale College, in the Class with Buell, Hopkins, and Governor Livingston, received a call to settle here. This call he accepted. Before long, a Congregation was gathered at Kingwood; and, in June, 1752, they had leave to build. In the Fall of that year, Mr. Lewis had permission to divide his labors between Bethlehem and Kingwood. This occasioned dissatisfaction; and, in May, 1754, he was released from Bethlehem (now Alexandria), and, two years later, (May 25, 1756) his pastoral relation to Kingwood was dissolved.

In 1759, Kingwood united with Bethlehem in calling William Kirkpatrick, who, during the previous year, had been directed to supply vacant Congregations at Oxford, Forks of the Delaware, Greenwich, Bethlehem, and Kingwood. It is to be presumed that on his settlement at Amwell (1766) they were in a measure dependent upon him as occasional supply. They seem to have secured no Pastor until the settlement of John Hanna, whose labors, however, were confined to Kingwood. Here he was re-

\* Francis Peppard, it will be seen, was for a time in charge of Allen Township, in connection with Hardwick. This was before Mr. Clark's settlement.

† Kirkpatrick of Trenton had supplied Hardwick, to some extent, before 1763.

\* "In 1771, when Elder Thomas Kennedy came with his father to Greenwich, that Church, Mansfield and Oxford were vacant, and continued so until 1775." Junkin, 30.

ported as settled in 1789, while Bethlehem was vacant.

#### LAMINGTON, (BEDMINSTER), PEPACK, AND LEBANON.

As early as 1738, Pepack and Lebanon asked supplies of the Presbytery; and, in the following year, an application from Lamington (Lamington or Bedminster) was presented.\* James McCrea was one of those who were directed to visit them; and, in 1740 (Apl. 1) he received a call to Lamington, Lebanon, Pepack, Readington (or White House), and Bethlehem. The latter soon after united with Kingwood; but McCrea has been called "the father and founder of the Congregation of Lamington or Bedminster." A portion of his people procured his dismission in 1755; but the greater part of his Congregation united in a new call to him, which the Synod saw fit to place in his hands. Bedminster, Lebanon, and Readington united in the call; which he accepted on the twenty-sixth of October, 1756; and he was installed on the first of May, 1757. He resigned his charge in 1766 (Oct. 21) and died on the tenth of May, 1769.

It is uncertain who succeeded him or what relation they sustained to the church previous to the settlement of William Boyd. He was ordained and installed on the twentieth of October, 1784, and his pastorate closed only with his life, on the seventeenth of May, 1807.

#### KNOWLTON.

Knowlton church was reported in connection with New Brunswick Presbytery in 1789, but it had recently been formed, and was then vacant.

#### MIDDLE SMITHFIELD.

Middle Smithfield, or, as it was anciently called, Smithfield, although it does not appear on the roll of the Presbytery in 1789, was an ancient church.† "The Hollanders, with some families of French Huguenots, passed from Esopus or Kingston, on the Hudson, to the Neversink Flats (now Port Jervis) on the Delaware, and from that point extended their settlements southward to the Kittatinny. Dutch congregations at Neversink, Shapunk, Walpeck, with probably other points of preaching, existed early in the eighteenth century, probably as early as 1690, or 1700. Pahaquany and the Shawnee Flats were settled about 1700, by Dutch, French, English, and Scotch, as is indicated by such names as Van Campen, De Piu, De Witt, Smith, Brodhead, McDowell, and

Chambers. A little log church was built about 1725. About 1750, Wm. Allen gave five acres of ground for the use of a Presbyterian Meeting-house, and in 1652, the 'old Stone Meeting-house,' as it was for many years called, was built on that ground, and long occupied by different denominations. It is supposed that the Rev. Azariah Horton before mentioned, as David Brainerd's forerunner, preached the first sermon in English in 1741 or 42. He preached in the little log church. After the stone house was built, the Dutch pastor used it; and owing to the difficulty of obtaining English preaching, ordinances were maintained in the Dutch language. Yet occasionally the English Presbyterians visited the place, and preached. No record of supplies is made till 1761, after which a Mr. Clark, Mr. Tennent, Mr. Lyon, Mr. Hanna, Mr. Schenck, and others were appointed for Smithfield. A Rev. Mr. Wales from Allen Township seems to have been the earliest settled pastor. A Rev. Mr. Rhodes was also a laborer in that field, with much success; both of them between 1750 and the opening of the war of the Revolution. The Rev. Francis Peppard also visited Smithfield, and preached, having charge of it as a missionary station. The Rev. Peter Wilson of Hackettstown\* had similar charge of it after Mr. Peppard, which was from 1797 to the close of the century."

#### PRINCETON.†

The first settlement of Princeton was made in 1690, but the town seems to have attained no very considerable size before the removal of the College thither, from Newark, in 1757. No thought of erecting a church, or of maintaining regular public worship seems to have been entertained previous to that date. Church privileges could be enjoyed within a moderate distance at Maidenhead and Hopewell, (Lawrenceville and Pennington,) and these were improved by a portion of the inhabitants of Princeton.

About the year 1732, the Church at Kingston was established; and a portion of the population of Princeton was thus privileged with Church-accommodations, less remote. For a time, Kingston and Princeton were jointly supplied, in all probability, by Eleazar Wales, of the former place. Shortly after his death, and before it was determined to locate the College at Princeton (viz. Sept. 3, 1751) an application was made by the people of the town for preachers to be sent them by Presbytery, and also for leave to erect a Church-edifice. The result was, that sup-

\* Webster, 493, 530.

† Junkins's Discourse, p. 66.

\* Pastor of Mansfield and Independence (att.) in 1789.

† Historical account of the First Presbyterian Church of Princeton. By W. E. Schenck.

plies were granted, to be divided equally between Princeton and Kingston, then vacant; while as to the other portion of the request, it was declared that "the Presbytery, taking into consideration the case of Kingston and Princetown, do judge *"it not expedient* that there be two places of *"meeting on the Sabbath, but do recommend it* to those that supply there, that they preach a *"lecture at Princetown if they can."*

In this decision, the people of Princeton did not acquiesce. In 1752 (May) they renewed their application, asking for half of the supplies. But the Presbytery did not see fit to change their former resolution. In 1755, and while the College-building was going up, "a motion was made *"in behalf of Princeton, for supplies, and for* *"liberty to build a meeting-house there."* The request of the people was now granted. The people were allowed to build, and were promised supplies. Revds. Israel Read, James Davenport and Samuel Kennedy were appointed to preach to them, on certain Sabbaths.

In November, 1756, President Burr, having relinquished his pastoral charge in Newark, came to Princeton with a body of twenty students, and took possession of the new College edifice. "In this building they found a Hall, or *"Chapel, suitably prepared for the worship of* *"God. It is described by President Finley as* *"an elegant Hall of genteel workmanship,* *"forty feet square, with a neatly-finished front* *"gallery."* This Hall, desolated by the soldiery in the time of the War, and completely destroyed by the fire of 1802, was the first regular and settled place of public worship at Princeton. Every Sabbath after the arrival of President Burr, divine service was held in the Hall. The families of the village and neighborhood worshipped here with the students, renting their pews at an annual and stipulated price. Within six months after President Burr commenced his pulpit labors at Princeton, a powerful revival of religion commenced.

Although leave had been given in 1755 to erect a church edifice, the Congregation was so well accommodated that the foundations were not laid till 1762. Meanwhile, President Burr had died (two days before the commencement of 1757) and been succeeded by Jonathan Edwards, whose death followed early in the next year. He was succeeded by Samuel Davies, whose death occurred on the fourth of February, 1751, when only a little more than thirty-six years of age. Samuel Finley was installed as his successor, on the thirtieth of September, 1761. It was during his ministry that the first Church-edifice was erected at Princeton. The College needed a larger place than its Hall to accommodate the crowd that were present on Commencements. By an arrangement with

the Trustees, a lot of ground was secured for the purposes of a Presbyterian Church, and a loan of seven hundred pounds secured to aid in the erection of the edifice. It was not, however, till early in 1766, that the structure was completed.

In that year, President Finley died, and the Trustees of the College invited the Reverend John Witherspoon, of Scotland, to succeed him. Previous to his acceptance of their call, the pulpit, which had been supplied by the College Presidents, was occupied principally by Reverend William Tennent and Reverend John Blair, who was Vice-president and Professor of Theology. Upon his arrival, he took the charge upon himself; and, for twenty-three years, with some intervals, not only presided over the College, but ministered to the Church. His absence, as a member of the Continental Congress, and the ravages of the War must have seriously interfered with the prosperity of the Church. The Hessian soldiery were ruthless in their barbarism. The Church-edifice was stripped of all its pews, of its gallery, and of whatever else could be torn loose for fuel. A fireplace was built in it, and a chimney carried through its roof. Till 1784, the building was in a state approaching dilapidation. Efforts were then made to replace it, and in 1786 the Congregation took measures for becoming an incorporated body. At about the same time, the Church became organically Presbyterian by the election of Elders. Hitherto the Presidents of the College had received members on their sole authority; and the pecuniary matters of the Congregation had been managed by Committees.

Dr. Witherspoon continued to minister to the Church till about a year before his death, which occurred in 1794. Toward the last, he was aided by his son-in-law, Samuel Stanhope Smith, who became his successor, but under whose Presidency the office of Pastor was disjoined from that of College officer. In September, 1795, the Congregation met, and elected the Reverend Samuel Finley Snowden as their Pastor.

#### KINGSTON AND MILLSTONE.

In 1735 (September 19) Eleazar Wales, who had been previously settled at Crosswicks, was called to Millstone. The Congregation was doubtless gathered at about that time, although Samuel Blair had been called to Millstone and Cranberry in the previous year. Perhaps from the first, certainly after a few years, Kingston formed a part of Mr. Wales's charge. His death occurred in 1749; and, for some years, Kingston was jointly supplied with Princeton. After an ineffectual effort to secure equal pastoral privileges with Princeton, the Kingston Congregation remained



for a long time destitute, and probably shared with Millstone in supplies sent by the Presbytery. In 1789, there is no mention of it on the Minutes of the Assembly; and Millstone, which in 1769 had asked for Israel Read, of Bound Brook, was vacant.

#### BOUND BROOK.

Bound Brook had become a village as early as 1765. Several years previous, a Church had been organized there. The first Pastor of it was Israel Read, who was called, after having served as a supply, December 6, 1749. He was ordained as Pastor on the 7th of March, 1750. He was the first graduate of Princeton College who became a member of the Synod. New Brunswick asked for a fourth of his time, in April, 1768; and Millstone made the same request the next year. His death took place November 28, 1793.

#### FREEHOLD.

The Presbyterian Church of Freehold is of an ancient date. Previous to 1692, quite a number of Scotch emigrants had located in Monmouth-county. In 1685-6, Lord Neill Campbell, brother of the Duke of Argyle, who for his resistance of the despotism of James II., and his adherence to the Duke of Monmouth, was beheaded June 30, 1685—came over to New Jersey, bringing a large company with him. At about the same time came Walton Ker, banished for his "faithful and conscientious adherence to God" and his truth, as professed by the church of "Scotland." He was accompanied by many of his countrymen of a kindred spirit with himself. Chiefly through his instrumentality, a Presbyterian Church was gathered at Freehold, in 1692.

We have not the means of determining how the pulpit of the Church was supplied, for many years. It is probable that among the Scottish exiles there were some Presbyterian Ministers. Some, we are assured, must have ministered to the infant Church, for although we can trace but one or two—and that only for a short period in this country—the Congregation is spoken of as prosperous and enjoying special blessings.

In September, 1706, Mr. John Boyd completed his trials with the Presbytery of Philadelphia; and on the seventh day of October following, he was ordained Pastor at Freehold. His death occurred previous to the tenth of May, 1709, when it is mentioned in the Minutes of the Presbytery.

In 1709, Joseph Morgan, who was originally from Connecticut, and for some years had been preaching at Bedford and East Chester, New York, settled at Freehold. Here he remained till 1728, when disaffection arose in his Congregation, and charges were brought against

him. The hope of union vanishing, he removed to Maidenhead and Hopewell; and died probably about the year 1740.

Upon his departure, the people were so grievously divided that there seemed no hope of their ever settling a Minister. The venerable Walter (Walton?) Ker left his harvest-field, which his neighbors kindly reaped for him in his absence, to visit the Log College at Neshaminy and persuade John Tennent, then only twenty-two years of age, to return with him and preach to the people. Tennent totally refused, but Ker told him that he knew that he would soon decide differently. He did. He sent word to Ker that he would come; and yet when he had reached the field, he expressed regret in having consented to visit a people who seemed given up by God for their abuse of the Gospel.\*

Tennent preached at Freehold but four or five Sabbaths, yet a blessing attended his labors; and he said that if the people should call him, poor and broken as they were, he would settle with them, though he should have to beg his bread. The call (Apl. 15, 1730) was unanimous; and he was ordained by Philadelphia Presbytery on the nineteenth of November. Less than eighteen months after (Apl. 23, 1732) he died; but not till the state of feeling in the Congregation was completely changed, and a powerful revival had been experienced.

His successor was his brother William. He was ordained by Philadelphia Presbytery on the twenty-fifth of October, 1733; and his ministry was attended by successive revivals. He was the friend of Brainerd and of Whitefield, and itinerated largely himself. Quite a number of Ministers were educated by him. His pastorate at Freehold closed with his life, in 1777.

The successor of William Tennent, after an interval of nearly two years, was John Woodhull, a native of Long Island and a graduate of Princeton College in 1766. After studying theology with Reverend John Blair at Fagg's Manor, he was called to the Leacock Congregation, Lancaster-county, Pennsylvania. Here he remained from 1770 till 1779, when he was transferred to Freehold. His pastorate here closed with his life, on the twenty-second of November, 1824, when he had reached his eighty-first year.

#### CRANBERRY.

The labors of Joseph Morgan at Freehold and in its vicinity had prepared the way for the planting of other Churches in that region. In 1721 (May 28) he wrote to Mather at Boston: "Our ministrations were as little desired as enjoyed; but now, new Congregations (Allen-town, or Crosswicks, and Cranberry) are

\* Webster, 421.

"formed, where formerly the people thought us  
"as bad almost as the Papists. I engaged Hook,  
"the two Dickinsons and Webb to preach to  
"them. I also prevailed with one from Yale, of  
"my own town born (New London) and he  
"had double the good effect of all that were  
"there before; but some things will make his  
"labor useless."

This fellow-townsmen of Morgan was John Walton. He came to Cranberry in 1719 or 1720. But his erratic course destroyed his influence for good; and, after a few years—previous to 1726—he was forced to leave. For several years, the Church must have been dependent on Presbytery for supplies. In 1734, in conjunction with Millstone, it extended a call to Samuel Blair, who, however, declined. In 1738, it asked for supplies, and in 1744, Charles McKnight, who had been previously at Baskingridge, was installed (Oct. 16.) at Cranberry and Allentown. He remained in charge of the former till October, 1756, and of the latter till October, 1766. His successor—Pastor at Cranberry in 1789—was Thomas Smith. At Allentown, Joseph Clark commenced his labors in 1784; was installed in 1788; and in 1796, was dismissed to accept a call from New Brunswick.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

#### VI.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

135.—JAMES DUANE TO GENERAL JOHN MORIN SCOTT.\*

PHILADEL. 21<sup>st</sup> Sept' 1782.

DEAR GENERAL

Tho' I have scarcely time, I feel too sensibly your polite attention to be excused from acknowledging the Receipt of your favor of the 1<sup>st</sup> Instant by Major Story. I have given this young Gentleman the best advice in my power, and if Mr. Morris inclines, to employ him, will go as far in his Commendation as your Letter, and the acquaintance I have with him, can justify.

I am obliged to you for your account of Weeks's adventure. It happened too near home not to be interesting; and yet whatever may be the appearance from the passivity of the British and the Despair of the Tories; I do not think peace; so not even the evacuation of our native City, so near as is generally apprehended. The naval success of the enemy have hardened the Heart of the British Pharaoh and rekindled his expiring wishes for our subjugation. The Treaty at Paris goes on feebly and all eyes are fixed on the military Operations which will give a Completion

to its further Progress at the close of the Campaign and not sooner. But I need not enlarge. Mr. Secretary Livingston has obtained permission to attend for a few weeks on his private Affairs in our State. He will open the Budget and gratify your Curiosity in all points, and I wish you to see him.

Barclay has brought us an account of Allens exploit in Cumberland. On Monday we shall introduce the subject under great advantages from this fresh Insult on Congress and aggression on our State.

I observe all your Kindness respecting my late ill luck. I *should* not be satisfied with myself if I suspected your James unjustly, and I almost repent at what I hinted; but believe me it was the general opinion from his loose character. No man can more sincerely deprecate the vice of *Suspicion* than I do. It is too much the reverse of the first of all virtues, *Charity*, to be pardonable.

This family of both sexes commission me to present to you their respectfull Compliments. Be pleased to make mine to your good Lady & Children and to be assured that I am with very great regard—Dear General

Your affect. & most obed.

humb. serv.

JAS : DUANE.

Hon<sup>l</sup> General SCOTT.

136.—JAMES MANNING, D. D., PRESIDENT OF BROWN UNIVERSITY, TO THE REVEREND WILLIAM WOOD OF WASHINGTON, NEAR LIMESTONE, KENTUCKY.\*

PROVIDENCE, Nov. 5<sup>th</sup>, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

This, I expect, will be handed you by my friend Doct<sup>r</sup> Solomon Drowne, who for several years has had the Kentucky fever, as you call it, and now is set off in earnest to visit that good land. His inclination is to settle there, if he finds it answer his expectations; and a good opening for practising in his Profession. Affected with weak Lungs, he thinks a more southerly air would be beneficial to him. you will find him an extremely modest man, which has been injurious to his interest as a professional man, amongst pert, forward, and, compared with him, ignorant practitioners. His father was one of the Standards in our Church, when I first removed to Providence, and, several years, a member of the Council of this, then Colony.—He gave this Son an Education in the College, under my care, and he was reputed one of the best Scholars in his Class—He studied Physic under one of our first Physicians, then went through the medical Schools at Phila-

\* From the original, in possession of Lewis A. Scott, Esq., of Philadelphia.

\* From the original, in the possession of Henry T. Drowne, Esq., of New York.

delphia and took his Degree in Physic—He then entered the Hospital in the Army where he served several years, and returned to his practice in this Town, where he has been thought deservedly eminent, and was distinguished as such by the chief Physicians in the French Army, while here—After this with views to his further improvement in his Profession, he visited and studied in the Hospitals of London and Paris; since which he has practised in this Town with high reputation—He has been my family Physician for several years—His low state of health, and desire to see your Country, has prompted him to take this Journey. He possesses considerable real Property in this Town, and is, I believe, a Gentleman of strict Honour and Honesty—He has also an Apothecaries Shop; and with his Sister, a Shop of dry goods, besides public Securities, etc<sup>a</sup>. I mention these things that you may know his circumstances, should he incline to make a purchase in Kentucky—He takes with him some of the more valuable and useful Medicines, that, should an opportunity offer, he may practice while with you—He has several years been a Fellow and Deputy Secretary of this College—I had a short passage and found my family and friends, generally, well. Nothing of importance has occurred new—Wishing you the best of heaven's blessings, and requesting a Line by every opportunity, I remain, Dear Sir,

Your unworthy Brother

JAMES MANNING.

Rev. Wm. Wood.

137.—MAHLON DICKERSON TO JOHN F. WATSON.\*

SUCKASUNNY, N. J., 3<sup>d</sup> May, 1829.

DEAR SIR:

I am pleased that you have found the MS. Journals of the House of Commons, during the period of Cromwell's reign. I remember them in the possession of Col. D'Hart when I studied law with him, in '92 & '93. He valued them very highly, & he informed me how he came possessed of them, but their history I have now totally forgotten. Col. D'Hart, at his death, bequeathed his library to Wm. D'Hart Williamson & myself. The library was a valuable one, & I was willing to retain no more of it than some favorite books that might serve as a memorial of the great regard & affection he had

for me. I took a fine edition of the British State Trials, books that I had read with peculiar satisfaction while in his office. The residue of the library went to Mr. Williamson, who was distantly related to Col. D'Hart, had been named after him, & was the son of his most intimate friend, Matthias Williamson, of Elizabethtown. I presume these Journals went into the hands of Mr. Williamson, but do not know, as I was living at Philadelphia at this time.

Shortly before I left Philadelphia, Dr Logan put into my hands a curious MS. book, being the Records of the Court of Upland, now Chester, commencing the 14th day of November, 1676, & ending the 1<sup>st</sup> of June, 1681. On leaving the City, I put the book into the hands of my friend, Manuel Eyre, with a request that he would deliver it to Algernon Logan, who had promised me that he would call on Mr. Eyre for it.

Having disposed of it in this way, I had intirely dismissed it from my mind, till the fall before last, Mr. Eyre informed me that no one had called for the book, & that he had carefully preserved it. I was determined when I passed through Philadelphia in March to wait upon Mrs. Logan & deliver the book to her, which I think she would be disposed to put into possession of the Historical Society of Philadelphia, for which institution she had done more than any other individual. In the meantime, I think you would take great pleasure in perusing the volume. It is a folio volume bound in parchment with the name, "George Logan," upon the Cover in my hand-writing.

With great respect, I am, your friend & humble servant,

MAHLON DICKERSON.

[MR. WATSON, THE ANNALIST OF PHILADELPHIA, MAKES THE FOLLOWING NOTE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.

"Respecting the Journals of the House of Commons, Col. D'Hart, who had them, died at Morristown, in 1801. He had, before, spoken of them to Mrs. D. Logan, as volumes which he had borrowed. As she remembered, he seemed to account for them as coming into that part of the Country by reason of several New England families being Settled there. With some of those families he thought they had been taken out to New England. Among them was the family of Ludlow, deemed to have been related to Major Gen. Ludlow, of the Commonwealth Army. Col. D'Hart showed where several of the ample margins had been used by our principal officer of our Army at Morristown, to write his orders upon, when paper was scarce. The Journals were from 1650 to 1675. Cromwell reigned from 1653 to 1658, & his son Richard to 1659."

\* From the original, communicated by Hon. William Willis, of Portland, Maine. That gentleman has added the following Note to the copy:

Mahlon Dickerson was born in Morris-county, N. J., in 1769; graduated at Princeton College, in 1789; was, for a while, Recorder of the City of Philadelphia. He afterwards returned to New Jersey; was Judge in her Supreme Court; Governor of the State from 1815-1817; and Senator in Congress sixteen years. In 1834, he was appointed by President Jackson, Secretary of the Navy. He died in Morris-county, October 6, 1853. W. WILLIS.

PORTLAND, ME.



138.—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO ISAAC NORRIS,  
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-  
TIVES OF PENNSYLVANIA.\*

PHILADA, Feb. 15, 1763.

SIR,

It is now six years since, in obedience to the Order of the House, I undertook a voyage to England, to transact their affairs there.

Fifteen Hundred Pounds of the Public Money was at different Times put into my hands for which I ought to account.

The following Articles are vouched by the Receipts inclos'd viz.

1758 Jan. 26. Paid Robert Charles, Esq., for the Province 26 Guineas...	£27 6 0
April 20. Paid Richard Partridge, Esq. for do.	40 0 0
May 2. Paid D <sup>e</sup> for D <sup>e</sup> .....	30 0 0
Sept. 27. Paid T. Osborne for 3 Vols Journals House of Commons And for Indexes to the whole.....	10 10 0 1 1 0
1759 Dec. 31. Paid Accounts for Printing sundry Pieces in Defence of the Province....	213 13 0
1760 Dec. 2. Paid the Solicitor's Bill	470 8 8
	£792 18 8
Deduct $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>th</sup> of the Solicitor's Bill it being charg'd in the Trustees Acc <sup>t</sup> .....	78 8 1
	£714 10 7

I made many other disbursements for which I have no receipts; such as for Postage of Letters and Pacquets, which were often very heavy, containing Bills and Duplicates, &c., under the Great Seal, brought by Post to London from the Out-Ports, which to compute moderately could not, I think, fall short of 15£ per Annum. Also for customary New Year's Gifts and Christmas Presents to Door-keepers & Clerks of the Publick offices, Tavern Dinners for the Lawyers and our Friends at Hearings, Coach Hire, &c. for which I know not what to reckon, having kept no Account of such things.

I therefore can make no Claim of Allowance for them.

The House will therefore please to consider the Remainder of the 1500£ put into my Hands, so unaccounted for, as now in their Disposition; for as to any Compensation for my Time & Pains in their Service, tho' I am conscious of having done

faithfully every thing in my Power for the Publick Good, according to the best of my Abilities, yet as the House, when they appointed me their Agent at first, and afterwards from Year to Year, did not vote any particular Sum as my Salary, I am therefore not warranted to charge any thing, but do now, with the same confidence I have ever had in the Justice and Goodness of the House, cheerfully submit the same to their present discretion.

With the greatest Respect & Esteem, I am Sir,  
Your most obedient

and most humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN.

ISAAC NORRIS, Esq.

139.—GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE TO LORD STIRLING.\*

FORT MONTGOMERY 28<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1779.  
 $\frac{1}{2}$  after 2 o'clock P. M.

MY LORD

Your favor of yesterday was this moment handed to me by the Express—so that it was not in my power to attempt any move (in time) in case there was a necessity for it—but had I been honored with it any hour last evening I would have ordered a Strong Detachment to remain at Springsteels (who quartered there last night) until the foraging party had completed their business.

I am however very easy on the occasion as I am fully of the Opinion with your Lordship, that no move of yours or ours will have the least effect on the Gentry at Stony Point.

I am with true esteem your Lordship's  
most obd<sup>t</sup> & very humble serv<sup>t</sup>

ANTY. WAYNE,

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Maj. Gen<sup>l</sup>.  
LORD STIRLING.

140.—GENERAL HEATH TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HULL.†

GARRISON WEST POINT Jan'y 7 1781.

DEAR SIR

Yours of yesterday came to hand the last evening. I thought it advisable to take the opinion of his Excellency the Commander in Chief, have this moment received his answer. He allows me to permit you to attempt the Enterprise you propose, in conjunction with the Militia. The whole success will absolutely depend on the survey & the rapidity of the movement. Please impress this on the Militia Officers. I am suspicious that the collecting so

\* From the Collection of Chas. D. F. Burns, Esq., New York.

† From the original belonging to the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

\* From the original, in the possession of Isaac Norris, Esq., of Philadelphia.

many of them, so near the Enemy, and among the disaffected, will give air to your design. I have directed One hundred men from the New Hampshire Line, to be ready to march when you call for them. You will therefore send for them at the time you think proper.—I have written to Colonel Drake that he may have 5000 musquet Cartridges for the use of the Militia, for which he is to be accountable. If you want any thing let me know it—If you succeed as I hope you will, allow no buildings to be burnt, except *Temporary Huts* built by the refugees.

Wishing you Success

I am with great regard

Dear Sir

Your Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

W. HEATH

L<sup>t</sup> Col. HULL

M General.

141.—BARON DE KALB TO SILAS DEANE.\*

PARIS X<sup>bre</sup> 1776, before my setting out.

SIR

There is M. de Gerard we employed, upon the state we signed, as a Cap<sup>t</sup> he is a good officer and a brave soldier, having served a good while as a first Lieutenant of grenadiers, but having no fortune of his own, his half pay here will not enable him of leaving some small provision to his Wife and furnish his expenses down to Nantz, if you do not provide him with at least twenty Louis d'ors which may be kept upon his pay if not otherwise, even as it may please you. he is the only one for whom I'll ask you such a favour.

I repeat my most hearty wishes, Sir, for your health, prosperity and success in all your undertakings, and am with great sincerity and respect

Sir

Your most humble and  
most obedient serv<sup>t</sup>

DE KALB.

[Addressed]

A Monsieur

Monsieur DEANE

à L' Hôtel d' Entragues

Rüe de L' Université.

142.—JAMES MANNING, D. D., PRESIDENT OF  
BROWN UNIVERSITY, TO THE REV. ELIJAH  
CRAIG, IN KENTUCKY.†

PROVIDENCE, 30<sup>th</sup> of April, 1787.

DEAR BROTHER,

Though I have written you several Letters,

since our interview at Philadelphia, I have received none from you. Dr. Sam<sup>l</sup> Jones informed me that you arrived safe at Kentucky about the time you expected. The bearer of this is Dr. Solomon Drowne, who visits your part of the Country with a view of settling amongst you. He is a Physician of eminence; a Son of this College, and completed his medical Studies in Philadelphia, London and Paris; but he has with him an extract of a Letter I wrote you last year, which respects himself, and therefore I need not add, only to observe that he is esteemed by good Judges as one of the first Physicians in the State; and peculiarly qualified to instruct young Students in that branch. Should he settle amongst you he, I trust, will evince his worth. It is feared he is inclined to a Hectic, which induces him to prefer a Southern Climate—Religion and Politics wear a gloomy aspect in New England; and I do not see but many of us must remove southward to get a Subsistence. My best regards to all your Christian friends, and let me hear from you of the state of Religion, the School, &c., &c.

With Sentiments of esteem, I am, &c.

JAMES MANNING.

143.—HAMILTON'S LETTERS IN 1800, ON THE  
PENDING ELECTION OF PRESIDENT OF THE  
UNITED STATES.\*

[It will be recollected by those conversant with our political history, that, previous to the election of President Jefferson, in 1801, the votes of Electors were given for two persons for President and Vice-president, without designation which was intended for President,—leaving the House of Representatives to make the election, if the two thus presented had an equal number of electoral votes. This state of things occurred in 1801, when Jefferson and Burr came into the House with the same number of votes for each, and thus gave the Federalists of that day, a probable chance for defeating their political opponents, by casting their votes for Burr. While this subject was being agitated among the leading Federalists of that day, previous to the meeting of Congress, General Hamilton, at once, took a decided stand against the measure, and openly expressed his opinion of the reckless and unprincipled character of Burr, as appears in the following letters. This expression led to the fatal duel, which deprived the country of the life and services of that illustrious Statesman and Patriot.

The Constitution was subsequently altered, so that both the President and Vice-president were to be designated in the electoral vote.

These letters are from copies which were placed in my hands, some thirty or more years ago, by a friend in Portland, where I then resided; and I have no reason to doubt their authenticity.

W. B. S.]

July, 1868.

1.—To Oliver Wolcott.

NEW YORK, Dec<sup>r</sup> 16, 1800.

It is now, my dear Sir, ascertained that Jeff. or Burr will be Pres<sup>t</sup> and it seems probable that they will come with equal votes into the H. of R. It is also circulated here, that in this event the Fed-

\* From the original, in the possession of Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, Hartford, Conn.

† From the original, in the possession of Henry T. Drowne, Esq., of New York.

\* These copies were communicated, for publication in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, by the venerable William B. Sewall, Esq., of Kennebunk, Maine, who has not lived to see them in print.

eralists in Congress, or some of them, talk of preferring Burr. I trust New Eng. at least will not so far lose its head, as to fall into the snare. There is no doubt, but that upon every virtuous and prudent calculation, Jef. is to be preferred. He is, by far, not so dangerous a man and he has pretensions to character.

As to B there is nothing in his favor. His private character is not defended by his most partial friends. He is bankrupt beyond redemption, except by the plunder of his country. His public principles have no other spring or aim, than his own aggrandisement, *per fas vae nefas*. If he can, he certainly will disturb our institutions, to secure to himself permanent power and with it, wealth. He is truly the Cataline of America: and if I may credit Majr Wilcocks, he has held very vindictive language respecting his opponents.

But early measures must be taken to fix on this point the opinions of the Feds. Among them, from different motives, Burr will find partisans. If the thing be neglected, he may possibly go far.

Yet it may be well to throw out a line for him, in order to tempt him to start for the plate and thus lay the foundation of dissension between the two chiefs.

You may communicate this letter to Marshall & Sedgwick. Let me hear speedily from you in reply. Y<sup>rs</sup> affc. A. H.

## 2.—The Same to the Same.

Your last letter has given me great pain—not only because it informed me that the opinion in favor of B. was increasing among the F's, but because it also told me that Mr. Sedgwick was one of its partisans. I have a letter from this gentleman in which he expresses decidedly his opinion in favor of Mr. Jeffers. I hope you have been mistaken and that it is not possible for him to have been guilty of so great duplicity.

There is no circumstance, which has occurred in the course of our political affairs, that has given me so much pain, as the idea that Mr. Burr might be elected to the Presidency by the means of the Federalists. I am of opinion that this party has hitherto solid claims of merit with the public; and so long as it does nothing to forfeit its title to confidence, I shall continue to hope that our misfortunes are temporary, & that the party will ere long emerge from its depression. But if it shall act a foolish or unworthy part in any capital instance I shall then despair. Such without doubt, will be the part it will act, if it shall seriously attempt to support B. in opposition to J. —If it fails, as after all is not improbable, it will have rivetted the animosity of that person will have destroyed or weakened the motives to moderation, which he must at present feel & it will expose them to the disgrace of a defeat in an attempt to elect to the first place in the government

one of the worst men in the community. If it succeeds it will have done nothing more nor less than place in that station a man who will possess the boldness and daring necessary to give success to the jacobin system, instead of one who, for want of that quality, will be less fitted to promote it.

Let it not be imagined that B. can be won to the federal views. It is a vain hope. Stronger ties and stronger inducements than they can offer, will impel him in a different direction. His ambition will not be content with those objects, which virtuous men of either party will allot to it, and his situation and habits will oblige him to have recourse to corrupt expedients from which he will be restrained by no moral scruples. To accomplish his ends he must lean upon unprincipled men, & will continue to adhere to the myrmidons, who have hitherto surrounded him. To these he will, no doubt, add able rogues of the federal party: but he will employ the rogues of all parties to overmatch the good men of all parties and to prosecute projects which wise men of every description will disapprove.

These things are to be inferred with moral certainty from the character of the man. Every step in his career proves that he has formed himself upon the model of Cataline; and he is too cold-blooded & too determined a conspirator to change his plan.

What would you think of these toasts & this conversation at his table within the last three or four weeks—1. The French Republic—2. The Commiss<sup>rs</sup> on both sides who negotiated the Convention—3. Bonaparte & Lafayette?—What would you think of his having seconded the positions that it was for the interest of the country to allow the belligerent powers to bring in & sell their prizes and build & equip ships in our ports? Can it be doubted that a man who has all his life speculated upon the popular prejudices will consult them in the object of a war when he thinks it expedient to make one? Can a man, who, despising democracy, has chimed in with all its absurdities, be diverted from the plans of ambition which must have directed its course? They who suppose it must understand little of human nature.

If Jeff. is president, the whole responsibility of bad measures will rest with the Anti-fed<sup>ls</sup>. If B. is made so by the Feds, the whole responsibility will rest with them. The other party will say to the people, "we intended him only for the V. "P. here he might have done very well, or at least "been harmless; but the Feds. to disappoint us & "a majority of you, took advantage of a moment—"any expedient to put him in the first place. He "is therefore their pres<sup>ent</sup> and they must answer for "all the evils of his bad conduct:" and the people will believe them.

Will any reasonable calculation on the part of



the feds. uphold the policy of assuming so great a responsibility in the support of so unpromising a character? The negative is so manifest, that had I not been assured of the contrary, I should have thought it impossible that assent to it would have been attended with a moment's hesitation.

Alas! when will men consult their reason rather than their passions? Whatever they may imagine, the desire of mortifying the adverse party must be the chief spring of the disposition to prefer Mr. B. This disposition reminds me of the conduct of the Dutch moneyed-men, who from hatred to the old aristocracy favored the admission of the French into Holland to overturn everything Adieu to the Federal Troy if they introduce this Grecian horse into their citadel.

Trust me, my dear friend, you cannot render a greater service to your country than to resist this project. Far better will it be to obtain from J, assurances on some cardinal points—1 The preservation of the actual fiscal system. 2 Adherence to the neutral plan, 3 The preservation & gradual increase of the Navy. 4 The continuance of our friends in the offices they now fill, except in the great departments, in which he ought to be left free. Adieu my dear Sir,

Y<sup>r</sup> ever, A. II.

144.—GENERAL PICKENS TO GENERAL MARTIN.\*

LONG CANE 10<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1783.

DEAR SIR;

last Evening I received the letters from Mr Gilliray in answer to that sent by the superintendent and Commissioners—the Creeks are satisfied with the postponement of the Treaty till the spring of the year—but says that the white people Continue to Rob their hunting Camps of skins and horses—and if they continue to do so, they will act as circumstances may Require, but seems desirous that hostilities might Cease. Mr Gillivay mentions that the Cherokees are daily at him with complaints of the depredations Committed on their people by the inhabitants over the mountains—Mr Gagg has send down a talk from the head men to be sent to the Governor of Virginia and to Congress he writes me that the Cherokees are all Returned home but that they have 28 or 29 prisoners—that there wassen killed—tho he wrote in a hurry as he says the fellors would not stay—I hope to be at Hopewell the latter End of next week—I wish we Could get the prisoners out of the nation—

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir

your Most Humble serv<sup>t</sup>

GEN<sup>l</sup> MARTIN.

AND<sup>m</sup> PICKENS.

\* From the Collection of Charles L. Bushnell, Esq., of New York City.

145.—WARRANT OF ARREST ISSUED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.\*

You are hereby Ordered to take proper assistance & immediately to apprehend & take into custody the Body of John Swan a reputed Free Negro or Mustigo Man who was lately taken prisoner on Sullivant's Island & commit him safely to the Workhouse & the Warden of the Workhouse is hereby Authorized & Commanded to Receive the Body of the said John Swan & to keep in safe custody until the further Order of this Board—and for your & his proceeding herein this shall be your Warrant.

By order of the Council of Safety

2<sup>d</sup> January 1776

HENRY LAURENS.

President.

To Messrs JOHN CALVERT  
& JOHN VINEYARD

Messengers to the Council of Safety.

146.—COLONEL BECKWITH'S RECEIPT FOR GENERAL SIR HENRY CLINTON'S SUPPLIES.†

NEW-YORK, October 26<sup>th</sup> 1783.‡

RECEIVED from GEORGE BRINLEY, Esq; Deputy-Commissary, &c. sundry Vouchers for Fuel, &c. issued upon regular Returns for his Excellency the Commander in Chief within the District of NEW-YORK, amounting to Thirty Two Cords of Wood, Eighty Nine Pounds of Candles, and Eighty Pints of Oil, being Eight Weeks Allowance, commencing the 1<sup>st</sup> September 1783 and ending the 26<sup>th</sup> October following both Days included; for which I have signed two Receipts of this Tenor and Date. †

32—Cords Wood	(GEO. BECKWITH
89—Pounds Candles	A D O.
89—Pints Oil.	

147.—COLONEL BROWN, SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO LORD GEORGE GERMAINE.‡

SAVANNAH April 6<sup>th</sup> 1782.

MY LORD

I have the honor to inclose Your Lordship copies of Letters received from Governor Wright & Colonel Clarke, with mine to His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton relative to Indian concerns,

\* From the original in the collection of Frank W. Ballard Esq., of New York.

† From the original, belonging to John Bulkley, Jr., Esq., of New York.

‡ From the original belonging to John Bulkley, Jr., Esq., New York.

from whence Your Lordship may form a proper Judgement of the state of Indian Affairs to that time.——

Since that period the Indians have been employed against the Spaniards in West Florida, and the Rebels on the Ohio settlements and frontiers of the different Provinces; but through want of sufficient supplies of Amunition &c, I am sorry to say their efforts however vigorous & spirited, have not been productive of any other essential advantage than preventing any very considerable reinforcements from the back Country to Green's army.

The Spaniards have been baffled in repeated attempts to seduce the Creeks from His Majesty's service, being constantly harassed by the Indians the Garrison can draw no subsistence from the Country.

The Cherokees have been warmly engaged in every quarter with various fortune—the manly spirited perseverance of this Nation under every difficulty and loss adds much to their character.

Inclosed I have the honor to transmit to your Lordship a Talk from one of the principal Warriors of the Cherokees (the Raven of Chottee) the wanton bloody outrages therein mentioned committed by the Rebels, on such unfortunate Women & Children as have fallen in the course of the War into their hands, have been truly barbarous & more than Savage.

The numerous Banditti settled across the Mountains on the different branches of the River Ohio in the Spring, Summer, and beginning of Winter, assemble in force & march against the Cherokee Towns and when aided by the Rebel forces from the frontiers of the Southern Provinces, commonly prove an overmatch for the Cherokees.

The Cherokees in return by repeated incursions oblige all the Inhabitants over the mountains to live in Blockhouses for their security.

The Superiority of the Rebel Cavalry in this Province (it would be improper for me to say the inactivity of the Troops) prevents our sending any supplies of Amunition &c by the usual route.——This obstruction I hope will be shortly removed, if not our Indian Interest will be materially injured, as the Cherokees will not only be unprovided with Amunition for the purposes of War, but their own defence.

Three hundred Cherokees I understand are on the Path from the Nation as a guard to the Packhorses to the Southward of Altamaha River—at the requisition of Lieu<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Clark & Governor Wright. I shall send for them round by Water to cooperate with the Garrison.

The prospect of a considerable expence which will be thereby incurred for their Subsistence, from the scarcity & advanced price of Provision

gives me great concern——I hope their services if employed will be adequate to the expence, which on most occasions however necessary, I am sorry to observe, is burthensome and frequently subject me to the difficulties I have particularly mentioned in my Letter to his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton

The annnal supply of Presents addressed to Governor Wright was delivered to him, but as his Excellency conceived that the Indians in the Southern District were immediately under the direction & command of the General of the District and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, who are supposed to be unconnected with any particular Province & unbiased by Local attachments, he delivered them into the Indian Store to be distributed under their Directions.

In my Letter to Sir Henry Clinton I mentioned that the seperation of the Chactaws and Chiccasaws from the Creeks Cherokees & Catawas had created great jealousy, and ill blood amongst the different Tribes, so as to prevent me in a great measure from calling forth the resources of the Indians collectively; as an union of force wou'd certainly be a desirable event and wou'd enable me to give essential aid to His Majesty's forces in the Southern District and prevent the frontier Banditti of the different Provinces from joining the Rebel Army.

The Superintendent M<sup>r</sup> Cameron being Deceased the Tribes on the Mississippi since the fall of Pensacola can only be supplied through the Creeks; shou'd Your Lordship be pleased to approve of it I shall cheerfully undertake to manage their concerns and relieve Government of a heavy unnecessary expence; for as it has been my wish and study to promote the Service of Government to the best of my abilities, the Salary His Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer on me, I shall ever esteem as a sufficient compensation for any additional trouble I may have in the Public service, for whenever the Indian Tribes falls under the Direction of unmilitary Men for whom they have the most sovereign contempt, no essential advantage can be expected from their service

I have taken the liberty of drawing upon the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> The Lords of the Treasury for the Amount of last Year's ordinary estimate in favour of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Graham & Simpson for (1955. L. Sterling) which I hope their Lordships will be pleased to honor.

I have the honor to be

My Lord——

Your Lordships most obedient & Most hble. Servant

Tho<sup>s</sup>. W. BROWN Superint<sup>t</sup>

Indian Affairs.

The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>  
LORD GEORGE GERMAINE,  
&c. &c. &c.

## VII.—MATERIAL FOR TELEGRAPH HISTORY.—CONTINUED.

### II.—CHRISTOPHER COLLES.

#### AND THE FIRST PROPOSAL OF A TELEGRAPH SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES :

With incidental allusions to the Origin and Progress of our City Water-Works and of our State Canals, &c.

TO HENRY B. DAWSON, ESQ.

Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE :

DEAR SIR—In unison with the proposed Collection of Data concerning the Origin and Progress of Electric or Electro-Magnetic Telegraphs, a brief article may be appropriately devoted to the efforts of CHRISTOPHER COLLES for arousing public attention towards the establishment of Telegraphic communication between important places—especially along the coast of the United States—when the last War with Great Britain was about to commence. His plan seemed to be an improvement on the French system, including the best means of signalling available before the application of electricity in correspondence.

The first formal public proposal for telegraphic intercourse along the whole American coast “from Passamaquoddy to New-Orleans,” was made by Mr. Colles, in public lectures and through the newspapers of New-York, in the Summer of 1812, when the dangers of invasion were threatening our country. He earnestly urged the construction of such a telegraph range, as a measure calculated greatly to aid our Naval and Military defences, as well as for Commercial and Governmental purposes, at all times.

Such a proposition, at such a crisis, was well calculated to arouse wide-spread attention among intelligent minds—especially among men familiar with the clear-minded practical character of the proposer. And it may be said here that, though mentioned by Mr. Elkanah Watson as an “obscure man, of no consideration, wholly incapable of conceiving great projects,” Colles was one of the remarkable persons of his time, and was so recognized by such men as De Witt Clinton, Cadwalader D. Colden, Charles King, Dr. Hosack, Dr. J. W. Francis, and other prominent gentlemen acquainted with his valuable and unobtrusive career. He was as sagacious and enthusiastic, concerning the importance of telegraphic correspondence through the United States, as he was in reference to internal commerce and navigation when urging legislative action for improving the waterways between the Atlantic and the Western regions, and as he was when suggesting the water-works whereby New York City was chiefly supplied before the Croton was introduced.

But, even the distinguished men who have honored themselves by rendering honor to Christopher Colles have failed to allude fully to his connection with Telegraphic Projects; and hence the

humble effort here now made to place before the reader some memoranda calculated to turn attention to a matter so interesting in connexion with his general character and the condition of his times.

In July, 1812, the Telegraph Question was introduced by advertisements like the following, copied from the *New York Columbian*, one of the half-dozen little daily newspapers then printed here, of which, the *Commercial Advertiser* and the *Evening Post*, now enlarged to mammoth size with corresponding spirit, are the sole survivors :

“TELEGRAPH.

“Mr. Colles, having completed his Telegraphs, “informs the public that their operations will be “shown from the top of the Custom-House, on “Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, from 4 till “6 in the afternoon. Admittance 50 cents—the “subscribers’ tickets will be received.”

It will be seen, by the way in which he mentioned the subject in another advertisement, that Mr. Colles was probably as fully sensible of the value of telegraphic intercourse as any one among his successors who witnessed the wonders of electric correspondence in later years. Even if he lived in these days, the venerable philosopher could hardly write more enthusiastically than he did when urging the organization of Telegraphs on the best practicable plans known among men half a century ago. Such an advertisement as the following, taken from another *Columbian*, about the same date, is well worthy of preservation, as a memento alike of the subject, the time, and the man :

“TELEGRAPH.

“As the conveyance of intelligence to remote “distances, with accuracy and despatch, must be “considered as a matter of national as well as individual importance, both in War and Peace, “the subscriber, viewing the subject in this light, “has lately contemplated the invention and improvement of that necessary instrument, the Telegraph, and has, with the assistance of God, “the giver of all good things, been able to discover and invent two or three practical modes of “executing this important object—the simplest of “which exhibits figures, letters, words and sentences, by night or by day, either for the universal communication of unexpected intelligence, “letter by letter, or by preconcerted sentences to “any extent, for any event which may be expected and registered for that purpose.

“Those improvements encourage him to propose to the Public a Telegraphic Establishment, “which promises to be worthy of their attention; “and, in order to convey the full ideas of these “discoveries, he intends to deliver a LECTURE, “in which he will exhibit complete working models, by which an adequate judgment may be formed, and by which he will experimentally “prove, that this art is now arrived at such a degree of perfection and simplicity, as to convince



"the Public that the proposed establishment is highly worthy of being classed with some of the greatest improvements and most profitable speculations of the present age, or that has hitherto been laid before them; and that it is also capable of opening a more copious field for the extension of commerce than that important branch of knowledge has yet acquired or enjoyed: And altho' it is a lamentable consideration that the utility of any improvement is not always a sufficient stimulation to insure success, and although the minds of intelligent persons are sometimes so obscured by prejudice or influenced by jealousy as to be invincible even by the most lucid arguments and incontestable facts, still he hopes, by the evidence of the eye and by numerical demonstrations, to convince the judgment, that there is no imprudent risk to be feared, but the most solid advantages to be hoped for prosecuting it immediately. CHRISTOPHER COLLES.

"This Lecture will be delivered at the Custom House, on Thursday, the 22d inst. at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Tickets of admission to be had of Mr. Samuel Wood, No. 357 Pearl-street; Whiting & Watson, No. 96 Broadway; and of the Lecturer, at the Custom House."

Mr. Colles published an account of his telegraphic plan in a pamphlet of 1813, with this title:

"DESCRIPTION OF THE NUMERICAL TELEGRAPH:

"For communicating unexpected intelligence, by figures, letters, words and sentences;

"with directions for writing the Correspondence, either public or private—and showing

"the manner of working the machine with perfect accuracy and despatch.

"By CHRISTOPHER COLLES, of New-York.

"Brooklyn—Printed by ALDEN SPOONER—1813."

The title was accompanied by an engraving of the Telegraph. The following quotation explains the working of the machine:

"CELERITY OF THE CORRESPONDENCE.

"As it has been found by experiment that 84 letters can be exhibited by this machine in five minutes, or 300 seconds, to the distance of one telegraphic station, (averaged at ten miles,) it follows that each letter can be exhibited at that distance in 3.57 seconds, and to a hundred miles in 35.7 seconds;—and by the same proportion, from Passamaquoddy to New-Orleans, a distance of 2600 miles, in 928.2 seconds, or 15 minutes 28 seconds; and a communication of the length of the Lord's Prayer in 36 minutes 13 seconds—but say one hour. *Will not this be rapid enough!*" \* \* \* \*

Let no one sneer at the inquiry thus made about the speed of correspondence proposed in those primitive times. Tho' not quite "rapid enough" to suit this fast age, it should have been sufficient to arouse greater attention than it did, especially

in a time of War, when it was particularly important that every practicable improvement should have been adopted for transmitting intelligence connected with the national defence. And, besides, it was not much clumsier or much slower than the *earliest* machinery by which Professor Morse, more than five-and-thirty years thereafter, thought of transmitting numbers with his "saw-tooth telegraph," so sometimes styled, from the jagged appearance of its marks—the *numbers* referring to *sentences* in a Dictionary prepared for the purpose—a plan never practically carried out by Prof. M., it being superseded by the use of dots and dashes as synonyms for letters, as dots and dashes have in turn been generally superseded by *sounds* readily recognized by competent telegraphers. The mode of correspondence by numerals, referring to words and sentences, as proposed by Colles, in 1812, was substantially like that temporarily adopted twenty or more years later by Prof. Morse, when trying his primitive abortive saw-tooth machine—as shown by the printed quarto Dictionary prepared by one of his partners—a copy of which curious volume is included in the Telegraph Collection in the Library of the New-York Historical Society. The greatest speed claimed by Prof. Morse, in his letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, in 1837, even with his then improved machine, was only about "five words in a minute."

It must not be understood, from what is here stated, that this proposal of Colles was the first suggestion of a Telegraph in the United States.—Jonathan Grant, Jr., of Belchertown, Mass., in 1800, filed an application for a Patent for an improved Telegraph—an alleged improvement on the plans which had been used in Europe for several years; and it is stated that this invention was operated about that time between Boston and Martha's Vineyard, a distance of ninety miles; when a question was transmitted and answered in less than ten minutes. But no public proposition for a national range of Telegraph appears to have been made before that of Mr. Colles, in 1812.

But, notwithstanding his ardent practical appeals and demonstrations, Mr. Colles could only succeed in getting his Telegraph constructed so far as to signalize intelligence between New-York City and Sandy Hook—say forty miles: which short section he managed for several years.

Had the wise suggestions of Mr. Colles been promptly sustained by the Government or by the business community—had his proposed telegraph system been extended along the coast to any considerable extent—"between Passamaquoddy and New-Orleans,"—so as to transmit intelligence rapidly among the American people; many movements of British fleets and armies might have been essentially impeded, if not entirely frustrated, and our national feelings, as well as the public and

private interests of our countrymen, might have been saved from various painful ordeals. But, in 1812, even the citizens of New-York were as slow in appreciating the value of Colles's Semaphoric Telegraph as they were in 1845, when little or nothing could be raised in that city towards extending the Electro-magnetic Telegraph northward of Baltimore—to which place the National Government had built a forty-mile experimental line from Washington during the previous year.

A few paragraphs may be appropriately devoted to Colles and his projects and works in other branches of improvement, beyond the telegraphic labors to which this communication is specially devoted—that we may better know the leading characteristics of the Pioneer Projector of an American National Telegraph System.

Hear, then, what some of his eminent contemporaries—men who knew him long and well—said about his sagacious and industrious spirit, in connexion with some of the greatest works of material improvement :

(1.) Charles King, late President of Columbia College and a distinguished member of the New-York Historical Society, in the *Memoir of the Croton Aqueduct* which he prepared for the Corporation, rendered credit to Mr. Colles for his early and indefatigable efforts to arouse the people of this city to a proper sense of the necessity of securing ample supplies of water—efforts preceding the construction of the Manhattan Water-Works, which partially supplied the citizens for many years before the introduction of the Croton superseded that and all other modes of supplying water in New-York city.

(2.) De Witt Clinton, with the characteristics of a noble nature, has borne emphatic testimony to the services which Colles rendered in early advocating a policy of Internal Improvement which, as subsequently modified, has rendered the name of Clinton himself illustrious in history.

In his memorable essays under the signature of "TACITUS," Gov. Clinton frankly declared that "Christopher Colles, a native of Ireland, who settled in New York, and who had, before the Revolutionary War, proposed a plan for supplying that city with good water, was the first person who suggested to the Government of the State the Canals and improvements on the Ontario route." The "Ontario route," be it remembered, meant the plan afterwards adopted by the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, for connecting the Atlantic coast with the Western Lakes at Oswego, by means of short canals connecting the Mohawk-river, Wood-creek, Oswego-river and Lake Ontario—which route was briefly used for navigation till the *Erie Canal* was constructed for connecting the Hudson River by one continuous artificial water-

way to Lake Erie, at Buffalo. By the Ontario route it was proposed to connect with Lake Erie and the Upper Lakes, by a canal of seven miles, with locks, at Niagara Falls. It is important to remember this distinction between what was originally called the "Ontario Route," as distinguished from the "Erie Canal Route"—the credit for the original project of which latter enterprise, with which Governor Clinton was so honorably connected, was ascribed by him to Jesse Hawley, of Western New-York.

(3.) "In the Session of the Legislature of 1784," says Gov. Clinton, "Mr. Adgate, from the Committee to whom was referred the Memorial of Christopher Colles, proposing some interesting improvements in internal navigation, reported, 'That it is the opinion of the Committee that the laudable proposals of Mr. Colles for removing the obstructions in the Mohawk-river, so that boats of burthen may pass the same, merit the encouragement of the public; but that it would be inexpedient for the Legislature to cause that business to be undertaken at the public expense: That, as the performing of such a work will be very expensive, it is therefore the opinion of the Committee, that, if Mr. Colles, with a number of adventurers, (as by him proposed,) should undertake it, they ought to be encouraged by a Law giving and securing unto them, their heirs and assigns, for ever, the profits that may arise from transportation, under such restrictions and regulations as shall appear to the Legislature necessary for that purpose; and authorizing them to execute that work through any lands or improvements, on payment of the damages to the proprietors, as the same shall be assessed by a jury.' And this favorable Report was sanctioned by the House of Assembly.

(4.) Early the next year, 1785, Colles presented another Memorial, further advocating the policy of Internal Improvements; and on this, also, a favorable Report was made by the Committee to whom it was referred. As a further mark of legislative approval, an appropriation was also made in the Supply Bill "for the purpose of enabling him to make an essay towards removing certain obstructions in the Mohawk River, and to exhibit a plan thereof to the Legislature, at their next meeting." (Don't laugh at the smallness of the appropriation—only \$125; for even when legislative attention was first turned to a Survey of the *Erie Canal*, from Albany to Buffalo, in 1808, the paltry sum of \$600 only! was provided for that magnificent object.)

(5.) On the 17th March, 1786, says Clinton, "Mr. Jeffrey Smith, from the Committee appointed to consider the Memorials of Colles and his associates, REPORTED FAVORABLY, and asked leave, which was granted, to bring in



"a Bill, entitled 'An Act for improving the navigation of the Mohawk River, Wood Creek, and the Onondaga [or Oswego] River, with a view of opening an inland navigation to Oswego, and for extending the same, if practicable, to Lake Erie.'"

But, the lateness of the period in the Session seems to have prevented the passage of the Bill, as the Assembly, after resolving to meet again in Committee of the Whole on the subject, adjourned before such meeting could be held.

(6.) Hosack, in his Memoir of Clinton and the Canals, mentions the "useful labors and enterprize" of Mr. Colles, and refers particularly to the legislative "measures of 1784, 1785, and 1786, upon the motions [or Memorials] of that personage."

"Notwithstanding what has been said of the suggestions made by Gen. Schuyler, in 1797, and by Gouverneur Morris, in 1800, relative to the extension of navigation to *Lake Erie*," says Dr. Hosack, in the same Memoir, "the Journals of the Legislature, as early as 1786, show that Mr. Jeffrey Smith, and probably Christopher Colles, must have preceded them in this view of the measure."

(7.) Col. Robert Troup, who was in the Legislature of 1786, remarks, that, on reviewing the Journals of the Assembly, he finds that "on the 14th of February, 1786, a Petition from Christopher Colles, with a Report of the practicability of rendering the Mohawk-river navigable, was referred to Jeffrey Smith and others;" and adds that "it is therefore very possible that Mr. Colles may have furnished Mr. Smith with the idea of extending the navigation to *Lake Erie*."

(8.) Cadwallader D. Colden, in his Memoir of the Celebration consequent on the completion of the Erie Canal, in October, 1825—prepared by request of the New-York Corporation—referred also in the most honorable manner to the sagacious views and practical efforts of Colles for promoting internal improvement in the earliest days of our State Government, after the Revolution; adding, substantially, that the name of Christopher Colles should be enduringly remembered, among those of the men who contributed, at an early period, to arousing and nerving the People of this State for undertaking the great works that shed lustre on our history: for, immediately after the establishment of our political independence, as already intimated—contemporaneously with the efforts of Washington, who was then as earnest in advocating the improvement of internal navigation as he had been in asserting our national freedom—Colles memorialized the Legislature of New-York, in language showing that he vividly appreciated the immense advantages inseparable from suitable water-communication between the

Atlantic Coast and the regions surrounding the great Lakes and Rivers of the West. His Internal Improvement Memorial of 1784 succeeded in arousing our Legislature to make its first appropriation for surveying the route of the water-courses through the State, such as Mohawk-river, Wood-creek and Oswego-river, which he urged should be connected by short canals so as to permit the transit of boats with freight and passengers between the seaboard and the interior waters. A small appropriation for a survey with that purpose was made in 1785; and Colles's Report on the results of his Survey, as well as his Memorials to the Legislature, excited and kept alive a feeling in favor of inland navigation, for the promotion of which, other parties united, a few years after, in forming Inland Lock Navigation Companies—which Companies and their navigable facilities were superseded, after several years, by the construction of the Erie and Champlain Canals.

(9.) One of the quickest and most valued results of the small legislative appropriation, made in 1785, for encouraging Colles in examining the obstructions in the Mohawk River on the proposed Ontario Route, was the publication by him, in the same year, of a pamphlet under the title of

#### "PROPOSALS

"For the Speedy Settlement of the Waste and Unappropriated Lands

"On the Western Frontier of the State of New-York,

"And for the Improvement of the Inland Navigation between Albany and Oswego.

"Printed at New-York, by Sam'l London: 1785."

The language of this publication—a "remarkable pamphlet," as it is styled by *Appleton's American Cyclopaedia*—indicates some of the many reasons why such men as Clinton, Colden, Hosack, King and Francis spoke as they did concerning Colles. They knew how to appreciate the intelligent spirit which led him, at that early period, to expatiate so eloquently on the advantages and future greatness of the "glorious West." Full fifteen years before Gouverneur Morris wrote his often-quoted letter of 1800 concerning "ships sailing" from the Ocean to the Great Lakes—which letter is sometimes actually adduced as a proof that he, Morris, projected the *Erie Canal*!—Mr. Colles published, in that pamphlet and in repeated Memorials to the Legislature, sundry statements respecting the inducements for and advantages of connecting the water-courses between the Atlantic and the Western Lakes—and that, too, in language which would have done no discredit to DeWitt Clinton himself. A brief extract from that memorable pamphlet may enable the reader to judge whether Colles was "wholly incapable of conceiving great projects:"—



"From the foregoing views," said Mr. Colles, on submitting his calculations concerning the great enterprise, "the importance of the proposed design will appear sufficiently evident. By this, the internal trade will be increased; by this also the foreign trade will be promoted; by this the country will be settled; by this the frontiers will be secured: by this a variety of articles, as masts, yards and ship-timber, may be brought to New York, which will not bear the expense of land carriage, and which, notwithstanding, will be a considerable remittance to Europe. By this, in time of War, provisions and military stores may be moved with facility in sufficient quantities to answer any emergency; and by this, in time of Peace, all the necessities, conveniences, and, if we please, the luxuries of life, may be distributed to the remotest points of the Great Lakes, which so beautifully diversify the face of this extensive Continent, and to the smallest branches of the numerous Rivers which shoot from those Lakes upon every point of the compass.

"Providence, indeed, appears to favor this design," said Mr. Colles; "for the Allegany mountains, which pass through all the States, seem to die away as they approach the Mohawk River; and the ground between the upper part of this River and Wood Creek, is perfectly level, as if designedly to permit us to pass through this channel into that extensive inland country.

"The amazing extent of the five Great Lakes to which the proposed navigation will communicate," adds Mr. Colles, "will be found to have five times as much coast as all England; and the country watered by the numerous rivers which fall into these Lakes, full seven or eight times as great as that valuable island. If the fertility of the soil be the object of our attention, we will find it at an average equal to Britain. Of late years, the policy of that island has been to promote inland navigation; and the advantages, gained both by the public and individuals, have been attended by such happy consequences, that it is intersected in all manner of directions, by these valuable water-ways—by which the inhabitants receive reciprocally the comforts of the respective productions, whether flowing from the bounty of Providence or the effects of industry, and, by an exchange of commodities, render partial and particular improvements the source of universal abundance."

(10.) In his kindly notice of Mr. Colles, in the Memoir on the completion of the Erie Canal, Mr. Colden thus further says:

"The difficulties which Mr. Colles met with, [after having memorialized the Legislature in 1784-5-6, concerning his proposed plan of internal navigation] seem to have subdued his

"enterprise [*in that respect.*]\* Though his plan for connecting the Northern and Southern and Eastern and Western waters was revived in 1791, it does not appear that Colles had any connexion with it." He was "the projector and attendant of the Telegraph erected during the last War on Castle Clinton," in the harbor of New York. "Genius and talents, much above the sphere in which he seems to have moved in the latter part of his life, could not rescue him from obscurity and poverty, but it would be ungrateful to forget him at this time. No one can say *how far we owe this occasion*" [the celebration of the Union of the Atlantic with the Great Lakes] "*to the ability with which he developed the great advantages that would result from opening the communications with the Lakes,—to the clear views he presented of the facility with which these communications might be made—and to the activity with which he for some time pursued this object.*" His contemporaries have not been insensible of his merits, and have preserved a portrait of him by "Jarvis, in the Gallery of the New York Historical Society."

(11.) Notwithstanding the approbation bestowed on his Memorials and Plans, by three consecutive Sessions of the Legislature, however, it does not appear that any further legislative movement on this subject was made by Mr. Colles, though we cannot doubt that his important pamphlet on the subject, heretofore mentioned, and his personal influence among his fellow-citizens, contributed largely in arousing attention to the great importance of the projects which had thus secured for him such marked governmental attention and respect. Governor Clinton, when writing on the subject, long years afterwards, said that the operations of Colles "probably failed for the want of subscribers for the contemplated Association" or Company. But other causes may be assigned—such as, the fact that the lands of Western New York were then in possession of the Indians, sustained by the intrigues of the British, who still held the forts at Oswego and Niagara, and continued to hold them till after Jay's Treaty, or in 1796—which unfavorable influences were obvious from the fact that, though the "Western Inland Lock Navigation Company," embracing many wealthy men, among whom Mr. Elkanah Watson is named, was chartered by the Legislature, in 1792, to carry out the project proposed by Colles, in legislative Memorials and Reports of 1784-5-6, that Company could do little in effecting the object for several years; and had actually to obtain from the

\* "In that respect," only, if even in that—for his spirit was always active in promoting good works till his latest years. His Telegraph Project, for instance, was presented to the public more than a quarter-century after he memorialized the Legislature in favor of Internal Navigation.

Legislature of 1798 an extension of the time prescribed for completing even the first section of the work, between Schenectady and Wood-creek—delay not unreasonably resulting from the long-continued hostile aspect of the Indians and the British Garrisons and the consequent slowness of "settlement" along the route.

(12.) As these testimonials to the services of Colles naturally beget a desire to know more about his career, some brief statements from other sources concerning his long and useful life may be appropriately given here. *Appleton's American Cyclopaedia* gives some interesting particulars:

"In 1765 he set out, a wanderer from his native land, and we find him in Philadelphia in 1772, 'delivering lectures on pneumatics, illustrated 'by a variety of curious and entertaining experiments in an air-pump, lately invented by 'him.' He also proposed to give three lectures 'on hydrostatics and hydraulics, with the 'motion of fluids and their action upon different machines—as wind and water mills, 'various kinds of pumps, and steam engines. 'The year following, he was engaged in delivering a series of lectures, in New York, on 'Inland Navigation. He is reported to have 'been the first individual who undertook to 'build a steam-engine in this country, designed for a distillery in Philadelphia; but, on account of his limited means, his machine 'proved defective and his appeal for aid to the Philosophical Society abortive—though the Committee, with Rittenhouse at the head, commended his talents and pronounced him worthy of public encouragement. In April, 1774, 'he proposed to erect a reservoir for the purpose 'of conveying water through the several streets 'of the city of New York. His proposals 'were read and referred.'

"In 1775, he engaged in a new enterprise, and delivered lectures on gunnery, and was further employed in giving instruction to the Artillery department of the American Army, in the principles of projectiles. He was selected, from time to time, by detachments of the Artillery Corps in different stations to give them lessons on the momentum and direction of the cannon ball. He continued in this employment until the arrival of Baron Steuben, in 1777, when a new organization in the Military department took place. Colles was the first person who suggested canals and improvements to connect Lake Ontario with the Hudson. According to the records of the Assembly of New York, in November, 1784, he presented a Memorial on the subject; and, in April following, a favorable Report was made thereon. He visited the country, and took an actual survey of the principal obstructions on the Mohawk-river as far as Wood-creek. The results of his tour were published by Samuel Loudon, in 1785. In this

"remarkable pamphlet, he has the following sentence:—'The amazing extent of the five 'great Lakes, to which the proposed navigation 'will communicate, will be found to have five 'times as much coast as all England, and the 'countries watered by the numerous rivers, 'which fall into these Lakes, full seven or eight 'times as great as that valuable island.' As the 'War of the Revolution arrested the progress of 'his measures for supplying the City by his reservoir, \* \* \* we find his name again 'recorded as an applicant for a contract to convey water through the city by means of pipes. 'Dr. Brown recommended to the Common Council the Bronx-river for that purpose; and this, 'it is affirmed, is the first indication on record 'that a supply was to be looked for from without the city. Doubtless the original suggestion of the Bronx came from Colles. In 1808, 'Colles published an elaborate pamphlet 'On 'the interests of the United States of America, 'extending to all conditions of men by means 'of inland navigable communications.' \* \* \* 'He was never idle. His devices to secure 'an 'honest livelihood' were almost countless. 'His various knowledge was admitted, his science 'was considered real. \* \* \* Wearied at last 'by disappointments, he now summoned resolution to enter on a new service, and commenced 'as a tourist a journey of some extent, and not 'without personal hazard at that early day, 'through Pennsylvania and New York; and in '1789 he published a book on Roads through 'New York.' \* \* \* 'His long life was 'marked by severe trials and perplexing incidents. \* \* \* *The victim of penury.* \* HIS INTEGRITY WAS NEVER QUESTIONED. His nature was benevolent, his morals void of offence toward God and man. *His long career proved 'useful to his adopted country.* \* \* \* \* Clinton included him among the earliest and 'prominent instigators of the Canal Policy, and 'Hosack has recorded his services. Humble as

\* Colles was not the only person connected with Internal Navigation projects who struggled with "poverty," if not "penury." Jesse Hawley, author of the first comprehensive project of National Internal Navigation, of which the Erie Canal was only a part, and to whom DeWitt Clinton gave credit as the originator of the first practicable idea of that Canal, wrote some or all of his memorable "fourteen essays" (re-published in Hosack's *Memoir of Clinton*) while on the "Jail Limits" for debt. Myron Holley, one of the most efficient associates of Clinton in constructing the great work, suffered keenly from poverty thro' many of his latter years. DeWitt Clinton himself did not escape pecuniary as well as other annoyances in connexion with our Internal Improvements. After he had served the State gratuitously for many years, till the great work was nearly completed, he was summarily thrown out of the Canal Board by a partizan Legislature; and, though a grateful People promptly showed their respect by electing him as Governor thereafter, he died worth scarcely money enough to pay for the grave to which he was suddenly hurried, soon after the triumphant celebration of the completion of the great work with which his fame is imperishably associated. Nor are these the only instances that could be given as illustrations in this connexion.—H. O. R.



"was his [*pecuniary*] condition, Hamilton paid him marked deference, and often visited him. Jefferson corresponded with him. Jarvis painted his portrait. When the great celebration, in October, 1825, took place, on the completion of the Canal, the effigy of Colles was borne among emblems that characterized the vast procession."

(13.) With all his great projects, some of which were deemed "visionary" by some men of small calibre or envious disposition—as great projects and their projectors are temporarily denounced by such narrow intellects—Colles was always ready in practically applying his large store of scientific and mechanical abilities to such varied matters as the wants of society in his time demanded, whether in astronomy, chemistry, hydraulics, canalling, gunnery and projectiles, water-works, engineering, pneumatics, telescopes, sun-dials, solar microscopes, botany, mineralogy, the improvement of wild lands, telegraphs, and many other matters. Everybody who knew him, (and Dr. Francis writes that people generally, in New York, did know and respect him,) felt free to call on him for almost any kind of information—for he was versed in the general range of science and useful arts, according to the lights of the times. As a specimen of his ready adaptation to the most useful pursuits, however "obscure" and unworthy of "consideration" some supercilious people might consider them, it may be mentioned that Colles turned the attention of people along the Hudson to the important business of brick-making, for supplying the wants of New York and other towns—and invented a brick-machine for facilitating the manufacture, at Tarrytown, near the place now well-known as the late residence of Washington Irving—where he filled up his working hours by aiding to educate some of the young folk—as is well recollected by the venerable Captain Samuel Martling, now over eighty years of age, who in those days "took lessons" from Colles, as did also his cousin, the late Captain Abraham D. Martling; which latter facts are well-known to you, Mr. Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, through your relationship to those worthy men.

(14.) From a copy of the *Columbian*, dated in July of 1816, is taken the following unique notice, under the signature of Mr. Colles, the tenor of which indicates that, till his latest days, that estimable man was actuated by the same spirit that led him to lecture on canalling, water-works and other improvements, in New-York and Philadelphia, before the Revolution—the same spirit that induced him to serve as an Engineer and as a Drill-master in Gunnery and Projectiles during that contest—the same spirit that urged him to suggest means for improving the wild lands of Western New-York, and to memorialize our New-York Legislature, immediately after the Revolution,

on the importance of speedily improving the internal navigation, so as to facilitate trade and commerce between the Atlantic States and the vast regions around the Great Lakes and Rivers of the West—the same spirit that guided him in urging the construction of Telegraphs through all parts of the United States, not alone for social and commercial objects, but also for promoting the National Defence in the last War with Great Britain. But now for the advertisement:

#### "TO THE PUBLIC."

"The subscriber, intending shortly to exhibit at the New-York Institution or Scientific Establishment, in Chambers-street, (late the Almshouse,) a number of new mechanical contrivances of his own invention, and which he apprehends may be of considerable national importance, thinks it necessary and takes this method to inform the public that he is *no perpetual-motion-man*, but utterly disclaims all those fallacious ideas by which many have either deceived themselves or meant to deceive others into a hope and belief of what is only in the power of the Almighty to perform. Dated 26th of July, 1816.

#### "CHRISTOPHER COLLES."

This allusion to "perpetual motion" was particularly useful at the time, in warning his fellow-citizens, who had great respect for his judgment on mechanical as well as scientific subjects—as some visionaries were then industriously pestering the public with schemes of that kind.

(15.) Dr. John W. Francis, well-known through the land for a long period, during many years enjoyed the acquaintance and learned how personally to appreciate the worth of the unassuming Colles, and devotes special attention to his memory. A single brief extract from one of the historical Sketches by Dr. F., will indicate how fully and cordially he unites with other distinguished men in rendering honor to the venerable philosopher. Dr. Francis concludes his grateful tribute with the following emphatic paragraph:

"As Colles was an instructive representative of much of that peculiarity in the condition and affairs of New York, at the time in which he may be said to have flourished, I shall trespass a moment by a brief exhibit of the circumstances which marked the period, in which he was, upon the whole, a prominent character. Everybody seemed to know him—*no one spoke disparagingly of him*. His enthusiasm, his restlessness, were familiar to the citizens at large. *He, in short, was a part of our domestic history*; and an extra word or two may be tolerated, the better to give him his fair proportions. Had I encountered Colles in any land, I would have been willing to have naturalized him to



"our soil and institutions. He had virtues, the exercise of which must prove profitable to any people. \* \* \* The ardent and untiring man was so connected with divers affairs, ever after he had domesticated himself among us, *that every movement in which he took a part must have had a salutary influence on the masses in those days.*"

Of how many other persons, in that or any age, could so much be truly said as is said in the concurrent testimony of all the above-named distinguished men who were the cotemporaries of Colles?

(16.) Such is a brief outline of some of the many good projects and works of Christopher Colles. His suggestion of a National Telegraph System, his latest great project, was in unison with his active exertions in early years for Promoting Health by supplying cities with water-works; for aiding Trade and Commerce and facilitating National Defence by improving our Inland Navigation; and for advancement in other important matters.

Even these brief allusions—and many similar testimonials might be added on other subjects connected with intellectual and material progress—are sufficient to indicate that Colles, although a very unobtrusive personage, was far from being "an obscure man, of no consideration—incapable of conceiving such projects," as Elkanah Watson represented.\* The records of State legislation, the history of some of our greatest public works, the testimony of eminent cotemporaries, all combine in showing that Colles was alike remarkable for intellectual power, for sagacious perceptions, for energetic and persevering action in various good works, as he was for the inflexible integrity, the active benevolence and the sensitive modesty that threw a charm around his generous spirit.

In the versatility and general soundness of his views and labors, indeed, Colles had no superior in his times, if we may credit the concurrent testimony of the eminent authorities above named.

It may be truly said, he was one of the worthiest foreigners that ever benefitted his adopted country: And yet he can hardly be styled "a foreigner," inasmuch as he was domiciled in this country and laboring for its welfare before and during the contest for the establishment of our National Government, and also during the last War with Great Britain.

While examining the records of Internal Improvements, in connexion with duties assigned me as Chairman of the Executive Committee appointed by the first State Convention for

promoting the speedy enlargement of the Erie Canal, thirty-two years ago, I was impressed with a deep sense of the importance of the projects and exertions of Mr. Colles, as a pioneer in that branch of American progress; and it gave me great pleasure to refer to his early services in a chapter on our Internal Improvement System in my book about *Rochester and Western New York*, published in 1838.

About one-third of a century after Mr. Colles proposed the construction of a Semaphoric Telegraph—the only kind known practically in his time—it fell to my lot to organize lines of Electric Telegraph, from Portland (not far "from Passamaquoddy,") to New-Orleans, as a portion of the Telegraph Range whereby I first connected all sections of the United States, as they were twenty years ago; and hence my particular gratification in rendering this tribute to the intelligent energy of that worthy Pioneer in advocating a similar extension of telegraphic correspondence, on the best plan known in his time. Had Colles lived to witness Professor Joseph Henry's great discovery of the means for generating adequate Electro-Magnetic Power for telegraphing between men and nations widely separated, he would doubtless have been foremost in honoring the discoverer and in urging the adoption of that invaluable and indispensable agency for "bringing the ends of the earth together," sub-oceanically as well as by overland lines, in such electric unity as the world is now enjoying,

When referring to Christopher Colles in connection with public improvements and in his amiable example in social life, those who properly estimate his character can hardly repress expressions of respect and affection: and with such feelings, the context will show, his most prominent cotemporaries spoke of him, as we speak of him now.

No man more deserving of kind remembrance, has ever been connected with telegraphic operations—though it is not alone for telegraphic projects that his memory should be revered. That his telegraphic plans were not promptly sustained and carried into effect, was not his fault, but a public misfortune—the evils of which were often and seriously felt during the War with Great Britain. As unostentatious as he was sagacious, he was indeed one of those gifted men whose misfortune consists in being ahead of their times. The New-York Historical Society has a portrait painted by Jarvis as a mark of respect from some of the eminent cotemporaries of Colles; and that valuable Society may well point to it as a memento of one of the best men that ever trod its halls or honored its membership. Be his memory ever honored as one of the worthiest Pioneers of American Progress!

HENRY O'RIELLY.

NEW-YORK, 26 PINE-ST., April 19, 1869.

\* In the book issued in 1820 by Mr. Watson, claiming that he (Mr. Watson) was entitled to "the exclusive honor of projecting the Canal Policy!" &c.

VIII.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS IN AMERICA.—CONTINUED.

"Simultaneously with the *Siege of Detroit*, "was issued the *Obstructions to the Navigation of Hudson's River*, by E. M. RUTTENBER.\*

"Most of the papers were gathered from the "collection of documents preserved at Washington's Head-quarters at Newburgh. Mr. R's "time did not permit of his making this work "quite so full as was desirable, and the Notes "were added by the Publisher. The scanty facts "in the romantic sketch of Bernard Romans, of "whom next to nothing was known among writers, were gathered by a very widely, extended "correspondence.

"MR. SAMUEL H. PARSONS, whose ancestor "was in command of that Department, on the "time of the Revolution, made a liberal subscription to carry the work through the press, and "it was dedicated, after the manner of the olden "time; except that in these Dedications the *incense* was tempered to suit a more fastidious "public. Although the subscriptions were now "nearly eighty copies, but five of the ten large-paper copies were called for, of which two "were made by a bookseller. I will here mention that throughout this enterprise no one took "more interest in it than the late Commander ROBERT TOWNSEND, whose name, with those "of his four brothers, appear in all the subscription tables published at the end of the volume. "This work was peculiarly interesting to them, "as their ancestor, PETER TOWNSEND, forged the chain that was stretched across the river.

"MR. WINTHROP SARGENT, who had published a volume of the Loyalist poetry of the Revolution, offered a collection of the *Loyal verses of Stansbury and Odell*, which, with the Introduction and Notes that accompanied the text, "constituted a volume which some competent critics regard as the most valuable one in the series.†

"The subscriptions to this work were so near "the whole number printed, that a Patron was "not sought for it. Besides the four regular "subscribers to the large-paper, copies, which

\* *Obstructions to the Navigation of Hudson's River*, embracing the Minutes of the Secret Committee appointed by the Provincial Convention of New York, July 16, 1776, and other documents relating to the subject, together with papers relating to the beacons. By E. M. Ruttenber. Maps and Wood-cuts. Albany, 1860.

It is uniform in size and style with the preceding volumes; and embraces seven pages of preliminary matter and two hundred and ten pages of text; and was carefully illustrated.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† *The Loyal Verses of Joseph Stansbury and Doctor Jonathan Odell*: relating to the American Revolution. Now first edited by Winthrop Sargent. Albany, 1860.

It embraces one hundred and ninety-nine pages without any preliminary paging; and exactly uniform with the volumes previously issued.—ED. HIST. MAG.

"consisted of Mr. JAMES LENNOX, (the first "large-paper subscriber), J. CARSON BREVORT, "JOHN CARTER BROWN and WM. MENZIES, the "author took a copy—in all, five,

"At Newburgh, I found an original Orderly "Book of Burgoyne's Campaign, which was one "of the trophies of the capture. Although the "manuscript was deficient of two or three leaves, "it was thought to be an inviting subject and "forms the seventh volume in the series.\* It "was ably edited by Dr. O'CALLAGHAN. In "searching out the personal history of the officers "mentioned in the text, many facts were obtained, "which were here published for the first time, procured by distant correspondence. It was a matter "of keen disappointment that no more could be "obtained relating to General FRAZER. A letter "to a relative in Canada, was answered by another "kinsman in Van Dieman's Land, that the family papers had been destroyed by fire and no "facts remained in possession of his descendants. "The subscription to this volume was less than "the preceding; and Mr. ROBERT TOWNSEND "became its Patron. A more permanent demand "was expected for the work, and a larger edition "was printed than of any of the previous volumes in the series. It was the fourth volume "issued during the year 1860.

"The eighth volume in the series, was a Collection of *Voyages up and down the Mississippi*, made by several Jesuit Missionaries, in the seventeenth century.‡ It was furnished by Mr. JOHN GILMARY SHEA, whose researches in this "department of American history are so well and "favorably known. It was unaccompanied by "any engravings, but met with a ready patronage.

"Volumes IX and X., and the last in the series, "consisted of the *Proceedings of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, appointed by Law for the Extinction of Indian Titles in the State of New York*.§ The original manuscript had

† *Orderly Book of Lieut-Gen. John Burgoyne, from his Entry into the State of New York, until his surrender at Saratoga, 16th Oct. 1777*. From the original manuscript deposited at Washington's Headquarters, Newburgh, N. Y. Edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, M. D. Maps and Plates. Albany, 1860.

It embraces ten pages of preliminary matter and two hundred and twenty-one of text; and it was carefully illustrated.—ED. HIST. MAG.

\* *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, by Cavalier, St. Cosme, Le Sueur, Gravier, Guignas*. With an Introduction, Notes, and an Index. By John Gilmary Shea. Albany, 1861.

It formed a handsome volume of a hundred and ninety-one pages.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† *Proceedings of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, appointed by Law for the Extinction of Indian Titles in the State of New York*. Published from the original manuscript in the Library of the Albany Institute, with an introduction and notes by Franklin B. Hough, Member of the Albany Institute. 2 vols.

The two volumes were paged continuously, making together, five hundred and one pages.—ED. HIST. MAG.

"lain a quarter of a century in the library of the Albany Institute, to which it was presented by a descendant of PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT, one of the last set of Commissioners. It was edited with the customary ability and diligence of Doctor HUGH, and is accompanied by three useful maps. It has not yet attracted the attention it deserves, when it is considered that it is the only history of the manner in which the present titles were obtained to nearly the whole of the territory of the Six Nations.

"This series attracted but little attention until the fall of 1864, when the sale of Mr. FOWLE'S library took place in Boston, at which they sold at prices ranging from thirty to sixty-five dollars a volume. The few remaining volumes were immediately bought up at original prices; and soon after the price of sets rose to four hundred dollars. Single volumes were sought for to complete sets at almost incredible prices. It is said that one hundred and twenty-five dollars was offered in New York for one volume wanted to make a set complete. No more than ten large paper copies were printed, and it is thought that not more than six or seven complete sets of large paper exist."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

#### IX.—GENERAL AVERILL'S REPORT OF CAVALRY OPERATIONS, OCTOBER, 1862.\*

FROM THE ORIGINAL, NOW FIRST PRINTED.

HEAD-QUARTERS, FIRST CAVALRY BRIGADE,  
ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,  
NEAR DOWNSVILLE, Md.  
October 14th, 1862.

To Brigadier-general MARCY,  
Chief of Staff.

GENERAL:

My Report should be made by telegraph, *via* Hagerstown, as directed, but that I think this the most expeditious.

Your dispatch of two, P.M., yesterday, is just received.

Having marched from McConnellsburg, in Fulton-county, through Franklin-county, to-day, without seeing any rebels, I am inclined to believe that the report of Governor Curtin, is based upon unreliable information.

While at Green Spring, I endeavored to establish a line of pickets from *New Creek* to *Cherry Run*, which could not fail to furnish the Headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, with the earliest and most reliable information of the rebels along the upper Potomac.

\* We are indebted for this paper to our friend, General J. Watts de Peyster, of New York City.

At Mercersburgh, about noon to-day, it was reported to me officially, by an officer of the eighth New York, that the rebels were crossing at, or near McCoy's Ferry.—I turned from my intended line of march with the Brigade,—sent an officer to *Clear Spring*, who reported that there was no movement of the rebels in that vicinity. When I left Green Spring, (Saturday eleventh, three, A. M.), there were no rebels west of the Great Jacapen Mountains, and East of Floyd's forces except light Cavalry parties.—That thirty thousand could have crossed this side of the Cumberland, without immediate notice being sent to you from the troops along the line, I believe impossible.

From prisoners taken, it was learned that the rebels were aware of my position and strength at Green Spring.—Everything except Imboden's force of eight hundred mounted Infantry, was withdrawn from Springfield, Romney, and the country in my front. Imboden went to Wardersville, forty-six miles away, and nothing but a few saucy pickets could be found.

The recent raid, no doubt, was made with a full knowledge of the position of our Cavalry forces. My march has been about two hundred miles; the first fifty-five miles in twenty-eight hours—the longest march I believe, with artillery that has been made recently. My Brigade is in need of a little rest; and a day or two is desired to organize a small pack-mule-train for its use. During the recent marches no wagons or pack-animals have been used by my command.

I am, General,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant.

WILLIAM W. AVERELL,  
Brig. Gen. of Volunteers.

#### X.—GLANCES AT OLD TIMES.

##### I.—PIONEERS OF FREEDOM IN NORTH CAROLINA.

HENRY B. DAWSON ESQ.,

Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

Among the statesmen who figured prominently in a recent generation, Willie P. Mangum, of North Carolina, should be remembered as one of the worthiest—for as such he was known by his cotemporaries, and time has not beclouded his name. A letter from him to Governor Washington Hunt, handed to me many years ago, indicates the solicitude which he felt in vindicating the reputation of a much-abused portion of the people of his native State, who were among the earliest asserters of the rights of the Colonies in the struggle that eventuated in our National Independence. The interest attaching to the writer and his subject will probably render a publication of the letter satisfactory to many of your readers.



One of Mr. Mangum's admirers in the State of New York named his son "Willie P." after the distinguished Senator. Not knowing what the "P." represented, however, he addressed a letter to him, which Governor Hunt, then in Congress from our Niagara District, was requested to hand to Mr. Mangum—requesting information about the mysterious "middle" of his honored name. From his chair, as President of the United States Senate, Mr. Mangum then kindly wrote as follows to Governor Hunt, a quarter of a century ago. "Kindly wrote," I say—notwithstanding his fling at the members of the Democratic Party, formerly styled "Loco-Foco," with whom I sympathised, and whose motives some future historian may mention with higher appreciation—somewhat in the spirit that influenced the worthy Senator in rendering tardy tribute to the "Regulators" of his native State—

"SENATE CHAMBER, 8th FEB. 1844.

"HON. WASHINGTON HUNT:

"MY DEAR SIR: I have received your note, covering another from your friend, enquiring what 'mystery' the letter 'P,' the initial of my middle name, conceals. This inquiry being made with the commendable motive that the boy, whose parent has honored me by giving him my name, shall be able at least to 'tell his name,' though, perchance, he may not know his father, I reply promptly.

"It gives me pleasure to state that the 'P.' stands for Person—the popular pronunciation of which [in North Carolina] is Parson, with the 'a' broad—derived from a paternal ancestor, General Thomas Person, who was distinguished far above any one who wears or has worn his name or shares his blood, in energy of character, enterprize, public spirit, and the love of liberty. He was one of the band of 'Regulators' in North Carolina—a noble band, who made the first great popular movement on this Continent for Liberty, in the years 1770 and 1771, and, by reason of their discomfiture by the overwhelming forces of the Royal Governor Tryon, are as yet degraded in history to the level of mere pernicious agitators and factionists. Their history will yet be written, when the purity of their motives, their ardent love of Liberty, and their high aspirations, will be vindicated from the royal sneers and aspersions of that day, and elevated to a just dignity in the estimation of their countrymen.

"With this *invaluable* information, you will be pleased to convey to your friend my unqualified acknowledgments for this mark of his favor.

"You may add that, if we shall be able to rescue this Government from Loco-Foco mis-

"rule and abuse, and give to industry and skill their just remuneration, I indulge the hope that I may be able, by the time my namesake shall attain six years of age, to offer him a present that, in the primitive and hardy days of the ancient Persians—the days of great fathers and greater sons—would have been regarded as eminently valuable. I mean a horse, a gun, and a bible—that my boy may learn to ride, to shoot, and to tell the truth.

"With these, other accomplishments, in this age, will surely come, to render my namesake a citizen worthy the land of his nativity—the great Empire State.

"With high respect, I am,

"My dear Sir, Yours, very truly,

"WILLIE P. MANGUM."

The "time" is now present, and let us soon see "the man" who will investigate the interesting materials for history furnished by the records of traditions concerning the early friends of Freedom, to whom it is the design of this communication to attract public attention.

—As *short* articles may be most consistent with your limits, Mr. Editor, I shall defer till another time, some statements concerning other North Carolina movements, anterior to the date of the Battle of King's-mountain, about which you lately published an interesting sketch from the pen of General J. Watts de Peyster. My next sketch will refer to matters wherein Major Nathaniel Rochester, better known in later days as one of the founders of the City of Rochester, New York, was an efficient participator in arousing the patriotic feelings and organizing the military movement of the patriots in North Carolina, where he then resided, prior to and during the early years of the Revolutionary War.

Respectfully yours,

HENRY O'RIELLY.

NEW YORK, April 18, 1869.

## XI.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

THE BENEFIT OF CLERGY IN NEW JERSEY.—A correspondent of the *Trenton* (N. J.) *Gazette* writes as follows to that paper: "I send you the only instance I have known of the benefit of clergy being allowed in New Jersey. Probably other instances may be found in the old Records of our course. A word of explanation may be necessary to render it intelligible to non-professional readers. The benefit of clergy

"was a privilege anciently claimed by and allowed to the clergy of a total exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil courts in criminal matters. In England, it was rarely, if ever, allowed to this extent. Every clergyman was liable to be indicted and punished in the civil or non-ecclesiastical Courts. If he wished to avail himself of his privilege he was bound to plead it. The privilege thus qualified came in process of time to be extended to all criminals of certain grade, with this qualification, however, that it could not be allowed but once to a layman. When, therefore, the privilege was allowed to a layman, he was branded in the brawn of the thumb of the left hand, in order that he might not claim the privilege a second time. If the criminal, having once availed himself of the privilege, was convicted a second time, he could not again avail himself of the plea, but must suffer death."

*Hunterdon Oyer, May Term, A. D., 1750.*  
"THE KING VS. WILLIAM TUTTLE AND ABRAHAM GIBBONS. On indictment for felony. The Defendants being brought to the Bar, the King's Attorney moved for judgment. The Prisoners being asked what they or either of them had to say why sentence of death should not pass on them, according to the verdict found against them, they prayed the benefit of the clergy. The Court being of opinion that they were entitled to the benefit of the clergy, their judgment is that they and each of them be branded in the brawn of their left thumb with the letter T, immediately in the face of the Court; which sentence was executed in the face of the Court accordingly. Ordered, that they be recommitted till the fees are paid; and they are each entered cognizance in one hundred pounds, to be of good behavior for one year from this day."

THE MASSACHUSETTS AND RHODE ISLAND BOUNDARY LINE. The boundary line between Massachusetts and Rhode Island has not yet been determined; and after years of contest the two States seem to be as remote as ever from a settlement. After many Commissions and suits, a joint Commission was appointed some years ago, which agreed upon a compromise line from Connecticut to the sea—the Rhode Island Commissioners yielding something on the North line, and the Massachusetts Commissioners something on the Eastern line. Massachusetts, however, refused to ratify any part of the compromise but that which enlarged her own Territory; and the question was no nearer a settlement then before. Rhode Island has recently had the entire northern line resurveyed; and the result, it is asserted, proves that the

line fixed by the ancient Colonial Charter extended North of that to which Rhode Island now exercises jurisdiction, and would bring into that State the entire villages of Blackstone and Waterford, now governed by Massachusetts. A renewal of negotiations, with a view to an agreement upon the Charter line, is, therefore, recommended.

NATIONALITY OF OUR ARMY.—During the late War, it was a favorite practice of English writers and other persons sympathizing with the rebels, to assert that the Federal Army was almost wholly composed of foreigners, with only a trifling proportion of native Americans. From the advance sheets of Professor B. A. Gould's new work on statistics we condense the following official statement of the nationality of white soldiers in the Union Army from the loyal States and Territories, excluding the Pacific coast:

	Per cent.
Native American.....	1,523,300 75.48
British American.....	53,500 2.65
English.....	45,500 2.26
Irish.....	144,200 7.14
German.....	176,800 8.76
Other foreigners.....	48,400 2.38
"Foreigners," nativity unknown.	26,500 1.33
Total.....	2,018,200 100.00

Nationality as distinguished from nativity, Professor Gould has not considered; but the fact that our Army was not an alien one is proved conclusively by these figures.

TIME OF APPLE BLOSSOMS.—The following record of former seasons shows the average time of twenty years when the apple trees were in bloom in this vicinity:

In 1812, June 6	In 1823, May 25
1813, May 27	1824, " 23
1814, " 15	1825, " 15
1815, " 27	1826, " 16
1816, " 22	1827, " 16
1817, " 23	1828, " 18
1818, " 28	1829, " 22
1819, " 31	1830, " 7
1820, " 22	1831, " 15
1821, " 27	1832, " 30
1822, " 15	

SARATOGA IN THE OLD TIME. Professor Whittlesey has thrown light on the oldest inhabitant of Saratoga. He has discovered evidences of the residence of man at the High Rock Spring there, just four thousand eight hundred

and forty years ago. This man, it seems, wore moccasins on his feet. Other evidences of the fashionable apparel of that remote day are wanting. The only thing certain is that it could not have been uglier than is occasionally popular in Saratoga now.

SCRAPS.—AMERICANS IN PISA.—A Bostonian travelling in Italy (says the *Boston Evening Transcript*) found in a hotel album at Pisa the following, in the handwriting of Reverend Mr. Pierpont:

"Mr. John Pierpont, of Boston, and Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Whitmarsh and Mr. J. Allen Strong, of Northampton, Massachusetts, U. S. A., who were here from the 5th to the 7th of December, 1835, are unanimously of the opinion that,

"If you're dissatisfied with Home—'Sweet Home'—  
 "Or with the Apollo Belvidere at Rome,  
 "Or gaze upon the Medicean Stone,  
 "Or at the columns of the Parthenon,  
 "And see no beauty and feel no repose—  
 "Or at St. Peter's dome turn up your nose—  
 "You're just the man to find yourself uneasy,  
 "At the 'Hotel Dell Ussery,' at Pisa.

Also the following lines:

"A traveller to Pisa's 'towers,'  
 "From thence to 'Ancient Rome,'  
 "Stopped here a day and seven hours.  
 "And found it—a good home."

—In the Boston Town-records of the fourteenth of March, 1653, after the great fire, there is an order that "every householder shall provide a pole of about twelve feet long with a "good large swob at the end of it, to reach the "rofe of his house to quench fire."

—The Town of Rowley has been described many times in these columns. It is an interesting old farming town, showing, in the village, a plain, level surface and a triangular Common, bordered by shade trees. The standard objects of interest are Prospect-hill, which is said to be the highest land in the county, commanding a view of much magnificence and great extent; the ancient Jewett house, a couple of centuries old, or thereabouts, where lived the early settlers of that name and in one of the rooms of which is or was the veritable old clock, with its long pendulum still marking off the time as in days of yore; and the ancient burial ground, coeval with the settlement of the town, and which is always visited by pensive rambles and people of a genealogical turn. This ground was laid out in 1639, and has been enlarged at three different times since that period, having originally contained but two-thirds of an acre. The first person buried there was Ellen, the wife of Deacon Thomas Mighill, who died on the twelfth of March, 1640-1. The

oldest inscription in the ground reads as follows:—

"Here lys what was mortal of ye worthy Cap.  
 "Moses Bradstreet, Deceased. August, ye 17,  
 "1690, and in ye 47th year of his age.

"Friends and relations,  
 "You might behold,  
 "A lamb of God.  
 "Fitt for the fold."

The quicrest genius that Rowley ever possessed was a venerable negro called "Major Jack," who, on all public days, was embellished with a military uniform that would have done credit to the "ancient and horribles," and who marched with a military stride that lost none of its interest with advancing years. This poor old negro, however, now mingles his dust with people who were more favored, intellectually; and the memory of his characteristics is all that remains.

## XII.—NOTES.

AMERICAN NATIONAL ENSIGN AND FLAG OF CUSTOMS. I notice that the flag floating over our Custom House consists of sixteen PERPENDICULAR stripes, red and white, with a white canton charged with a spread eagle, etc., occupying half the depth of the flag, and extending over the first six stripes. In drawings of the flag, I had always seen it represented as consisting of thirteen stripes; and the additional number was a novelty to me. It would be interesting to learn in what year the flag was adopted. I believe Tennessee was admitted June 1, 1796, as the *sixteenth* Sovereign State of the Union.

In connection with the above, it may be mentioned that on the certificate of the Society of the Cincinnati, will be seen an armed figure carrying an American ensign consisting of thirteen white and red stripes, with a white canton extending over the first six, and charged precisely as the present flag of American Customs. This certificate was engraved in 1783-84, in France, by J. J. Le Veau, from a drawing by Aug. le Belle. The arrangement of the stripes, white and red, would be, heraldically speaking, more correct, as the colored bars are thus placed upon a metal basis; and the error may well have arisen in Europe, where more regard was paid to the science of emblazonry.

In the Galerie des Batailles, Palace of Versailles, No. 247, is the *Siege of Yorktown, America, in 1781*, painted by Conder. The American flag is therein represented as consisting of *seventeen* stripes, white and red; the blue union with a circle of thirteen white stars extending over the first eight stripes. In Trumbull's painting of the *Surrender of Cornwallis*, the flag consists of *fourteen* stripes, alternate red and white.



Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution*, (ii., 638) depicts the Union Flag displayed by the Army at Cambridge, on the first of January, 1776, as having *thirteen* white and red stripes, over which was depicted a rattlesnake, with the motto: "DON'T TREAD ON ME." A similar flag to the last forms one of the emblems adorning the portrait of Paul Jones, in Sherburne's life of that captain.

Smith and Watson, in the First Series of their *American Historical and Literary Curiosities*, give a representation of the Standard of the Confederate States—that is, the United States, at the period of the Revolution.—It is composed of *seventeen* white and red stripes, the union extending over nine stripes, being charged with a coiled rattlesnake. Watson, in his *Annals of New York*, states that a similar Standard was borne by Paul Jones as late as 1779, when, with the *Alliance*, he dashed through the British fleet of twenty-one sail, and escaped, alluding, probably, to his departure from the Texel, at the close of the year.

Finally, in Cussan's *Handbook of Heraldry*, (London, 1869), we find the following interesting foot-note, at page 307: "Previous to the late Civil War, a curious difference was observed in "blazoning the National Flag [of America]. In "the Free States it was: *Argent; six Barrulets, "gules; on a Canton, azure, thirty-four Stars "of the first.* In the Slave-holding States, it "was: *Gules; six Barrulets, argent, etc.* In "the former case, the canton rested on a white "stripe; and in the latter, on a red."

I. J. G.

NEW YORK, April 7, 1869.

ANCIENT STONE-CUTTING INSTRUMENTS DISCOVERED IN SPAIN. Some ten years ago, I observed a large, smooth stone axe, employed to keep down the cloth of a seller of small wares, in a street in the city of Madrid; and, about the same time, I have since learned, "Celts" began to attract attention in Spain. In the Summer of the present year, I saw two like instruments in the *Museo*, at the Capital, and four or five others in the possession of Señor Bermudez, the gentleman in charge, for many years, of the "Cabinet of Coins and Medallions." In October, 1868, having heard that these were discovered in the neighborhood of the city, I took directions for seeking some of them, at a place described to be near the Cemetery of Santa Maria, near a brick-yard.

The locality is a hill to the West of Madrid, a mile distant beyond the Manzanares, to the right, near the *Ermita* of San Isidro, in full view on emerging from the city by the Gate of Toledo. The earth has been cut away to the

height of about forty feet, for the third of a mile, the top being nearly on a level with the eminence on which Madrid stands. The material of the summit is rubble and dirt, five feet high, followed by coarse sand, afterwards by clay, and then by a course of sand. It is from the lowest of this series, that the workmen believe that they get those relics; but I am of opinion that they come from the uppermost layer, its material falling on to the floor as the side below is cut away. I examined the whose extent of this precipitous side, at several different times, and there was no specimen in it, except at about four feet from the surface, above, a chipped piece of hornstone, No. 4., which is like some the laborers find in small quantity, gathered below. No. 2, according to the finder, was picked up forty feet from the summit. No. 5 I found. No pottery or other early evidences of man's art were to be found.

Señor Casiano de Prado wrote a work, printed in 1864, by the Sociedad Estadística, entitled *Descripcion Física y Geologica de Madrid*, in which the subject of these relics at the Ermita is treated of and exemplified by engravings. He had first observed them in 1850; but without a suspicion of their value and origin. He states that some of the points of weapons have been found under the remains of species of an extinct elephant in diluvium; and that some notice of the subject was published in the *Bulletin du Societe Geologique*, on the twenty-third of June, 1863.

BUCKINGHAM SMITH.

ST. AUGUSTINE, FL.

TALLY-STICKS. A primeval European mode of keeping accounts, somewhat akin to the QUIPU, has been used till recent days in the English Exchequer. Wooden sticks supplied the place of cards; and notches cut in them answered the purpose of knots. Different kinds of notches indicated pennies, shillings, pounds, etc., up to hundreds and thousands of pounds. At the union of England and Scotland, a store of hazel rods was sent down to Edinburgh. At length the system was abolished; and the immense accumulations of "tallies" ordered to be destroyed. The stupidity of holding on to them so long was characteristically and fearfully punished by the destruction of both Houses of Parliament, in 1834. The fire was ascribed to the overheating of the flues in which the barbarous Records were being burned. This, however, is but one among more serious antiquated devices retained against popular interest, which, if not discarded, will revolutionize every Government in Europe.

E.

NEW YORK CITY.

## THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE :

In the number for January, 1869, (p. 66,) is the following just observation : " We must be permitted to say, however, that we conceive there are " many things in the custody of the New York " Historical Society which are very much more " deserving a printed Catalogue than this '*de Pey-* " '*ster collection.*' "

Students of our State and National History will feel under many obligations to you for the above well-pnt suggestion. Without any intention to detract from the value of the Catalogue above mentioned, permit me to say that the Society would confer a very great service if it would print a Catalogue or list of its valuable collection of MSS., Broad-sides, and other papers, of the nature, contents, and character of which we, in the outside, rural districts are utterly ignorant. Through the politeness of Mr. Moore and his obliging assistant, we can, no doubt, obtain access when in the city, to such of those materials as we ask for. But the misfortune is we are entirely ignorant of what the Collection consists; and therefore, in most cases, deprived of information which otherwise would be of great benefit. The State has furnished us Calenders of many of its MSS., whereby we, at a distance, are able to procure copies of papers we need, without being put to the expense of going to Albany to look them up. The New York Historical Society would greatly utilize its Collection if it would " go and do likewise." Rus.

FIRST FOUR GENERATIONS OF THE VERPLANCK FAMILY. ABRAHAM VERPLANCK married Maria Vinge before 1630. He died in 1691, leaving, (*inter alia.*)

GULIAN. In 1650, he was apprenticed to Al-lard Antony, and afterward clerk to Peter Van der Veen, merchants of New Amsterdam. He was subsequently a merchant and Schepen of New Orange, 1673-4; Alderman of New York, 1677-79, and 1683; married Hendrickji Wessels, June 1, 1668; and died 1684, leaving,

1. SAMUEL, born December 19, 1669.

2. JACOBUS.

3. ABRAHAM, born January 24, 1674; died 1702, s. p.

4. HANNAH, born September 15, 1680

5. GULINA, (posthumous) born June 29, 1684, died, s. p.

(1) SAMUEL, married Ariantje Bayard, October 26, 1691, and had

1. MARIA, born September 2, 1692: married Broekholst; was living in 1774.

2. HENRICA, born August 19, 1694, died, s. p.

3. HENDRICK, born June 17, 1696.

4. ANNA, died, s. p.

5. GULIAN, born June 2, 1698; married Maria Cromlyn, September 8, 1737; served in the Seneca country, 1720-1

(2) JACOBUS, married . . ., and had two sons, Gulian (died s. p.) and Philip (June 30, 1695.)

—(4) HANNAH, married Andrew Teller, and had one son who left a daughter, who married one Laurance Laurance. Said Hannah survived all her brothers and died in 1702.

E. B. O'C

ALBANY, N. Y.

## XIII.—QUERIES.

## CAMPBELL'S PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.

Washington, writing to Joseph Reed, January 31st., 1776, from Cambridge, says: " Mrs. " Washington desires me to thank you for the pic- " ture sent her. Mr. Campbell, whom I never saw " to my knowledge, has made a very formidable " figure of the Commander-in-chief, giving him " a sufficient portion of terror on his countenance." Who was Campbell, and to what picture of him- self did the General allude?

I. J. G.

NEW YORK.

## ATTACK ON CHERRY-VALLEY.

The following extract is taken from the Orderly-book of John Dain, of Royalsborough, (Freeport,) Maine, a Sergeant in Colonel Ichabod Alden's Regiment, at this place, 1778-79.

Some account of the atrocities committed by the British and Indians in this region, may be found in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for April, 1868, p. 248, in the deposition of Moses Younglove. Colonel Alden was in the habit of sleeping in the village, and thus fell a victim to his own sense of security, while the fort was not taken. A " Roll " of the killed, wounded and missing, by " Isaac Glenny, Commander at the Fort," is preserved with this book, giving the names of the heads of families, among the inhabitants, who thus fell under the power of the enemy; stating that forty-two of the villagers were killed; two wounded; seventy-one made prisoners, of whom forty were sent back.

A narrative of this attack would be interesting. Has one in detail ever been published?

E. B.

" BRUNSWICK, MAINE."

" FORT ALDEN November the 11. 1778

" This Morning About ten a Clock the Enemy " Surrounded the Fort the Number of them we " Cannott tell We think thare Was betweenain " Seven or Eight hundred of them Endion and " toreys In the first plase thay Killed the Cheaf

"Col<sup>o</sup> and took the Lef<sup>th</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Prisoners And  
 "Likewise Lef<sup>th</sup> holden Ensign Garrett and the  
 "Docters mate Prisoners With them—Samnel  
 "procter, Samuel Woodsom Charls hudman and  
 "Joseph Smith that Went outt A Scoutt the Day  
 "before this was took Prisoners With them Like  
 "wise Was a Good many more belonging to S<sup>t</sup>  
 "Redg<sup>t</sup> the Enemy Is Killed A Good maney  
 "of our men Which we have found all Readey be-  
 "sides Sevearl more mising all thay Killed Belong-  
 "ing to our Reg<sup>t</sup> thay used in the Most Barbous  
 "Maner And Also all the Enhabbittance Men  
 "Women and Children thay Used in the same  
 "Manner."

#### PORTRAIT OF GEORGE I.

The New York Assembly purchased a portrait of this monarch, for which they paid 32 oz., 124 dwt. of plate. It seems to have been imported. Does any one know anything of it?

E. B. O'C.

ALBANY.

WHITEHALL. It is said that the history of Whitehall, N. Y., was published in London during the last century. Can any of your readers state where a copy can be found, or what was its title?

ANCHOR.

OFFICIAL REPORTS CONCERNING THE WAR.—Can any of your readers give complete and accurate lists of the various official publications, by the several States and by the United States, concerning the recent War? Such lists are very important to all who seek correct information on that interesting subject.

DICK.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

#### XIV.—REPLIES.

WASHINGTON PORTRAITS, (*H. M.*, I. iii. 372).—The portraits of General Washington and Alexander Hamilton, executed in crayon by Mrs. Sharples, are at present in the National Portrait Gallery, No. 20 St. George-street, Westminster, England.

They were presented to the Gallery, in June, 1864, by James Yates, Esq.

NEW YORK CITY.

I. J. G.

AMERICAN BIBLES, (*H. M.*, II. v. 58)

I.

Your correspondent, "Dick," in your January number, page 58, asks some questions about English and American Bibles, which I will endeavor to answer.

He will find an account of the different Eng-

lish *Versions* of the Scriptures, in Anderson's *Annals of the Bible*, or any other work treating upon the subject. Anderson's is, I believe, the most recent publication of the kind.

As to the American *Version*, so called, it will be necessary to make the distinction between what was, and what is, denominated "the Revised Version" of the American Bible Society. When, in 1852, different alterations, proposed by the Committee on Versions of that Society, began to be incorporated in some of its issues, that Edition was familiarly called the "Revised Edition;" but, since 1857, when the Society gave up all changes, except such as were authorized by the Edition of 1611 and by the correction of errors which had found their way into its Bibles, the copies so printed are called its "Revised Edition."

The most ready method of discovering the Bibles which "Dick" calls the "Revised Version," is to consult I. John iii. 23. If the latter part of the verse is printed thus, "[but] he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also," with a parenthesis, and in italics, the copy was printed before 1852 or after 1857. If the whole verse is printed in Roman letter, the copy was issued in the intermediate years. If the Edition be of a size to contain full headings to the Chapters, a comparison of the headings of the eighth Chapter of Acts and of the seventh Chapter of Proverbs, in a Bible issued before 1852 or after 1857, with one of the intermediate years, will also indicate to which "Revised Version" the copy belongs.

The passage I. John iii. 23 is almost the only change of importance made in the text itself. The Committee on Versions adopted it for critical reasons; but the Society refused to enter upon the examination of the MSS., holding that its duty was to print *King James's English Bible*, with as much accuracy and correctness as possible; yet the Committee had good ground, on the authority of the oldest manuscripts, to propose this change. If any one interested in this part of the subject will consult an English New Testament recently published by Tauchnitz of Leipzig, as the one-thousandth Volume of his *Series of British Authors*, Tischendorf being the Editor of this little book, he will see, at one glance, the different readings of the three oldest MSS. known—the Sinaitic, the Vatican, and the Alexandrian. These all give the clause of I. John iii. 23 as a part of the text; while they omit a clause of I. John v. 7, always printed as a part of the text in our English Bibles; and which many learned critical scholars (among them, Bishop Horsley) have decided to be correctly printed, as such. So also the whole account of the woman taken in adultery (John viii. 1--11.) is omitted by the Sinaitic and Vatican, and retained by the Alexandrian, Manuscript.



It may be proper to add, that some changes made in the text, on the authority of the first Edition of 1611, may be pointed out. There were two issues printed in that year, in which errors of the press were corrected, but in which variations of spelling, punctuation, capital letters, etc., may be found on every leaf, observing that they were entire reprints.

There are two different readings in the text of these two issues. In Ruth iii. 15, one reads, "he went into the city:" the other, "she went in to the city." In Solomon's Song ii. 7, one reads "till she please:" the other, "till he please." These last readings are now invariably adopted.

Some curious mistakes were made in the issues of 1611. In Exodus xiv. 10, two lines of the text are repeated in the first issue. The second issue, in Matthew xxvi. 36 reads, "Then cometh 'Judas'—the first issue is correct, "Then cometh Jesus." In a copy, in my possession, called 1613—11,—the title-page of the O. T. being reprinted with the date 1613, and the book made up in part of the 1611 Edition—the word "*Jesus*" has been printed on a slip of paper, in the style of the text, and pasted over "*Judas*."

I ought to add that no copies of the intermediate Edition are now, or have for many years been, printed or issued by the American Bible Society.

L.

NEW YORK CITY.

## II.

In answer to the foregoing interrogatory, I will endeavor to sketch a brief history of the movement to which it refers.

The various Editions of the English Bible, as published in England and in this country, have differed from each other in some particulars. So far as mere typographical faults are concerned, some such differences are almost unavoidable.

But in the English reprints, there had been occasionally purposed changes, which were regarded by those who made them as improvements. In some cases, the authority by which they acted, is known: in others, those who had charge of the press, at respective periods, are supposed to have made corrections on their own responsibility.

The American Bible Society, at one period, employed Rev. George Bush, D. D., to superintend the printing of the English Scriptures. He was Editor and Librarian, from 1836 to 1840. To this period, many of the variations in the issues of that Society can be traced.

The diversities between different Editions, issued under legal authority in England, and also in various Editions by the American Bible Society, awakened public attention; and, in the year 1847, this Society referred to the Committee on Versions, the subject of collating its Editions with

those issued in Great Britain. The Committee consisted of Rev. Drs. Gardner Spring, Thomas Cock, Samuel H. Turner, Edward Robinson, Thomas E. Vermilye, John McClintock, and Richard S. Storrs, Jr. All these gentlemen were distinguished in the world of letters; and, at least, three of them were ranked among the greatest scholars in the country.

They employed Rev. James W. McLane, a good scholar and a most industrious worker, to perform the laborious part of the work; while they sat in judgment upon the results which he reached. The Secretaries, Drs. Brigham and Hollich, often attended the meetings of the Committee, and aided them with their suggestions.

The Committee adopted the Royal Octavo, issued by the American Bible Society, as the basis of their corrections, and compared this with recent copies of the London, Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh Editions. The variations in the text and punctuation of these six copies, "fall," as they state, "but little short of twenty-four thousand."

The Committee reported, and their Report was adopted, in 1851; and the Society ordered all the plates of the English version to be conformed to the Edition printed in accordance with their recommendations, "under their supervision." In the whole course of the work, they acted with "perfect unanimity."

It would occupy too much space to give a detailed account of the proceedings of the Committee and of their investigations. The number of discrepancies between the different Editions which they collated, was found, as stated, to amount to nearly twenty-four thousand. They chose, in each case, the form which most faithfully expressed the meaning of the original; and corrected all obvious errors. Their emendations were the most numerous in orthography and the captions of Chapters. In a few instances, as the following extracts from their Report will show, they passed beyond their original purpose, and made independent alterations and improvements.

"In Ruth, iii., 15, all the present copies read: 'and she went into the city;' but the Hebrew and the translators have it: 'and he went into the city.' Again, in Cant. iii., 7, all the present copies read: 'nor awake my love, till he please;' but the Hebrew and translators: 'till she please.' Yet in Cant. iii., 5, and viii., 4, where the Hebrew is precisely the same, the translators and all the copies have: 'till he please.' All these instances have, of course, been corrected according to the Hebrew.

"In Isaiah i., 16, the present copies read: 'wash you,' where the translators put 'wash ye.' This is according to the Hebrew, and has been restored.

"Another change of a word in Josh. xix., 2:

"where the recent copies read : 'and Sheba ;' but 'the translators have : 'or Sheba.' Here the Hebrew, may, in itself, be taken either way ; but 'the number of thirteen cities, specified in v. 6, 'requires 'or.' In Matt. xii., 41, which reads in 'all the copies : 'shall rise up in judgment,' the 'Committee have not hesitated to insert the 'definite article : 'in the judgment.' This is required by the Greek ; and the same Greek phrase, in v. 42, is so rendered by the translators 'and is so read in all the copies. A variation 'likewise occurs in the mode of writing the 'imperfect and participle of many verbs ; in all 'of which have been corrected to the present 'standard.

"In Acts vii., 45, and Heb. iv., 8, we find the name *Jesus*, which the common reader will 'naturally refer only to the Savior : while in 'reality it is simply the Greek form for *Joshua*, 'and should properly have been so written.

"In the same way, the name *Core*, in Jude 9, 'is unintelligible to most readers ; for comparatively few would ever suspect its identity with '*Korah* of the Old Testament. So, too, the 'translators have sometimes taken the form of 'the Greek genitive *Juda*, *Jona*, to represent the 'Hebrew names *Judah*, *Jonah*.

"The principle adopted in such cases has been 'the following : When such names occur singly 'in the narrative, and there would arise no 'marked difference in the pronunciation, the 'form in the Old Testament has been restored."

On the whole, the work of the Committee was decidedly meritorious, and no one was surprised that it met the unanimous approval of the Board and, subsequently, of the Society, and that the order was given to conform all the plates of the English Scriptures to the standard thus approved and adopted.

Dissatisfaction with these proceedings, however, sprang up from quarters wholly unexpected. The causes and history of this dissatisfaction, do not properly enter into the present inquiry. No charge was ever brought against the scholarship of the Committee or the integrity with which they had performed their task. But the entire action upon the subject was rescinded ; and the Society has, we believe, taken no further steps in the matter.

The Octavo Bible, which was first published with the emendations of the Committee, and the printed Report upon the Collation received, at the time of their issue, almost universal commendation. The reactionary course of the Society displeased the Committee on Versions ; and the latter, with one exception, opposed it, and resigned their position.

The general public, however, manifested less interest in the case than was anticipated ; and the Society seemed to lose no share of its popularity

by the reversal of its reformatory proceeding.

W. H. W.

NEW YORK CITY.

# THE FILLMORES (II. M. II. v. 58.)

BUFFALO, April 2nd, 1869.

To the Editor of

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

SIR, In the January Number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for 1869, at page 58, is an article headed "*The Fillmores*" in which it is said that "*The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for October last tells us of the Grand-Father of Ex-President Fillmore, one John Fillmore of Ipswich, Massachusetts, who, in 1724, "was captured by a pirate and subsequently returned the compliment by capturing his captor."

It may be of little importance, yet, for the truth of History allow me to state that the *John Fillmore* mentioned in that article was my Great Grand Father, who settled at Norwich (now Franklin) in Connecticut, where he died and was buried. His son, Nathaniel, (my Grand-Father) settled in Bennington, Vermont, where he died and was buried.

*A Narrative of the Capture and Sufferings of John Fillmore* has been frequently republished, and I enclose you a copy ; and in the Appendix, at pages 16 and 17, you will see my genealogy.

Respectfully yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

[EXTRACT REFERRED TO BY MR. FILLMORE.]

John Fillmore, the great grandfather of Millard Fillmore and the common ancestor of all that name in the United States, was born about the year 1700, in one of the New England States ; and feeling a strong propensity for a seafaring life, at the age of about nineteen, went on board of a fishing vessel which sailed from Boston. The vessel had been but a few days out when it was captured by a noted pirate ship, commanded by Capt. Phillips, and young Fillmore was kept as a prisoner.

He remained on board the pirate ship nine months, enduring every hardship which a strong constitution and firm spirit was capable of sustaining ; and, though threatened with instant death, unless he would sign the piratical Articles of the vessel, he steadily refused until two others had been taken prisoners, who also refusing to join the crew, the three made an attack upon the pirates, and after killing several, took the vessel and brought it safe into Boston harbor. The narrative of this adventure has been for many years in print, and details one of the most daring and successful exploits on record. The surviving pirates were tried and executed ; and the heroic conduct of the captors was acknowledged by the British Government. John Fillmore afterwards settled in what



is called Franklin, in Connecticut, where he died.

His son, Nathaniel Fillmore, settled at an early day at Bennington, Vermont, then called the Hampshire Grants, where he lived till his death, in 1814. He served in the French war, and was a true Whig of the Revolution, proving his devotion to his country's cause by gallantly fighting as a Lieutenant under Stark, in the battle of Bennington.

Nathaniel Fillmore, his son, and father of Millard, was born at Bennington, in 1771, and early in life removed to what is now called Summer Hill, in Cayuga county, where Millard was born, January 7th, 1800. He was a farmer, and soon after lost all his property, by a bad title to one of the military lots he had purchased. About the year 1802, he removed to the town of Sempronius, now Niles, in this county, and resided there until 1819, when he removed to Erie county, where he still lives, cultivating a small farm with his own hands. He was a strong and uniform supporter of Jefferson, Madison and Tompkins, and is now a true whig.

#### XV.—BOOKS.

##### RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & CO., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

##### A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1. *Massachusetts and its early History.* Introductory Lecture to the Course on the Early History of Massachusetts, by members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, at the Lowell Institute, Boston. Delivered Jan. 5, 1869. By Robert C. Winthrop, President of the Society. Boston: 1869. Octavo, pp., 27.

Our readers, in some instances, may not be aware that the Lowell Institute of Boston has recently offered an opportunity for divers members of the Massachusetts Historical Society to ventilate "Massachusetts and its early history," as those members have been pleased to understand those great subjects since THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE and a few kindred spirits exposed the hypocrisy of the one and the unadulterated falsity of the ordinary versions of the other.

The damage which Massachusetts had sustained at our hands, must have been of no ordinary character, also such men as Doctor Ellis and Doctor Holmes, Doctor Washburne and Doctor Palfrey, with sundry others to support them, would not have considered it *necessary* for the sinking cause of historically bloated Massachusetts, to confederate for her protection and that of her *traditional* respectability; and when we heard of the formidable preparation which was made to overwhelm us and those who act with us, in exposing the rottenness of her historical respectability, we saw, in a

moment, that somebody had been badly hurt by our artillery and that something sadly needed the most skilful application of bandages to support its terribly shattered system.

The occasion of the delivery of this Course of Lectures—the application, by her own family physicians, of these literary poultices and sticking-plasters to the tottering carcass of poor old Massachusetts—formed an era in the history of Boston and in that of New England. The day was appointed for the important operation; and it duly dawned: the Doctors—grave, learned, anxious, fretful—assembled in the Hall of this extraordinary Medical Commission, in the presence of Boston's gayest, most influential, most fashionable, most honored, representatives: one of the most distinguished of Boston's burghers, as he is one of the most eminent of New England's sons, introduced the painful subject, as few others could have introduced it, to that peculiarly unhappy family, thus mournfully gathered together around its sinking head: and then, one after another, the Doctors proceeded to discharge the grave duties to which they had been respectively called—one probing a deep-seated mass of corruption and relieving the patient's system of the long accumulating rottenness of her pretended primitive "*Freedom to worship God*;" another applying the restorative of Roman and Grecian slave-codes, so much worse than the patient's; etc.

At length, the *clinique* ended; and the patient—put to bed and carefully nursed by Mr. Dean, Mr. Folsom, and other excellent members of the Publishing Committee of the venerable Massachusetts Historical Society—it is hoped, will very soon be seen, limping along Beacon and Tremont-streets, with a new lease of life—a healthier, if not a better, Massachusetts.

A new Massachusetts will, therefore, be the result of our assault on Boston's false-pretences and Boston's concessions, thus forced from her. The Puritan fathers ARE ADMITTED to have come to Massachusetts for other purposes than to escape religious persecution and to secure to all comers an asylum from oppression and the right of enjoying "*Freedom to worship God*" in any other mode than that laid down by those "fathers" themselves. "The Puritan fathers" of Massachusetts ARE ADMITTED to have been persecutors as well as prosecutors; and, *notwithstanding* Doctor Washburne was pleased to CONCEAL the important paper which was previously sent to him and then remained in his hands,—the same that was published by us in our last number, as the RITUAL OF SLAVE MARRIAGES IN MASSACHUSETTS—these Puritan Fathers ARE ADMITTED to have been man-stealers, man-whippers, professional slave-breeders, and slave-factors, of the most filthy, heartless, species of that repulsive creature. But more than all, the Doctors exposed, in all its native loathsomeness,



the entire rottenness of the greater portion of the written history of Massachusetts and the entire dishonesty of the greater number of her historical writers. The very corner-stone of her pretensions has been pushed from its bed, by their concessions; the pretended republicanism of the Fathers of Massachusetts, their pretended love of freedom, their pretended sanctity and resolute defense of the Rights of Man, about which so much has been said and sung, generation after generation, ARE ADMITTED to have had no foundation in fact, and to have belonged wholly to the province of romance; and those who have hitherto assumed to be the master-spirits of American truthfulness and New England respectability, as historical writers, are thus acknowledged, by the judgment of their peers, to have been the meanest and the worst of falsifiers. Verily, "the world moves;" and we have not labored in vain—Doctor Washburne's concealment of Parson Philips's Ritual, to the contrary notwithstanding.

The handsome tract before us, with which we have been favored by its distinguished author, contains Mr. Winthrop's Introductory to this remarkable *clinique*; and that gentleman opened his discourse, very properly, by declaring "there was nothing "of *sham* in the character or the conduct of those "with whom our lectures are to deal;"—the "*sham*" and the falsity which are found in Massachusetts' written history, as sent out by her Palfreys and Washburnes, her Websters and Storrs, belong exclusively to those, in the present and preceding generation or two, who have been pleased, for purposes of their own, to misrepresent those who would have scorned to thus misrepresent themselves. There was, truly, no "*sham*" in their character or conduct: the Puritan fathers of Massachusetts were neither republican in State nor catholic in Church—they would have branded those who would have made them such, with hotter irons than any which we have handled—and they swapped stolen Indians for stolen Negroes, and crossed the breeds of Negroes in order to improve either the market or "the "blood," and flogged helpless women and equally helpless Negroes until, to end their torments, their victims "swallowed their tongues"—all these they did, and more than these, openly, in the face of the world, without apology and without cant. There was truly, "nothing of *sham* in "THEIR character:" we wish we could say as much for those who have so steadily manufactured and told or written falsehoods about them, in order to secure for themselves a position in the world to which neither their ancestry nor their own merits intitled them.

The entire Address is a pleasant "good word" for Massachusetts—such a "good word" as Massachusetts might have enjoyed without challenge, had her historical writers been as mod-

erate in their pretensions as Mr. Winthrop has been.

The tract is a very neat one, from Willson's press; and was undoubtedly printed for private circulation.

2.—*Arms, Goodwin. Arms, Bradbury.* Drawn by Miss Harriet Bainbridge, 24 Russell Road, Kensington, London, England, for William F. Goodwin, A.B., A.M., LL.B., & Capt. U. S. A. Lithographed by F. Geese, Richmond, Va. Published by West and Johnston, Richmond, Va.; B. W. Sanborn & Co., Concord, N. H.: 1869. Quarto, 18 leaves.

In this tract we find the arms and crests of fourteen distinct families of Goodwin and two of Bradbury, plainly drawn in outline and briefly described in the usual heraldic terms. They are not blazoned in colors; nor are they drawn in the usual style, showing colors; but the description of each shield and crest, at the foot, renders that less necessary.

It is to be regretted that brief memoirs of the families to which these bearings respectively belong have not accompanied the several drawings; and we hope the accomplished promoter of this little enterprize will supplement it with such a collection.

Fifty-three copies of this volume have been printed; and they were designed, we believe, exclusively for private distribution.

3.—*Original Papers relating to Samuel Haines and his descendants.* Edited by Andrew Mack Harris. [Reprinted from the *N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register*, for April, 1869.] Boston: David Clapp & Son, 1869. Octavo, pp. 29.

Samuel Haines, Deacon of the First Congregational Church at Portsmouth, N. H., was born about 1611; emigrated to America, in 1635; was wrecked at Pemaquid; settled in Ipswich; returned to England; emigrated a second time; settled in Dover; removed to Portsmouth; and died there, "about 1686-7."

He was Selectman of Portsmouth; a founder of, and Deacon in, the Church in that town; an extensive owner of lands; and the progenitor of the Haineses, or the greater part of them, throughout Northern New England.

He was evidently a respectable man, of slight importance in the neighborhood in which he lived; and the "original papers" contained in this tract, although they may be interesting in their Genealogical connections, possess no importance whatever, as far as we have discovered, as "materials for History." In fact, like many other similar papers which pass through our hands, their principal interest rests in their age.

The tract is evidently printed for private circulation; and we are indebted to Albert N. Hoyt, Esq., for a copy of it.

## B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

4.—*Proceedings of the Essex Institute*. Vol. V.—1866-7. Issued in quarterly numbers. Salem: Essex Institute Press. 1866-8.

In this volume we have the record of the doings of the Institute, during 1866 and 1867; together with *The Naturalists' Directory, Part II.*

In the former of these, we believe, may be found the record of the several meetings of the Society, with an Appendix in which are found the various "Communications" to the Institute, which are considered worthy of publication; and there are well-arranged Indices of both these series of papers. The volume is well-printed; and the series of which it forms a part, is very important, by reason of both its historical and its scientific articles.

5.—*Essex Institute Historical Collections*. Volume IX. Second Series. Vol. I. Salem: Essex Institute Press. 1869. Octavo, pp. 242, 132.

This volume contains *The Town Records of Salem, 1634-1659*; a *Memoir of Francis Peabody*, by C. W. Upham; *Early New England papers, from the British Archives*; a *List of Deaths recorded by Rev. John Prince, LL.D.*; and *Materials for a History of the Ropes Family*.

It is a very neatly-printed work; and as a local of recognized merit, it is eminently deserving a wide circle of readers.

6.—*Documentary History of the State of Maine*. Edited by William Willis. Vol. I. Containing a history of the discovery of Maine. By J. G. Kohl. With an Appendix on the Voyages of the Cabots, by M. D' Avezac, of Paris. Published by the Maine Historical Society, aided by appropriations from the State. Portland: Bailey & Noyes. 1869. Octavo, pp. 535.

We have received from the Maine Historical Society, a copy of this handsome volume which is classed as the first of the Second Series of its *Collections*; and as it deserves more space than we can give to it in this number, we propose to do no more, now, than to announce it and speak generally of its contents, reserving a more complete notice of it for a future number.

Our readers may not be generally aware that, in 1863, the Legislature of Maine appropriated a small amount, for the purpose of defraying the expence of a preliminary investigation of the material concerning the discovery of America, and existing in Europe; and so satisfactory were the results that, in 1867, a second appropriation, greater in amount, was made for the publication of an annual volume, "containing the earliest documents, Charters, and other State-papers illustrating the history of "Maine."

Thus strengthened in its resources, the Society availed itself of the opportunity afforded by an European trip of President Woods; and secured the means to begin the great work to which it had

been called by the State, together with the master-hand of Mr. Kohl to direct it; and this volume is the first-fruit of Maine's matured favor to the cause of historical investigation—a first-fruit of which the Society may be justly proud and the State justly contented.

The volume opens with a general *Preface*, from the pen of the venerable and learned William Willis, Esq., so well known to our readers as a frequent contributor to our pages; and this is followed by an elaborate *History of the Discovery of the East coast of North America, particularly the coast of Maine; from the Northmen, in 990, to the Charter of Gilbert, in 1578*, illustrated by copies of the earliest maps and charts, twenty-two in number, and extending over four hundred and eighty-nine pages, and a Supplementary letter concerning *The Voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot*.

The first of these—the *History of the Discovery*, etc.—is from the accomplished pen of J. G. Kohl, of Bremen, Germany; and it embraces, besides an elaborate *Introduction*, Chapters on "The physical features of the Gulf and Coast of Maine;" on "Discoveries of the Northmen during the Middle Ages"—illustrated with *fac-similes* of the Maps of the brothers Zeno (1400.) Sigurdus Stephanius, (1570,) and Gudbrandus Torlacius, (1606);—on "English trading expeditions to the North-west," etc.; on the "Expeditions of John and Sebastian Cabot"—illustrated with *fac-similes* of the Maps of Martin Behaim, (1492) Juan de la Cosa, (1500) Johann Ruysch (1508) and Johann Schoner, (1520);—on the "Expeditions of Gaspar and Miguel de Cortereal"—illustrated with *fac-similes* of the Chart of 1504, that of Pedro Reinel, (1505,) and that of 1520;—on "Official and other Voyages, subsequent to the Expeditions of the Cabots and Cortereals"—illustrated with *fac-similes* of the Charts of Gastaldi (1550) and Ruscelli, (1561);—on the "Spanish Expeditions to the Coast of Florida, from Columbus to Aylon;" on the Expeditions of Verrazano, Gomez, and Rut—illustrated with *fac-similes* of the charts of Lok, (1582,) and Agnese (1536,) Ruscelli, (1544,) Homem, (1540,) of those in the Basle edition of Ptolomy, 1530, and the Portolano, preserved among the manuscripts in the Bodleian library at Oxford, (1536;) of those of Ribero, (1529) and de Chaves, (1536,) of the three manuscripts owned by Mr. Huth (*circa* 1534, 1542, and 1543) of the published Charts of del Dolfinato (1560,) Gerard Mercator, (1590,) Blacu (*circa* 1600) and Gerard Mercator, (1607,)—on the "French Expeditions to Canada, 1534-1543," and "Hore's Voyage, 1536"—illustrated with *fac-similes* of the Charts of Viegas (1534) the Map of 1543, Vallard de Dieppe, (1543) Sebastian Cabot's Map of 1544, the Chart of Homem (1558) and the Map of Gerard Mercator (1569)—on the Expe-



dition of Vasquez de Ayllon to Chicora, in 1526, and those of De Soto, Maldonado, and Gomez Arias, in 1538—1543; and on the Expeditions under Ribault, Laudonniere, Menendez de Avila, and de Gourgues to Florida, and Hawkins to the coast, generally, in 1562—1574. A Chapter is devoted to a Recapitulation of the preceding Chapters.

The narrative is very clearly written; and the several *fac-similes* are as many little gems of chromo-lithography, enriching the narrative while they also ornament the volume.

The letter of M. D'Avezac, on *the Voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot*, opens with a public recognition of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, particularly the excellent article on the Cabots, by Mr. Brevoort, which appeared in the number for March, 1868; and then proceeds to discuss the character and result of those voyages, from the stand-point of the present day.

As a whole, this volume is highly creditable to all who were concerned in producing it; and we congratulate the Society and the State in so auspicious a commencement of what promises to become so important an addition to the existing supply of materials for history.

7.—*Memorial Address on the Life and Character of the Hon. Jacob Collamer*, read before the Vermont Historical Society, in the Representatives' Hall, October 20, 1868. By James Barrett, LL.D., Judge of the Supreme Court. Woodstock, Vt.: 1868. Octavo, pp. 61.

The Vermont Historical Society properly notices and properly records the services and characters of Vermont's children; and in the pamphlet before us, "the Life and Character of Jacob Collamer" are fully discussed, by his friend and business-partner, Judge Barrett, in a well-arranged, well-written, and judicious "Memorial Address."

We rather incline to the opinion that a few of Judge Barrett's sentences might be toned down a little, without disadvantage to their historical integrity;—for instance, George P. Marsh's scholarship is said to be "unequalled," (p. 27;) Nathaniel Chipman, as "a great juridical scholar and a great Judge," is said to have been "not inferior to the illustrious Chief-justice Parsons of Massachusetts," (p. 53;) Samuel Prentiss is said to have been "not second" to Chancellor Kent, (p. 53;) etc.;—but, as Vermont has to make the most of the stock which she really possesses, we are disposed to let Judge Barrett amuse himself and gratify his hearers in these unimportant matters. We confess that we had to turn to a Biographical Dictionary to ascertain the Christian names of Messrs. Chipman and Prentiss: we need no such auxiliary in either naming or bestowing their titles on Theophilus Parsons and James Kent.

8.—*Semi-centennial Celebration of the Boston Society of the New Jerusalem, founded August 15, 1818.* Boston: Printed by a vote of the Society. 1869. Octavo, pp. 86.

Fifty years ago, last Summer, there were "about fifteen" who received the doctrines of the New Church in the town of Boston, and "about ten or twelve more in the neighboring towns." Two of the number, T. B. Hayward and Thomas Worcester, were members of Harvard-college; and meetings were held, "sometimes every week, and sometimes once in two weeks, on Saturday afternoon, for more than a year." At length, the little company invited the Rev. M. M. Carll, the Pastor of the New Jerusalem Church in Philadelphia, to visit Boston and organize it into a Church. He went; and, on Saturday, the fifteenth of August, 1818, twelve of the receivers met at the house of Doctor James Mana, corner of Washington-street and Newbury-place, where Selwyns' Theatre now is—and were instituted into a Church, by the name of THE BOSTON SOCIETY OF THE NEW JERUSALEM. On the following day, public services were held in the presence of a large assembly, in Boylston Hall; and Mr. Thomas Worcester was appointed Pastor of the little flock—a relation which is yet, or was very recently, still unbroken.

That Society, last Fall, celebrated its semi-centennial Anniversary; and the neat pamphlet before us contains the record of that interesting re-union. The Address of Mr. Hayward, one of the founders, is accompanied by letters from several of the elder members of the Church, recounting their recollections of its early history, and placing in form, for reference hereafter, historical matter which possesses an unusual importance, both to that particular Society and to the New Church generally.

9.—*History of the Reformed D. P. Church of Claverack. A Centennial Address.* By Rev. F. N. Zabriskie. Hudson, N. Y.: Stephen B. Miller, 1867. Octavo, pp. 95.

We have very recently received from Rev. Dr. Porter, a copy of this very neat volume and, although late in the day, we take pleasure in directing the attention of our readers to it.

The ancient Church at Claverack was organized in 1726–7; and it seems to have had already prepared for its use—much unlike the present fashion of young Churches—a solid Meeting-house, standing where the Court-house was subsequently erected. This Meeting-house was dedicated on the seventh of February, 1727; and on the first of August following, Domine Johannes Van Driessen became the first Pastor of the Church. From 1728 until 1756, the Church had no settled Pastor, enjoying, instead, the services of neighboring Ministers.

In 1756, Domine Fryenmoet succeeded to the Pastorate; and, after adding two hundred and



fifty-four members to the Church, he withdrew from the Pastorate in 1770. It was during his term of office that a new Meeting-house was erected; and six years elapsed after his retirement before the third Pastor was ordained.

Domine Gebhard removed to Claverack in 1776; received five hundred and fifty-four members into the Church; and served nearly fifty years. He was succeeded by Domine Sluyter, who served the Church, during twenty-eight years, receiving into it nearly eleven hundred members. Domines Boice, Van Gieson and Zabriskie, followed: and to-day there are few country Churches, in this denomination, which are more influential than this.

In August, 1867, the centennial celebration of the erection of the present Meeting-house afforded an opportunity for the presentation of the Church's history to the public.

On that occasion, the venerable Doctor Wyck-off of Albany, pronounced the Invocation and Salutation; the Rev. Dr. Van Cleef, of Poughkeepsie, read the Psalms; the Pastor, Mr. Zabriskie, read an historical Address, containing an account of the internal history of the Church: the Rev. Dr. Porter, of Williamsburg, delivered an historical Address, illustrative of the history of the town of Claverack; and Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Holmes.

A lunch and Addresses followed, in the latter of which Messrs. J. S. Van Wyck, Judges Miller and Newkirk, John Gaul, Peter S. Danforth, and Dr. Van Buren participated. These were succeeded, in the Meeting-house, by Addresses from the Rev. Messrs. Van Gieson, Boice, Drury, Himrod, E. N. Sebring, A. J. Sebring, and Holmes; and, after Prayer and Music, the services ended.

The Address of Mr. Zabriskie was sadly deficient in statistics; and his want of clearness, while referring to many of the events of which he spoke, was increased by his very frequent forgetfulness concerning the dates, or his failures to mention them, on which those events occurred. The Address by Doctor Porter was very carefully prepared, and seems to cover every branch of the subject which could properly be brought before his audience. Of the shorter Addresses, that of Domine Van Gieson strikes us most favorably.

Typographically considered, this volume is a very neat one; and the photographs with which it is illustrated add very much to its interest.

10.—*The Book of Genesis*. The Common Version revised for the American Bible Union, with Explanatory Notes. By Thomas J. Conant. New York: American Bible Union. Octavo, pp. xxii, 209.

The great work of translating the Scriptures

into the Mother-tongues of living Peoples has been promoted by the best men and the greatest minds, during many centuries and throughout many countries. The individual efforts of isolated scholars; and the associated efforts of confederated scholars and Churches have been alike turned in that direction, with great success; and the labor is not yet ended, nor does it seem to be approaching its end, with any degree of certainty.

Among the most active of the associations which are engaged in this work is The Bible Union, of New York, of which the beloved friend of our early manhood, Spencer H. Cone, D. D., was the first President; and the results of its faithful labors have been thrown before the world, from time to time, during the past twenty years or so. The last of these issues, if we mistake not, is the volume under notice—"the Book of Genesis," revised by Doctor Conant, of Rochester University—and the attention of scholars is invited to it.

We have not sufficient space in this number to make an extended notice of this volume; and we regret it the less because we purpose to examine, at an early day, *in extenso*, not only the organization and management of the Union, but all its various issues, during its honorable career. We do no more, at this time, therefore, than to invite the attention of our readers to its various publications.

11.—*An Address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*. February 9, 1869, by Horatio Gates Jones. Published, with an Introductory Note, in pursuance of a Resolution of the Society. Phila.: 1869. Octavo, pp. 36.

Mr. Jones—an active, earnest, and honored member of the Bar of Philadelphia—sometimes throws upon the world the result of some investigation in which, by way of recreation, he spends his over-worked energies. Thus, the Rittenhouse paper-mill—the earliest in America—afforded a theme for a paper from his pen; and, on another occasion, he ventilated the discoveries, so-called, of Franklin, in electrical science, as seen in the *actual* discoveries, in the same field of enquiry, of Professor Kinnersley, of Philadelphia. Now he tells us of Andrew Bradford, the printer, the father of the Newspaper-press in the Middle Colonies; and, in a neatly-constructed narrative, he glances at the career of that distinguished Pennsylvanian, from the opening of his business-life until his death.

One thing strikes us somewhat unpleasantly. Why did not the author *print* as well as *tell*, what he found derogatory to Franklin, in his intercourse with the Bradfords? The truth is, there are few men who have been imposed upon the public more unblushingly than this same Benja-

min Franklin—we know of no one, unless Israel Putnam—and as Mr. Jones has knowledge on this subject, he should have given the facts, *in extenso*, instead of by insinuation, in this pamphlet.

The tract is a very neat one.

#### C.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

12.—*Ninth Annual Report of the Directors of the Free Public Library, Worcester, Mass., together with the Rules and Regulations.* Published by order of the City. Worcester: *sine anno*. [1869.] Octavo, pp. 35.

Like Boston, Worcester has a "Free Public Library;" and, like Boston, she seems to understand its worth and feels disposed to add to its means of doing good.

During 1868, the City voted Six thousand dollars for the general use of the Library, of which nearly twelve hundred and fifty were spent in books; upwards of two hundred for printing; nearly four hundred for binding; etc. It has also a "Reading-room fund," securely invested, of nearly eleven thousand dollars, from the income of which upwards of twelve hundred dollars were expended for newspapers and periodicals and for binding the same. It has, also, a fund of nearly thirty-one thousand dollars, three-fourths of the income from which are expended for books for reference, in "The Green Library"—*the other fourth being added to the principal of the fund.*

One hundred and twenty-five newspapers and periodicals are regularly filed in the reading-room; the Green Library contains thirteen thousand volumes; the Circulating department, eight thousand others. The Newspaper department is visited, daily, by an average of about a hundred persons; and, during the year ending August, 1868, fifty-eight thousand three hundred and seventy-nine volumes were delivered to readers from the Library.

The pamphlet is a very beautiful one.

13.—*Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the People of Georgia. Held in the City of Atlanta in the months of December, 1867, and January, February, and March, 1868. And Ordinances and Resolutions Adopted.* Published by Order of the Convention. Augusta, Georgia: 1868. Octavo, pp. 636.

This portly octavo is the record of the doings of what is called "the Constitutional Convention of the People of Georgia," which General Pope, commanding the Third Military District of the United States, in "General Orders, No. 89," was pleased to "order" to "meet in Convention, at Atlanta, Georgia, on Monday, the ninth day of December, 1867, and proceed to frame a Constitution and Civil Government for the State of Georgia."

There was a time when we supposed that a State was the only power which could properly

control the structure of its own Constitution, and that, "when any form of Government becomes 'destructive of these ends,' [*for which it was formed*]" "it is the right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them" [THE PEOPLE] "shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Judging from this volume, that day has passed; and "JOHN POPE, Brevet Major General Commanding," has taken the place of "the People" of Georgia, in ascertaining what "form" "shall seem most likely to effect the safety and happiness" of that "People," in a "new Government" which *he*, not "the People," has "been pleased to institute in 'General Orders'—just as some of the underlings of Nicholas may be supposed to have done in old Poland, or those of Joseph in Hungary, or those of William and Mary, in Ireland.

One of the first public acts of this Convention was to appoint a Committee of seven, "to wait on General Pope, Commanding the Third Military District, and inform him that, in obedience to General Orders, No. 89, this Convention is now assembled and organized, and invites his presence in the Convention, at his pleasure;" and the same Federal Officer, in his official character as "Brevet Major General Commanding," figures throughout the Journal as the master-spirit of the whole.

It is, as we said, a novel spectacle, in the United States, to see a Federal soldier, in his official capacity, issuing "General Orders" concerning the organic law of a State: we submit that it is as disastrous to the theory of a Republican form of government as it is novel in practice, when that "Brevet Major General Commanding" officially undertakes to say either *when* "the People" of a State shall either "alter or abolish" its duly established local government, or *how* it shall do so, or *what* it shall "establish" in its stead. It is disastrous to our much-lauded system of "popular Government," we say; and the strange spectacle of a successful nullification of the written law having been thus presented to the world, by one party in the United States, it will be very little trouble, when the great political wheel, which is steadily revolving on its axis, shall have made one half a revolution, for the party which is now below, to practice the same system by dictating to some other States than Georgia, and with her certain help, just *what* changes shall be made in their Constitutions, just *how* those changes shall be made, and just *when* those changes shall become operative. We suspect that it will be well for Massachusetts to look, even now, to her pauper-population—the result of her peculiar social evils;—and Rhode Island, also, with her dis-



franchised working-men, may profitably take timely warning, in view of these broken-down barriers and Russian-like intrusions, and of the steady movement of that certain retribution which surely awaits those who break down their "neighbor's [political] "landmarks."

To every thoughtful mind, this volume is an exceedingly important one, since it records what is unquestionably one of the movements toward anarchy and a military despotism, which every thoughtful observer must recognize as not very far distant.

#### TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

14.—*The True Christian Religion*, containing the entire Theology of the New Church. By Emanuel Swedenborg. In two volumes. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1869. Demy, octavo, pp. (I) 507, (II) 556.

These two volumes—published in a style of rare excellence—are now upon the Trade market of the world. Five of the series of volumes, which, when complete, will number at least twenty-five, have been issued within a year. It is, perhaps, the first time in the history of the press, that the publication of the entire theological writings of an author have been entered upon, by a general publisher, for the general public. The fact is significant, as indicating a steadily-increasing and permanent demand.

Although the volumes before us are the last of the productions of this wonderful man, we are glad that they are produced thus early in the series. They are an embodiment of the principles and doctrines of which his previous works are a discussion or rather an elucidation. We have here a clear and philosophic statement of the doctrine of "God the Creator," "The Lord the Redeemer," "The Holy Spirit and the Divine Operation," "The Sacred Scriptures or the Divine Word," "The Decalogue explained in its external and internal sense," "Faith," "Charity (or the love of neighbor) and good works," "Free Will," "Repentance," "Reformation and Regeneration," "Imputation," "Baptism," "The Holy Supper," "The consummation of the age, the Lord's Advent, the new Heaven and the new Earth," and "The Spiritual World." These subjects, in some phase of them, are the themes of all the post-illuminated writings of Swedenborg. During a period of over twenty-seven years—from the age of fifty-seven to his death, in 1772—he enjoyed an almost uninterrupted intercourse with the Spiritual World. He was then instructed in all that angelic wisdom could communicate, in all respects, as if he had passed through death and had been, in fact, a denizen of the empyrean World. It was vision through nature—an opening of the senses to perceive what lies, hidden to natural vision, beyond:—it was that "open vision," spoken of in the Old Tes-

tament, by which the servant of Ehjah saw the mountain filled with horses and chariots; by which Abraham and Lot, Hager and Jacob, Moses and Gideon, and the wife of Manohah, saw and conversed with Angels. The announcements to Zachariah in the Temple, and to the shepherds on the plains of Bethlehem were by this same opening of the spiritual senses. By the same means, the Disciples saw the Transfiguration upon the Mount and heard the voice from "the excellent glory." The Women at the Sepulchre saw, by the same illumination, the "young man" sitting where the body of the Lord had lain; and the Apostle John thus saw and heard the sublime and awful disclosures recorded in the Apocalypse.

But as to the great truths which constitute the "New Jerusalem"—the second advent of the Messiah—Swedenborg derived no instruction from the wisdom of Angels. This was the descent of the Divine; and by Him alone, through the Word—for the Word was God—was known the doctrines of the New Dispensation.

The claims of the receivers of these Doctrines are at once grand and awful. This Invisible Church claims for itself Infallibility and the Real Presence—God, Messiah coming in the clouds of the literal sense to make known the internal sense of that Divine Word which was in the Beginning with God, by whom all things were made, and without whom was not any thing made that was made. W.

15.—*George Fox, the Friends and the early Baptists*. By William Tallack. London: S. W. Partridge & Co. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. xi, 195.

We recently purchased a copy of this little volume; and notice it here for the purpose of very briefly inviting the attention of our readers to it.

The life and influence of Fox, among the early Friends, are the leading subjects of the volume; yet some matters are referred to in the narrative, which are worthy of particular notice: we refer for instance to the Chapter which is devoted to "The Baptist origin of Quakerism in general;" to the brief story of his travels in America; to his dispute, and that of his friends, with Roger Williams; etc.

It is well-written, candid in its temper, and evidently the result of extended and careful research.

16.—*The Switzerland of America*. A Summer Vacation in the Parks and Mountains of Colorado. By Samuel Bowles. Springfield, Mass.: Samuel Bowles & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 166.

Twelve Letters from the Editor of the *Springfield Republican*, written during a Summer vacation spent in Colorado, have been collected into one neat little volume.

A careful perusal of these letters enables us to



say, understandingly, that they afford a clearer insight of the topography of Colorado, her resources, and present condition than anything which we had previously examined. Besides, as a mere book of travels, it is exceedingly interesting; and no volume of its size which we have seen is better adapted to amuse those who seek only amusement, when time hangs heavily over them.

It is a very neat little affair; although a little better quality of paper would have improved its appearance, four fold.

17.—*Shakespeare's Sonnets*, with Commentaries, by Thomas D. Budd. Philadelphia: John Campbell. 1868. Small quarto, pp. 172.

The one hundred and fifty-four Sonnets of the illustrious dramatist have always been wrapped in somewhat of a mystery; and Mr. Budd has boldly undertaken to solve what in them has been least understood.

He maintains, therefore, that they are "addressed to one person," with an intent that "they should present various phases," but he insists, also, that that person was the poet, himself; that he therein describes himself; and that he "demonstrates therein the possible attainments of mankind."

On this curious question, we confess we are wholly incompetent to decide between adverse critics; and we leave the subject for decision, therefore, to those who know more about it.

The little volume is very neatly printed, on tinted paper; and our old friend, Mr. Campbell, has shown great good taste in getting it up.

18.—*The Gordian Knot: a story of good and evil*. By Shirley Brooks. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Octavo, pp. 163.

19.—*Library of Select Novels*, No. 319. *The Brambleighs of Bishop's Folly*. A novel. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Octavo, pp. 183. Price 50 cents.

20.—No. 320. *Mildred*. A novel. By Georgiana M. Craik. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868. Octavo, pp. 121. Price 50 cents.

21.—No. 321. *Nature's Nobleman*. By the author of *Rachel's Secret*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 144. Price 50 cents.

22.—*Tales of the Living Age. A house of Cards*. A novel. By Mrs. Cashel Hoey. Boston: Littell & Gay. Sixe anno. Octavo, pp. 189. Price 75 cents.

23.—*He knew he was right*. By Anthony Trollope. Part I. New York: Harper & Bros., 1869. Octavo, pp. 172. Price 30 cents.

The above named volumes are neatly-printed and often illustrated; and are well calculated for travellers, as well as for those who, at the fire-side enjoy this class of literature.

24. OUR EXCHANGES.—*The American Agriculturist*, New York: Orange Judd & Co., is so

widely known and so generally admired, that we can say nothing which will add to its well-earned renown. It is unrivalled as an exposition of all matters pertaining to Agriculture and Domestic Economy; and it is a marvel of cheapness which can be sustained only by an enormous circulation. Considered typographically, it is one of the handsomest issued from the American press.

*The Atlantic Monthly*, devoted to Literature, Science, Art, and Politics. Boston: Field, Osgood, & Co. This is a fair exponent of modern Puritanic morals, politics, and religion—its morals are measured by their availability; its politics are controlled by their expediency; its religion disregards every standard except the will of the professor. It is able, arrogant, and unscrupulous: its self-sufficiency is unequalled by that of all its contemporaries: in pretensions to superior virtue, it is peculiarly Bostonian.

*The Galaxy*. New York: Sheldon & Co. This is one of the most energetic, as well as one of the ablest, of our monthly magazines. It is unusually enterprising, and seizes, with great tact, on every available element of success. It is unusually successful, therefore; and will undoubtedly grow, still more, in the favor of the reading public.

*Every Saturday*, a journal of choice reading selected from foreign current literature. Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co. This is an excellent weekly, unto which is collected a good variety of the best productions of the foreign current literature. It is worthy of a wide circulation and we presume it enjoys it.

*The Catholic World*. A monthly magazine of General Literature and Science. New York: Catholic Publication Society. This is one of the best and most ably-conducted of our American monthlies. It is, of course, decidedly and without compromise, an exponent and defender of the faith and practise of the Roman Catholic Church; but it is, also, courteous while it is unyielding; exceedingly able while it is entirely without arrogance; and earnest without being impertinent. It is always welcome on our table.

*Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. New York: Harper & Bros. Without pretending to be peculiarly profound or unusually righteous, this good old monthly keeps on as it started, nearly twenty years ago, with no more change of programme than change of cover; and it is welcomed, month after month, from one end of the country to the other, by saint and by sinner, by rich and by poor, as one of the most readable, best illustrated, and generally unexceptionable of the monthlies of the day.

*The Horticulturist*, a Journal of Rural Life,

*Literature, Art, and Taste.* New York: F. W. Woodward. A beautifully printed and illustrated monthly, devoted to Horticulture, Floriculture, and the kindred arts. It is conducted with great ability; and good judgment.

*Littell's Living Age.* Boston: Littell & Gay. This venerable periodical is so widely and so favorably known, as one of the best of our weeklies, that little need be said on the subject. Its contents are selected from all other periodicals, foreign and domestic; and there may be found in its columns, regularly, the best productions of the best minds, both of Europe and America.

*The Monthly Religious Magazine.* Edited by Rev. E. H. Sears and Rev. Rufus Ellis. Boston: L. C. Bowles. This influential monthly, one of the organs of the Unitarian Church, is conducted with great ability and good taste. It combines the profound with the more popular elements; and while it seeks to interest the close student and deepest thinker, with the result of the highest Christian thought, it does not lose sight, in other portions of each number, of the duty which it owes to the family-circle and the Sunday-school.

*The New York Medical Journal.* Edited by Wm. A. Hammond, M.D., and E. S. Dunster, M.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. The great professional abilities of Professor Dunster and General Hammond have brought this work into the front rank of scientific literature; and there are few, if any, of the periodicals of the day, which are more widely or more favorably known.

*The Phrenological Journal and Life Illustrated.* New York: S. R. Wells. The aim of this work is to be useful; and, after a fashion of its own, it generally succeeds in accomplishing its purpose. It is unlike all others, both in its theories and its processes; yet it is not any worse on that account—if, indeed, it is not somewhat better because of it. "For its cause," it should be widely circulated: for their own sake, those who receive it should carefully read it.

*The Brooklyn Monthly* is a neatly-printed young candidate for the favor of the reading public. It is a product of Brooklyn, "the third city in the Union," as she delights to call herself; and there is no just reason for denying to her either the privilege of producing, or the pleasure of reading, a really good Magazine. There are no very profound discussions in its pages; yet there is much that is instructive, more that is interesting, and little that is not worthy of a liberal support. H. W. LOVE AND Co. Publishers. Terms \$2 per year.

*American Journal of Numismatics and Bul-*

*letin of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society.* This beautifully-printed monthly is published by the Society whose name it bears, under the editorial control of Professor Charles E. Anthon and Mr. Joseph N. T. Leveick. It is devoted mainly to Numismatics; and it contains very much, on that subject, which cannot be found elsewhere. Terms \$3 per year.

*The American Presbyterian Review*, edited by Professor Henry B. Smith and J. M. Sherwood, has been enlarged, and takes its place as, more than before, emphatically a *Presbyterian Review*. "No other Review has an abler corps of Contributors;" and no one can boast of an Editor possessing greater abilities. It is, besides, an aggressive work. It attacks, with vigor and ability, what it conceives to be error; and it defends, with manly resolution, what it conceives to be truth. It makes no abject plea for Peace, when that must be paid for at the expense of the right; and we confess to a relish when we see such men as Doctors Gillett and Hatfield facing those whom they conceive to be in error, and boldly calling things by their proper names. J. M. SHERWOOD, Publisher, New York. Terms \$3.50 per year.

*The Old Guard*, a monthly magazine, "devoted to Literature, Science and Art, and to the 'Political Principles of 1776 and 1860,'" whatever the latter may be. In other words, it is a monthly, devoted to the most rigid interpretations of the most ultra Southern Democratic school of politics; and in its mode of treating its subjects it knows no mercy. We are very far from approving either the leading doctrines presented in this work or the way in which the Editor "puts" them before his readers; but we are, nevertheless, free to admit that the work is conducted with marked ability and with a bravery which is worthy of a better cause. VAN EYRIE, HORTON, & Co., Publishers, New York. Price \$3 per year.

*American Publisher & Bookseller*, published by G. R. Cathcart & Hall, New York, is a monthly devoted to the interests of "the Trade." It is conducted with good judgment and marked success; and, although it is not expected to do more than defend the booksellers against "all comers," it is sometimes somewhat inclined to have an opinion of its own, notwithstanding the counter-current from its advertisers. As an excellent record of the various issues of the numerous book-houses throughout the country, it is indispensable to all who desire to keep posted in that important branch of business. Terms \$1.50 per year.

[We have been prevented from completing our notices of New Publications; and they are therefore necessarily laid over until the May number.]

THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

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MAY, 1869.

[No. 5.

L.—DAVID AND GOLIATH.\*

By E. C. BENEDICT, LL.D.

David is often spoken of as of small size when he killed Goliath, as though he were a half-grown lad, whom, by a miracle, God enabled to overcome the Philistine. The sacred writings, however, give no warrant for this idea, but, on the other hand, show that he was a full-grown man—a young man, indeed, but precocious in mind and body; and although inferior to Goliath in size and age, he was, nevertheless, himself, a young giant in size and muscular power, being about twenty-three years of age, and probably seven feet or more in height and of Herculean strength, at the time of that remarkable duel.

**HIS AGE.** He was thirty years old when he came to the throne. He had been in exile about seven years. The most reliable accounts and traditions differ, but make him, I believe, twenty-two when he was anointed by Samuel, which was before he met Goliath.

Ainsworth, the most careful and learned of commentators—Edit. 1617—says: "In the three and twentieth yere of his life he was, by Samuel the prophet, anointed king over Israel." I therefore put his age about twenty-three, at that time. Other facts indicate that he was not a boy. His father was an old man, (1 Sam. xvii, 12.) He was an accomplished musician, "*cunning in playing*," (1 Sam. xvi, 18,) a fit musician for the royal presence. He was "*prudent in matters*," sagacious, wary, "*a mighty valiant man*," "*a man of war*." (Ibid.) He was the keeper of his father's sheep in the wilderness, infested by bears and lions. (1 Sam. xvi, 11, and xvii, 28, 33.) He was thus a man of judgment and experience, though a young man. Saul indeed, calls him a "*stripling*," "*a youth*," "*a young man*," (1 Sam. xvii, 51, 56, 58.) "*He was but a youth, and ruddy, and of a fair counten-*

*ance*." (Ibid. 42, and xvi, 12.) This mode of speaking of persons not old was common—Saul is called "*a choice young man and a goodly*," (1 Sam. ix, 2,) when he had a son, Jonathan, old enough to be the leader of a thousand soldiers, (Ibid. xiii, 2, and see 2 Sam. i, 2, 5, 6, 13, 15.) Saul gave David the chief command—"set him over the men of war." (1 Sam. xviii, 5.)

**HIS SIZE.** Being twenty-three years old, he was full grown.

In those times of hand-to-hand fighting, personal prowess, great size, and strength were the qualities for a leader; and for the Israelites, who were then in abject subjection to the Philistines, size and strength would be specially sought for in the choice of a King. Saul was evidently chosen for his great size, by Samuel; and, for the same reason, the choice was ratified by the people, with enthusiasm. "*When he stood among the people, he was higher than any of the people, from his shoulders and upward. And Samuel said to all the people, 'See ye him whom the Lord hath chosen, that there is none like him among all the people?' And all the people shouted, and said, 'God save the king.'*" (1 Samuel, x, 23, 24.) The same qualities were looked for in a successor. It is quite evident that the size of Jesse's sons attracted the attention of Samuel; and, before seeing David, the "*height of the stature*" of Eliab, the eldest, led Samuel to suppose that he must be the chosen of the Lord. (1 Samuel, xvi, 7.) Jesse's family was, undoubtedly, large-sized persons. Eliab's stature was certainly remarkable. Shammah and Abinadab, as well as Eliab, were in Saul's army. The great commanders, Joab, and Abishai, and Asahel, were grand-children of Jesse—David's nephews.

David was the armor-bearer of Saul, who was, from the shoulders upward higher, than any other Israelite—probably more than seven feet:—no "*little*" David could have carried his armor. When David volunteered to meet Goliath, Saul offered his own armor to him to wear, and gave him his sword, perhaps because no others were large enough for him. David put them on, but quickly took them off, not because they were too large, but because he was not used to armor:

\* We have pleasure in presenting this curious little article to our readers, notwithstanding it relates to neither "the History, Antiquities, or Biography of America." It is from the pen of our good friend, Hon. Erastus C. Benedict; and its novelty will secure for it a careful perusal beyond the circle of his immediate acquaintance.



"And David said unto Saul, I cannot go with these, for I have not proved them." Saul would never have offered his giant armor to any "little" David; nor would a shepherd-lad have put it on. (I Sam. xvii. 38, 39.) He must have been as tall as Saul, and strong in proportion to his size. Goliath himself scorned David because he was young and armed only with a staff; but he did not speak of his size, nor of any other deficiency, except his having no arms.

**HIS STRENGTH.** His strength was like that of Samson. As Samson killed a young lion (*Judges*, xiv. 5, 6,) so David, while a shepherd, killed a hungry lion.—"*He went out after him and smote him.*" "*He caught him by the beard and smote him and slew him.*" (I Samuel xvii. 35, 36.)—He also killed a bear under like circumstances. His strength in his hands and arms must have been enormous, thus to have handled these powerful beasts. In those periods, when the bow was the great weapon of war, men of great strength had bows of steel.—David's strength was so great that he could break one of those bows with his arms:—"A bow of steel is broken by mine arms." (II Samuel xxii. 35.)

His strength, as well as his size, enabled him to handle the sword of the giant with ease—a weapon not to be handled by a boy. [I Sam. xvii. 51.] The use of the giant's sword on that occasion, would not, perhaps, prove so much; for in that moment of excitement, he might well have swung a sword which at other times would have been too heavy for him; but we find, a year afterwards, when he was fleeing unarmed from Saul, he asked Ahimelech for a spear or a sword, for his own use, and was told, "*There is none but the sword of Goliath.*" David said: "*There is none like that; give it me.*"—showing that that ponderous weapon was well-adapted to his power; and just the thing for him, for self-defence. (I Samuel xxi. 8, 9.)

He was equally swift of foot; which enabled him to run to Goliath before he could rally from the shock of the stone. "*Thou makest my feet like hind's feet.*" (II Sam. xxii. 34.) "*By thee I have run through a troop; by my God I have leaped over a wall.*" (*Ibid.* 30.)

**HIS PRUDENCE.** The stratagem of David was characteristic of his sagacity and wariness. To deceive the Philistine, he went into the field as a shepherd, and not as a man of war; "*he took his staff in his hand;*" he put the stones "*in his shepherd's bag which he had;*" and his sling was "*in his hand,*"—concealed in his hand. Goliath was thrown off his guard. (I Sam. xvii. 40, 42, 43.) He supposed David intended to attack him with his staff, as he would a dog—"Am I a dog that thou comest to me with staves?"

David's feats of strength are nowhere represented as miraculous, nor anything more than great

but natural exhibitions of strength and bravery, with the blessing of Divine Providence—the blessing of success upon the use of appropriate means.

His strength, agility, and skill being considered, his triumph over Goliath was to be expected. His death was certain. The sling, in those days, was a wonderful weapon in the hands of those who were skillful in the use of it, especially if they were men of great muscular power in the arms. The precision with which stones were thrown, as well as the velocity, is almost inconceivable to us. The slingers were the sharpshooters of the early wars of the Jews. In the tribe of Benjamin alone there were "*seven hundred chosen men, left-handed, every one could sling stones at a hair-breadth, and not miss.*" (*Judges* xx. 16.) "*Left-handed*" is supposed to mean, using the left-hand as well as the right. "*They could use both the right hand and the left, in hurling stones.*" (I Chronicles xii. 2.)

According to Pliny, the people of Palestine were not only the first to adopt this powerful weapon, but were also the most skillful in the use of it; and from Diodorus and Vegetius, we learn that the inhabitants of the Balearic-islands (Majorca and Minorca) were also great slingers. They compelled their children to go hungry till they could bring down game for their food, with their slings. A man of great strength, would kill an enemy, encased in armor, at the distance of thirty rods, without shedding a drop of blood, so great was the shock; and they rarely missed. (*Encyclopédie*, Art. *FRONDE*.)

David thus used a weapon which the giant could not parry nor fly from, and which his brass-clad forehead could not resist. It was a duel between a mere swordsman and a sharpshooter, at rifle-shot range. The result was inevitable, as David well knew. E. C. B.

## II.—GENERAL PLEASANTON'S CAVALRY DIVISION, IN THE MARYLAND CAMPAIGN, SEPTEMBER, 1862.

### THE GENERAL'S REPORT.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, NOW FIRST PRINTED.\*

HEADQUARTERS, CAVALRY DIVISION,  
CAMP NEAR SHARPSBURG.

September 19th, 1862.

To

Brigadier-general R. B. MARCY,  
Chief of Staff; Army of the Potomac.

GENERAL:

I have the honor to submit the following Report of service, performed by this Division in

\* We are indebted for this paper to our friend, General J. Watts dePeyster, of New York City.

the late operations of the Army of the Potomac, comprehending the expulsion of the enemy from Maryland.

On the fourth instant, the Command moved from Falls Church, on the South side of the Potomac, passed over the Aqueduct-bridge to Tennytown, and from thence proceeded to reconnoitre all the fords on the Potomac as far as Seneca Mills, and finally assuming a position at Muddy Run. This occupied the fourth, fifth, and sixth instant.

On the sixth instant, the First New York Cavalry moved to Middleburg and sent four Companies to occupy Clarksburg, at the same scouting the country to Hyattstown,—the First United States Cavalry proceeded to Brookville, to scout in the direction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The Eighth Illinois and Third Indiana Cavalry moved the same day, in advance of Darnestown, picketing the roads in the direction of Poolesville, and the fords on the Potomac.

On the seventh instant, two Squadrons of the Eighth Illinois and two of the Third Indiana, under Major Chapman of the Third Indiana, made a dash on Poolesville, and captured two Cavalry vedettes, all of the enemy in the town, at the time. The next day, the eighth instant, Colonel Farnsworth moved his Command, the Eighth Illinois, Third Indiana, and a Section of Horse Artillery, of Company "M," Second Artillery, under First Lieutenant Chapin, to occupy Poolesville and picket the roads to Conrad's-ferry, Edward's-ferry, Barnesville, and the Monocacys. As this force neared Poolesville, the enemy's Cavalry were observed retreating on the road leading to Barnesville; and some Squadrons of the Third Indiana pushed after them—they had not proceeded far before the enemy opened a fire from some guns, strongly posted on the right of the town.

The Section of Artillery, under Lieutenant Chapin, soon silenced these guns, which made off in the direction of Brownsville.

The Squadrons of the Third Indiana, under Major Chapman, were now ordered to charge the Battery, which was handsomely done, the enemy's Cavalry and Artillery being driven over three miles, when the Eighth Illinois coming up, under Major Medill, the chase was continued until after dark. In this affair, the Third Indiana lost one killed and eleven wounded; the Eighth Illinois one wounded. The rebel loss amounted to eight killed, sixteen wounded, and six prisoners—all Cavalry.

On the ninth instant, Farnsworth, with his Command, proceeded towards Barnesville, and observing a Squadron of the enemy's Cavalry near Monocacy Church, he directed Captain Farnsworth's Squadron, of the Eighth Illinois, to gain their rear and cut them off. This

movement succeeded in dividing the enemy, and in capturing their battle-flag—that of the Twelfth Virginia Cavalry, called the Ashby Cavalry—besides several prisoners. The march being continued towards Barnesville, Captain Kelly's Squadron, Eight Illinois, being in advance, encountered the enemy's vedettes, on the edge of the village. A dash was made on them, through the village and some two miles beyond, the troops being engaged twice in a hand-to-hand fight. The day's work resulted in killing four of the enemy, wounding five, and taking twenty-seven prisoners; while we lost not a man or a horse. On the tenth instant, Captain Saunders, Sixth Cavalry, with a Cavalry force and two guns, attempted to dislodge the enemy from the base of Sugar Loaf Mountain; but the latter was too strongly posted to be moved, except by a larger force than was at my disposal. Franklin's Corps arrived in the afternoon; and, on the eleventh instant, the rebels were soon in retreat, Hancock's Brigade of Franklin's Corps and Farnsworth's Brigade of Cavalry being the forces engaged.

On the twelfth instant, Farnsworth's Brigade moved, by the way of Clarksburg, to Frederick City, and also Robertson's and Haines' Batteries, the Sixth Cavalry and a Section of Artillery under Captain Saunders, moved to Monocacy, and was afterwards under the orders of Franklin, at Jefferson.

About five o'clock in the evening, I entered Frederick with my Command, having been joined by the First New York, under Colonel McReynolds, and a portion of the Twelfth Pennsylvania: the enemy's pickets were driven out of Frederick, as we advanced, on the Urbana-road; while Burnside's Corps pushed them on the New Market-road, from which direction he entered about half an hour before my advance.

On the morning of the thirteenth instant, McReynold's Brigade, with a Section of Artillery, was sent in the direction of Gettysburg, by orders from your Headquarters; while Rush's Lancers joined Franklin's Corps at Jefferson; at the same time, after an arrangement with General Burnside as to the manner of proceeding, and in which he most generously offered every assistance, the remainder of my Command started, at daylight, on the Hagerstown Turnpike, and had proceeded some three or four miles, when the enemy opened on the advance, with artillery, from the ridge to the left of where the road passes over the Catoctin range of the Blue Ridge. Their Batteries were supported by dismounted Cavalry. A couple of Sections from Robertson's and Haines' Batteries were immediately opened on our side; and some Squadrons of the Eighth Illinois and Third Indiana were dismounted and sent up the mountain to the right, as skirmishers. After a severe cannonading and several warm volleys with car-

bines, the enemy retreated hastily, having previously barricaded the road, in several places. A rapid pursuit was made and a number of prisoners taken; when the enemy made a second stand, on the East side of Middletown. Gibson's Battery then came up; and soon, in beautiful style, induced another backward movement. Farnsworth's Brigade then advanced and engaged the Cavalry, until they were driven beyond the town, about one thousand yards, to a third position they had selected to defend.

A Section of Gibson's Battery engaged them here; and, in a few minutes, the enemy retreated rapidly to Turner's Gap of the South Mountain; but before doing so they blew up the bridge over the Catoctin-creek and set fire to the barn and other valuables of the person residing at that point. As the Creek was easily fordable, this did not prevent my advance to the foot of the Mountain, which was found to be too strong a position to be carried by my force.

#### BATTLE OF SOUTH MOUNTAIN.

Being soon satisfied that the enemy would defend himself at Turner's Gap, with a large force, I sent back to General Burnside for some Infantry; and, in the intermediate time, I caused a force of dismounted Cavalry to move up the mountain, on the right of the turnpike, to examine the position on that side. This produced some skirmishing with the enemy, and induced him to mass a considerable force on that side, during the night. I learned also that there were two roads, one on the right and the other to the left of the Gap, both of which entered the turnpike beyond the Gap, and would assist us materially in turning the enemy's position on both flanks. General Burnside's troops did not arrive in time to engage on the thirteenth; but, on the morning of the fourteenth instant, the General kindly sent me a Brigade of Infantry, under Colonel Scammon, and some heavy Batteries. Scammon's Brigade I directed to move up the mountain, on the left hand road; to gain the crest; and then to move to the right, to the turnpike in the enemy's rear; at the same time, I placed Gibson's Battery and the heavy Batteries in position to the left, covering the road on that side and obtaining a direct fire on the enemy's position in the Gap. Shortly after this, General Cox arrived with a second Brigade of Infantry; and upon my explaining the position to him, he moved to the support of Scammon, who was successful in his movement to gain the crest of the mountain.

During the cannonading that was then going on, the enemy's Batteries were several times driven from the Gap; but the contest assuming on each side larger proportions, and Major-general Reno having arrived on the field, I pointed out to him the positions of the troops, as I had placed

them, giving him, at the same time, those of the enemy.

He immediately assumed the direction of the operations; passed to the front, on the Mountain Height; and was eminently successful in driving the enemy, until he fell, at the moment he was gallantly leading his Command to a crowning victory. The clear judgment and determined courage of Reno rendered the triumphant results obtained by the operations of his Corps second to none of the brilliant deeds accomplished on that field—at his loss a master-mind had passed away.

During this action, the First Massachusetts and Third Indiana Cavalry were detached to serve with Hooker's Corps.

#### THE PURSUIT.

At daylight, on the morning of the fifteenth, I started in pursuit of the enemy with a part of the Eighth Illinois Cavalry—the advance came up with the enemy's rear-guard of Cavalry on entering Boonsboro'; charged them repeatedly; and drove them some two miles beyond the town. A Section of Tidball's Battery came up, at this time, and gave them a few shells; when they broke, and ran in every direction, leaving two pieces of artillery behind them, thirty dead on the field, some fifty wounded, and a very large number of prisoners, among whom were several hundred stragglers.

Our loss was one killed and fifteen wounded; among the latter was the brave Captain Kelly, of the Eighth Illinois Cavalry, who was shot while gallantly charging at the head of his Squadron. In this affair, the enemy outnumbered us three to one; and the number of desperate personal encounters, that day, clearly shows the superiority of our Cavalry. Colonel Farnsworth, Captains Kelly and Medill, and First-lieutenant and Adjutant Haines, of the Eighth Illinois Cavalry, were conspicuous for their gallantry on this occasion; also Captain Custer and First-lieutenant Martin, Aids-de-Camp on the Staff of General McClellan, and who were serving with me at the time.

In obedience to my instructions, I then moved in the direction of Sharpsburg, and came up with Richardson's Division, in line of battle, in advance of Keedysville—the enemy being in position this side of Sharpsburg. General Richardson having no Batteries with him, requested of me Tidball's four guns, to reply to the enemy's Batteries which had opened at four different points of their line. Tidball was soon placed in position and returned fire; and this was continued at intervals, on this and the succeeding day, by numerous Batteries engaged on both sides.

On the sixteenth instant, my Cavalry was engaged in reconnoissances, escorts, and supports to Batteries.



## THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM.

On the morning of the seventeenth instant, after the commencement of the action on the right, I was directed by Major-general McClellan, verbally, to advance with my Division of Cavalry and Horse-batteries of Artillery, on the turnpike towards Sharpsburg, to some suitable position beyond the bridge over the Antietam-creek and support the left of Sumner's line of battle, with my force.

Finding the enemy had a cross-fire of Artillery on the bridge, and that his Sharpshooters covered it in front, I first threw forward some Cavalry skirmishers, and then advanced Tidball's Battery, by piece, under a heavy fire, to drive off the Sharpshooters with canister.

This plan, in a short time, succeeded in clearing the front sufficiently to obtain positions for Gibson's, Robertson's, Tidball's, and Haine's Batteries, who opened on the enemy with great effect, having a direct fire in front and an enfilading fire in front of Sumner's Corps, on the right, and supporting the right of Burnside's Corps on the left—the distance to Sumner's Corps being nearly a mile, and something greater to that of Burnside's—my force being the only one in front, connecting the two Corps. The fire was kept up over two hours; when the enemy's fire had slackened very much, and my Batteries requiring ammunition, the latter retired, by piece and by Section, to supply themselves, being replaced by Randol's Battery and Kuseran's Battery, from Syke's Division. I was also indebted to General Sykes for five small Battalions of Infantry, which he kindly placed at my disposal, to assist in supporting my position.

The following Cavalry supports were to the right and left of my position, viz: the Fifth Regular Cavalry, Farnsworth's Brigade, Rush's Brigade, and two Regiments of the Fifth Brigade, under Colonel Davis, of the Eighth New York. About three o'clock in the afternoon, three of my Batteries—Tidball's, Robertson's and Haine's—returned to their position; Randol's Battery being relieved, and Gibson's being placed in position on the right of the road, in rear, to cover the bridge.

The fight was then renewed with increased vigor and energy; the enemy's Batteries being soon driven from their position, in front of us; at the same time, a heavy column of dust could be seen moving behind the Sharpsburg-ridge, towards Sumner's left. I directed the fire of the Batteries into this dust; and soon the developments of the enemy's line-of-battle, fully a mile long, could be seen bearing down upon Richardson's Division, on Sumner's left, then commanded by Hancock—Richardson having been badly wounded. The enemy's Batteries were also playing heavily upon this Division. At the time, Hancock requested some guns to assist him. None could be spared,

at that moment; but I directed the fire of some eighteen guns upon the enemy's line, in front of him, for twenty minutes; when we had the satisfaction of seeing this immense line first halt; deliver a broken desultory fire; and then break and run to the rear, in the greatest confusion and disorder. A Section of Tidball's Battery was immediately advanced to the crest of a hill, several hundred yards to the front, and in front of the Infantry of Hancock's left. This was a most favorable position for operating on a Battery then in full play upon the centre of Sumner's line. The fire from this Section contributed, in no small degree, towards silencing this Battery.

It was now four o'clock in the afternoon. Burnside's Corps had driven the enemy back upon the hill, upon which his Batteries were placed; and, in conjunction with the repulse of the enemy, in front of Hancock, left the field open to the Sharpsburg-ridge, to which point I desired to forward my Batteries, to obtain an enfilading fire upon the enemy, in front of Burnside, and to enable Sumner's advance to Sharpsburg. I was so satisfied that this could be done, at that moment, that I sent a request to Major-general Fitz-John Porter, asking for the assistance of some Infantry to support my advance to the Sharpsburg-ridge. This request was not entertained by General Porter; and I have since been informed the force I needed was not then at his disposal.

I held my position until seven o'clock in the evening, when I was withdrawn, by the orders of Major-general McClellan, to the bivouac of Keedysville.

On the eighteenth instant, my Cavalry were engaged collecting stragglers and feeling the enemy on the different roads.

On the nineteenth instant, I started in pursuit of the enemy, who had fled to the opposite side of the Potomac. Before reaching the river, I had succeeded in capturing one hundred and sixty-seven prisoners, one gun left behind by the enemy in his haste, and one color. On arriving near the river, on the turnpike, the enemy's Batteries opened a heavy fire, from several positions below Sheppardstown, covering Blackburn's ford. Gibson's, Tidball's, and Robertson's Batteries replied with such effect that the enemy drew off the greater part of his guns. This cannonade lasted about two hours; when a part of Porter's Corps coming up, my Command was relieved from its position, and withdrew to camp.

The services of this Division, from the fourth of September up to the nineteenth of the same, were of the most constant and arduous character. For fifteen successive days, we were in contact with the enemy; and each day, conflicts of some kind were maintained, in which we gradu-

ally but steadily advanced. The officers and men have exerted themselves to insure the success of every expedition; and their efforts have been fortunate, as no mishaps have occurred beyond the casualties incident to such service.

The losses of the Division, in this Campaign, were as follows: seventeen killed, seventy-eight wounded, thirteen missing, make a total of one

hundred and eight.

\* \* \* \* \*

I am, General,  
Very Respectfully,  
Your Obedt. Servt.,  
A. PLEASANTON,  
Brigadier-General,  
Command'g Division.

*List of Killed, Wounded and Missing in the different Brigades and Batteries of the Cavalry Division commanded by Brigadier-general Pleasanton, September, 1862.*

Commander.	Brigade	Company.	Regiment.	Date.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Battle-ground.
Capt. Whiting.	1		5th U. S. Cavalry.	17	1	1		Antietam.
"	"		"	19	1	1		Sharpsburg.
"	"		6th	10	1	1		Sugar Loaf Mountain.
"	"		"	4	1			Falls Church.
"	"		"	10	1			Sugar Loaf Mountain.
"	"		"	4	1			Falls Church.
Col. J. F. Farnsworth.	2		8th Ill. Cavalry.	3	1			" "
"	"		"	8	1			Poolsville.
"	"		"	13	1			Frederick.
"	"		"	"	1	8		Middletown.
"	"		"	14	1			South Mountain.
"	"		"	15	1	15	3	Boonsboro'.
"	"		"	18	1			Antietam.
"	"		8th Penn. Cavalry.	10	1	5		Frederick.
"	"		3d Ind. Cavalry.	8	1	11		Poolsville.
"	"		"	13	1	2		Cotoctin Mountain.
"	"		"	13	3	8	5	Middletown and Harper's-ferry road.
"	"		"	13	2			South Mountain.
"	"		"	17	5			Antietam.
Col. R. H. Rush.	3		6th Penn. Cavalry.	13	1			Jefferson.
"	"		"	17	3			Antietam.
"	"		4th Penn. Cavalry.	"	3	7		"
Capt. Gibson.	" C "		Horse Battery.	19	1			Sheppardstown.
" Tidball.	" G "		"	17	1	3		Antietam.
" Robertson.	" A "		"					
	" B "		"					
	and		"					
	" L "		"					
Lieut. Hains.	" M "		"	17	1	4		Sharpsburg.
"	"		"	19	1			Williamsport.
Total.....				17	78	13		

## REMARKS :

First Massachusetts Regiment sustained no loss since its attachment to the Second Brigade.

Fourth Brigade, Colonel McReynolds, comprising First New York and Twelfth Pennsylvania Regiments, on detached service; no Report attainable, in time for this.

A. PLEASANTON,  
Brigadier-General,  
Comd'g Cav. Division.

HEAD-QUARTERS,  
CAVALRY DIVISION,  
September 26, 1862.

### III.—AN UNPUBLISHED VOLUME, BY REV. THOMAS SHEPARD OF CAM- BRIDGE, MASS.

BY JOHN WARD DEAN, ESQ. OF BOSTON.

The Rev. Thomas Shepard, one of the early New England Divines and authors, is well known to the historical students of this country. His autobiography, first printed in 1832, under the editorial care of Rev. Nehemiah Adams, D.D., is ranked among the valuable materials for New England history; and a large portion of it is incorporated, by Rev. Alexander Yonge, D.D., into his *Chronicles of Massachusetts*.

A manuscript volume by Rev. Mr. Shepard, no portion of which has ever been published, is now in the library of the New England Historical Genealogical Society. It formerly belonged to Charles Ewer, Esq., the first President of that institution; and, some years after his death, was presented to the Society by his sister. It contains the Confessions of fifty persons who applied for membership in the Cambridge Church, of which Mr. Shepard was Pastor, from 1636 till his death, in 1649. Among them are those of Nathaniel Eaton, who had charge of Harvard College on its establishment, and Rev. Henry Dunster, his successor, styled the first President of the College.

Mixed with the religious experience of the individuals, some of their private history, of a secular nature, will be found. As the early Church Records of this Town are lost, a list of the individuals whose Confessions are here given, may interest the readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

The title or heading is: "*The Confession of diverse p<sup>r</sup>ounded to be received & were entertained as members.*" Most of the Confessions fill one page and some fill several. They are headed as follows:—

1. Edward Halls confession "
2. Francis Moore his confessiō "
3. Goodman Luxford his wife. "
4. George Willdoes his confessiō. "
5. The confessiō of John Sill. "
6. The confessiō of John Sill his wife "
- "Mr. Eatons confessiō "
- "Christopher Cane: his confessiō "
- "The Confessiō of Goodman Daniell "
- "Mr. Sparhawke his Confessiō "
- "Mr<sup>s</sup> Sparhawkes Confessiō "
- "Mr. Sanders Confessiō "
- "John Stedman his Confessiō "
- "Goodwife Holmes "
- "Mr. Collins his Confessiō "
- "John Stansby his Confessiō "
- "Barbary Cutters Confessiō "
- "Goodman Mannings Confessiō "

- "Confessiō of Katharine Mr<sup>s</sup> Ruggles mayd "
- "John Sherman his wifes Confessiō "
- "John Trundle his Confessiō "
- "Mr. Andrews his Confessiō. "
- "O<sup>r</sup> brother Jacksons man—Richard Eagle "
- "Mr<sup>s</sup> Green "
- "B. Jacksons mayd "
- "Golding Moore "
- "William Hamlet "
- "Brother Collins his wife "
- "B. Moore his wife "
- "B. Parishes wife "
- "B. Crackbone his wife "
- "Hannah Brewer "
- "Robert Homes "
- "Old goodwife Cutter "
- "B. Winshops wife "
- "Goodwife Willdoes "
- "B. Greene his wife "
- "Mr. Dunster "
- "Mr. Haynes his confessiō "
- "Goodman Shepards relatiō "
- "Jan. 8, 1640, Goodman Fessington "
- "Richard Cutter "
- "Goodwife Vsher "
- "Widow Arringtō "
- "Goodwife Grizzell "
- "Goodwife Champney "
- "Jan. 7, 1644, Goodman With: "
- "St Jones "
- "Goodman Funnell "

The Confession of "Wil: Ames" is also in the book, though it does not follow the others.

In the book are also abstracts of several Sermons headed as follows:

- "Mr. Cotton, Revel. 4: 1: 2 "
- "Renel 5: 12. 13 "
- "Mr. Cott: Renel 5. 13 "
- "Mr. Ward Isaj: 42: 18 to 21 "
- "Mr. Cotto Renel 6. 1. 2 "
- "J. C. Revel 6. 1. 2 "
- "Seale 4 Revel 7. 8 "
- "Revel 6: 9. 10. 11 5 Seale "
- "Aets 13: 48 "
- "Mr. Ward Nehem. 8: 10 "
- "Mr. Chaney John 1: 12 "
- "Mr. Ward Hab. 3: 16 "
- "Mr. Huit 1 Cor. 12: ult "
- Ezek. 47. 11 "
- "Mr. Bur Isaj: 30: 20: 21 "

I would suggest whether the above Sermons were not preached at the Boston Thursday Lecture. Like the Confessions, the abstracts are all in the graph of the Rev. Thomas Shepar

BOSTON.

J. W. D.



## IV.—VIRGINIA, AS A PENAL COLONY.

BY EDWARD D. NEILL.

Within a period of twelve months, three institutions were established in Virginia, the influence of which is still clearly seen. By permission of the London Company, the first representative legislative Assembly in America, met at Jamestown, on the thirtieth of July, 1619; and proved the leaven to raise the Republic of the United States. But a few months afterwards, it was cursed by becoming a Colony for the reception, not only of African slaves, but English convicts.

The presence of the two latter classes dwarfed the development of English manhood; and Purchas, oppressed by the condition of things, penned the following: "My prayers shall be to the Almighty God for Virginia's prosperity. \* \* \* I can deplore, I do not much admire that we have had so much in Virginia, and yet so little. \* \* \* But what do I in complaints, when some perhaps will complain of my complainings. I will expect better from my God, and his Majesty. \* \* \* I see many likely to be disheartened by the slender growth of Virginia plantations, which for the time might have been not only a safe, but a rich and blessed mother of a numerous and thriving generation, branching far into other Colonies, and yet—is! I side no where, but Entwine Virginia with a right heart, my pen directed my hands erected for her good."

The following extracts from the manuscript *Transactions of the London Company*, show how Virginia became a penal Colony:

October 20, 1619. "A letter being sent from his Majesty, directed to Mr. Tre'r and Counsell for the sending divers dissolute persons to Virginia w<sup>ch</sup> Sir Edward Zouch K<sup>t</sup> Marshall will give information of; after the Counsell had perused the same, was brought to the board and read to the Company, who considering that there was noe present meanes of conveying them to Virginia thought fitt to reserve the full answer to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> till the next Court when with the Lords and Mr. Treasurer it might be agreed how his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s commands might most speedily and conveniently be effected: In the meanwhile Sir Jo: Davers promised to acquaint Mr. Secretary Clavert and Sir Edw. Zouch the reason they have not yet sent answer to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> gracious b<sup>r</sup>e."

November 3, 1619. "According to the reference in the last Court his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s letter was taken into most dutiful consideration and it was agreed with all convenience to fulfill his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s command, and to send them over to be servants

"which will be very acceptable unto the inhabitants as Mr. Tre'r hath understood from them, and in the meantime till they be sent which will be about January Mr. Treasurer showed that in like case the Lord Maior had been solicited to give order for the keeping of them in Bridewell, which was announced to be performed already, and the Court desired Mr. Treasurer to give his Majesty the answer by Mr. Secretary Calvert."

November 17, 1619. The Treasurer "signified that according to the desire of the last Court, hee had been with Mr. Secretary Calvert, and delivered the Companie's answer towching the transporting of men prest by his Majesty which gave nott full satisfaction for that the King's desyre admitted no delays, but forthwith to have 50 of the 100 shipt away with all speed notwithstanding the many inconveniences which Mr. Tre'r alleadged would thereby accrue into the Company, that they could not goe in less than four shippes for feare they beinge many together, may draw more unto them, and so muteny and carry away the shippes which would stand the Company in foure thousand pounds, and they not suddenly to be gotten at this time of the yeare: hee told them what a pinch hee was putt into, and therefore desyred their counsell and advise."

"Whereupon divers ways being thought on and considered the Court could find no fitter nor more satisfactory answer than this; That the Company would be att the charge mayntayne them till there may be shippinge provyded, if soe be they were commanded to doe itt, and therefore have apoynted a Committee of select merchants to employ their whole endeavors for the compassinge of shipping with all speed possible, namely, Mr. Deputy Ferrar, Mr. Keightly, Mr. Wiseman, Mr. Craumore, Mr. Bull, Mr. Sheppard and Mr. Mellinge, and to that end Mr. Tre'r was content that eight hundred pounds adventured by the general stock in the magazine, should remain there to be employed to their use from time to time, and if they pleased, there should be added two hundred pounds more of the cash in his custody, which thousand pounds to bee only for the satisfaction of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s desyres from time to time"

November 21, 1619. "Mr. Treasurer signified that this extraordinary Court was to acquainte them, that according to the intent of the great Courte hee had drawne the letter to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> in the name of the Tre'r, Counsell and Company and had deliver'd itt to Mr. Secretary Calvert together with a coppie thereof. It being thought that letter would not suit his Ma<sup>ty</sup> hee was

"to propound the further advance for maintenance of these men might be given extraordinary in grosse besides the ordinary allowance of six pounds per man to any that may be found to transport them with all expedition.

"The Knight Marshall having promised Sir John Davers that if this may be sent presently hee will furnish them with such persons of what quality and condition they desire. That which was objected, that if men were found to undertake this, yet it might be this month before the ship could be dispatched, and thus during such time must be mayntayned at the Companie's charge; which was answered it could not be helped, his Ma'ties command must be fulfilled. That being put to the question "was generally allowed of."

December 23, 1619 "A commission to John Damyron M<sup>r</sup> of the Dutty being now red and allowed for takinge the first optunity of winde and weather to sett Saile for Virginia with the passengers the Companie shipped by command of his Ma'ty was now ordered that the Seale should be thereinto affixed.

"M<sup>r</sup> Deputy acquaintinge the Court that the K<sup>t</sup> Marshall having been with M<sup>r</sup> Treas. gave him to understand that upon Monday morning fiftie of the persons to be transported for his Majesty should be at Bridewell, for the Company to make choyce of such as they thinke fit to present as fit to be sent; therefore moved that some might repaire thither at 8 of the Clock to meet ye K<sup>t</sup> Marshall about that business. Whereupon the Court have desired M<sup>r</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Wynstone, M<sup>r</sup> Camminge, M<sup>r</sup> Cranmore, and M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Mellinge to bet here at that time"

Stith, in his *History of Virginia*, written more than a century ago, indignantly commenting on the above transaction, remarked: "The custom of transporting loose and dissolute persons to Virginia, as a place of punishment and disgrace, which although originally designed for the advancement and increase of the Colony, yet has certainly proved a great prejudice and hinderance to its growth. For it hath laid one of the finest countries in British America, under the unjust scandal of being a mere Hell upon Earth, another Siberia, and only fit for the reception of malefactors and the vilest of the people. So that few people, at least few large bodies of people, have been induced willingly to transport themselves to such a place, and our younger Sisters, the Northern Colonies, have profited there by. For this is one cause that they have outstripped us so much in the number of their inhabitants, and in the goodness and frequency of their cities and towns."

E. D. N.

## V.—THE CONQUEST OF CANADA.

BY GENERAL J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

In 1865, there appeared in London, a work, by a member of the Parliament, VISCOUNT BURY, entitled the *Exodus of the Western Nations*, which is well worthy the attention of every student of American History, inasmuch as it contains a great many facts which are new to us, in regard to the Wars between France and England, that ended in the conquest of Canada, or, at all events, it places those facts which were previously known to us, in a newer or a clearer light.

The Conquest of Canada was a momentous epoch in our history since, by relieving the thirteen Colonies from all immediate danger from the French, it destroyed the necessity of British assistance in preserving and developing them. As soon as the present and pressing peril from an enemy on this Continent was removed, the tie with the Mother Country became so weakened that the predictions of French Military Men and Statesmen were realized; and their defeat quickly led to the renunciation of the British authorities by the Colonies.

In 1754, on the fourth of July, a curious coincidence of dates, Washington evacuated Fort Necessity—an act which relinquished the vallies of the Ohio and Mississippi to the French; yet, within fifteen years, in 1765, this prophecy of the French leaders had already received its accomplishment, although it did not become an acknowledged fact until eleven years afterward, on the fourth of July, 1776, in the Declaration of Independence. Within a quarter of a century from the period when no other standard but that of France floated along our whole northern and western frontiers, from the Laurentian to the Mexican Gulf, the Americans had not only declared but achieved their liberation.

Since the student has refused to be content with general assertions, and has evinced a determination to analyze results and trace them back to their original causes, the close American investigator, of this generation, must go much farther back than 1759—the era of Wolfe's conquest of Canada and that of the relief of the Colonies from farther fear of the French—to discover the original causes of our Revolution. One of the germs was shown in the Declaration or Recognition of Rights embraced in the capitulation of the New Netherlands, now New York, and in the negotiations growing out of the same, about a century previous to the triumph of Wolfe. Another event, pregnant with mischief to the Crown, was the project formed and partially carried out by Leisler, of assembling a Congress at Albany, in 1690. Events, generally, were ripening with the lapse of every

year, when the conquest of Louisburg, on the seventeenth of June, 1745—due to a merchant of Boston—and the surrender of the strongest Fortress in North America, to an undisciplined army of Americans, taught the Colonists what they, of themselves, might hope to accomplish; and it should have taught the British Government the extreme peril of rousing up such a population against the British rule,—a population which had shown that, before its exquisite common sense or business tact, homely valor, and every-day training, veteran troops, the finest specimen of engineering, and a numerous artillery had proved mere transient obstacles. Like Spinola, the great Spanish General, Pepperell had only studied the art of War in theory; and he actually dismounted from his counting-house stool to mount, first, his horse, as a military chieftain, and then, the deck of an Admiral-transport as its Commander.

Viscount Bury has presented the portion of our history that revolves about the capture of Louisburg, with such clearness and ability, that the reader will welcome a quotation from his interesting volumes.

"Two or three years before, (1741) Belcher, the Governor of Massachusetts, had been superseded by William Shirley. The new Governor found the treasury empty; Castle William, the key of the Province, defenceless; the garrisons ready to desert; the civil officers starving. It required talents of no ordinary kind to restore order amidst such confusion; yet Shirley was a man of clear sight and calm determination. He perceived that it was useless to fight the up-hill game which had been played by his predecessors, of opposition to the Colonial Assembly, unless he was supported by the force at the command of England, as well as by the empty expression of the commands and wishes of Parliament. He well knew that he could not hope for that support; and he therefore determined to temporize with a power that he was unable to overcome. It is no slight mark of talent, that for four or five years, in a Government where, to use his own expression, 'Shute quitted the charge, Burnet broke his heart, and Belcher failed in the midst of his countrymen,' he managed to please both the Home Government and the Assembly; to obtain rewards and honors from the King, and an ample salary from the New Englanders. Shirley at once saw the extent of the danger which threatened the English possessions. The population of Acadia, about sixteen thousand in number, were all of French origin; they had been ceded to England, at the Peace of Utrecht; and had most unwillingly transferred their allegiance.

"It was evident that a general rising of this hardy population would be sufficient to drive out the English and restore the whole of Acadia to France. Shirley sent at once to solicit aid from home, and to describe the nature of his peril; but the emergency did not admit of delay—that Autumn, the Cansean garrison, who had passed the Summer in captivity at Louisburg, were sent to Boston on parole. They brought accurate accounts of that supposed impregnable fortress; and experienced soldiers among them gave it as their opinion that it might be taken. If once Louisburg were in the hands of the English, the French, deprived of their base of operations, would be no longer formidable in Acadia; and England would be in possession of a post, at the very entrance of the St. Lawrence, where the communications of Canada with France could be easily threatened. Shirley resolved not to wait for the answer from home, but to propose to the Assemblies of the New England Provinces, an expedition on their own responsibility. The proposal was not at first favorably received. In the Massachusetts Assembly, the vote passed by a majority of one; but the other New England Provinces threw themselves into the plan with considerable energy; and New York and Pennsylvania sent a small supply of artillery and stores. New England alone furnished men, of whom Connecticut raised five hundred and sixteen, New Hampshire three hundred and four, and Massachusetts upwards of three thousand. Three hundred men, who started from Rhode Island, were too late for active service. Pepperell, a merchant 'who,' as Chalmers says, 'had counted fortune too diligently to find leisure to study the art of War,' but who, nevertheless, showed himself made of good stuff when the pinch came, was made Commander-in-chief. The expedition was almost ruined at the outset by absurd disputes about precedence; every Colony which, in any way, contributed to the expedition, insisted on issuing a separate Commission to its officers, quite forgetting that the expedition was destined for operations beyond the limits of the Colonies, and indeed of the Empire. Each Colony likewise insisted on sending Commissioners with the expedition, to receive and account for the money which it voted. While all the Colonies thus carefully guarded their own position, and refused to yield to any one, even the appearance of authority, Shirley had the address to convince the Minister, at home, that he had contrived the plan, directed the execution, and secured its final success. \* \* \*

"Pepperell had made himself thoroughly acquainted with all details relative to the fortress



"he was about to attack. After the capture of Annapolis, the French had devoted considerable attention to strengthening the naturally formidable defences of Louisburg, with a view to compensate, in some measure, for the loss of Port Royal, by establishing a strong position at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The climate of Cape Breton was foggy and inhospitable; few regular inhabitants dwelt there, although the French Governors had done their utmost to attract thither the French population of Acadia; the town and fortifications of Louisburg, which had become the centre of the Cod-fishery, alone boasted any considerable number of inhabitants. There were a few stations, the chief of which were at St. Peter's, at St. Anne's, and at Spanish Bay, to which fishermen resorted in the Summer; but in the Winter, even these scattered inhabitants returned to their families in France. Some scanty supply of that coal, which is no doubt destined to make Nova Scotia one of the richest nations of the world, had already been found there, but no mining operations of any importance had been begun. The environs of Louisburg were almost entirely uninhabited; the fishermen lived in the most squalid misery, and were almost without the common necessities of life; and Louisburg itself contained about two thousand four hundred inhabitants, part of whom were Canadians, and part emigrants from France. There were also among them large members of *Engagés*, hired or kidnapped on the coast of Normandy and sold for a limited term of service. Every Captain of a vessel going to Cape Breton was bound to convey thither a certain number of these men. The fortifications, though by no means impregnable, as the French Engineers declared, were of considerable importance; the walls, raised on a neck of land at the mouth of the harbor, were forty feet in thickness and of considerable height. They were mounted with a hundred and twenty cannons, seventy-six swivels, and some mortars. The harbor was defended by an island battery of thirty-two guns, which were then looked upon as of large calibre, and by a battery, on the shore, which mounted thirty large cannons, and was surrounded by a formidable moat. Such were the defences which the New England men determined to attack.

"When all was ready, Shirley wrote to the English Government to announce that the Plantations had resolved upon commencing operations without waiting for the reinforcements which they confidently expected from home; he added that 'the New England Volunteers would be re-inforced by a large number of hardy fishermen whom the French had

"driven off the Newfoundland Banks; and that he had written, without success, to solicit the co-operation of Admiral Warren, then in command on the West India Station, who, after consulting with his officers, declined to have anything to do with the enterprise.'

"The Duke of Bedford, who afterwards succeeded Newcastle as Secretary of State for the Southern Department, was at the head of the Admiralty. He ordered Admiral Warren, then with his fleet at Antigua, to co-operate with the American Militia. Pepperell had time to communicate with Warren, before his own preparations were complete, and to arrange that the whole force should rendezvous off the coast, in the immediate vicinity of Louisburg, at a certain day and hour; that they should wait for night, land under cover of the darkness; march through thicket and bog to the City; and take the fortress and the royal battery, by surprise, at daybreak. The Volunteers, to whom this hazardous enterprise was entrusted, were composed of seemingly most unwarlike materials; but they were brave and hardy. They were composed of Fishermen, from the Great Banks, Lumberers, to whom the axe and rifle were equally familiar, and Farmers, from the interior, who had passed their days in scouting and Indian fighting. Such a force, however much it might lack the discipline necessary for a regular siege, possessed, in a high degree, the qualities necessary for a desperate assault. The force arrived off Louisburg in high health and spirits. Covered by the Squadron of Warren, the attacking force crowded into the whale-boats and made good their landing, driving back the troops of France into the woods. Next day, a detachment of four hundred men, under William Vaughan, a volunteer from New Hampshire, marched round the town and, with wild cheers, attacked the Royal Battery. The French spiked their guns and made their escape into the fortress. Then the *abnormal* composition of the besieging force stood them in good stead. The Major of one New England Regiment was a *gun-smith*: under his directions, a party of smiths was detailed, who re-bored the spiked guns of the French and turned them on the late defenders of the works. The Colonel of another Regiment was a Carpenter. He designed sledges on which the hardy fishermen dragged their guns over the morass that surrounded the town; and opened fire in alarming proximity to the works. The Volunteers laughed at zigzags, parallels, and approaches according to the art of War. Every night, new parties enlisted, Indian fashion, under a chief of their own selection, and attempted,

"sometimes an assault, sometimes a surprise. The harassed garrisons became mutinous; supplies sent from France by a ship of the line were taken, ship and all, in sight of the batteries. The Governor sent a flag of truce; and on the seventeenth of June, 1745, the strongest fortress in North America surrendered to an undisciplined army of Americans. The news of their success was received with great rejoicings in England; it was by far the most considerable operation of the War. It came more opportunely because it was exactly contemporary with a great disaster."

The defeat of Braddock, in 1755, did not tend to restore confidence in Regular Troops, and a professional leader, already so rudely shaken by the great Militia triumph of 1745. And, then, when investigation revealed the astounding truth that what had been saved in the Monongahela Expedition against Fort Du Quesne, had been saved by Provincial Volunteers, and that if the counsels of their leader, Washington, had been listened to, the great disaster might have been averted, it was not likely that the arrogant assumption of paid or Regular soldiers would be deferred to, ever again, with unquestioning reverence and obedience.

While thus and then the military authority was reeling with the shock and counter-shock of Louisburg, in 1745, and Du Quesne, in 1755, Providence vouchsafed another success to a Provincial leader—a New Yorker, William Johnson, created for this success a Knight-baronet—and to Provincial troops, principally New Yorkers, a victory achieved, over a distinguished Major-general, Baron Dieskau, designated for his command by one of the great war-spirits of a warlike age, Marshal Count Saxe, and a veteran soldiery. This exploit ought to have occasioned, as it did, an almost total want of confidence in that British home military organization to which the untried had looked up as the palladium of the State. The event alluded to is the victory at Crown Point, due to the ability and influence of Sir William Johnson, the father of the Sir John Johnson who commanded against the Americans, at Oriskany. This was in 1755; and will receive, hereafter, the consideration which it merits.

Thus, step by step, the inhabitants of the Northern Colonies were advancing to the knowledge of their power and their superiority, man for man, over the mere professional soldier. Then came the conquest of Quebec by Wolfe, in 1759—one of those men who rise to overturn all stereotyped rules of procedure, and to justify the selection of a minister who trampled under foot all the principles, privileges, traditions, and rules

which a military, and indeed every other, hierarchy, deem sacred and seek to maintain inviolable. The magnates, in crimson and gold lace, and their dependents raised an awful chorus and anti-chorus when they saw Wolfe promoted over their heads and elevated at their expense. "The man is mad" was the burthen of their howl against him. Pitt did not deign to excuse his choice, except by a sarcasm: "If Wolfe is mad, I wish he would bite the rest of the army."

It is a very curious fact that while Pitt evinced such consummate judgment in his selection of the man to command the most important part of the combined operations, his plan of the campaign (if he is indeed responsible for it) was by no means equal in sagacity to his selection of an individual to execute his will. Still this merely goes to prove, once more, that it requires an almost boundless combination of qualities to make up the "great Captain;" and while a von Moltke may excel in strategy, it requires a Frederic to develop the power of tactics in carrying out that strategy under every disadvantage, and in bringing it to a successful issue, in spite of every obstacle, after a seven years struggle against decuple odds; or, to state the unchanging and unchangeable proposition in other words, the laws of strategy are as immutable as the mountains, whereas the rules of tactics must accommodate themselves to human progress, and alter in accordance with its development. Practical strategy is that combination of the intuitive comprehension of strategy and that marvelous common sense of tactical execution, which, while keeping up with the times in the manipulations of the means, uses them so deftly through the permeation of soldierly instinct—the gift of nature—an instinct which is nothing more nor less than inspiration.

It is very remarkable that while Burgoyne's plan for the combined Campaign of 1777, was perfectly elegant in its conception, and only failed through the absolute want of energy displayed by the originator, in the execution of his own ideas—not by any means that those who were to co-operate did much if any better—Pitt's plan for the combined Campaign of 1759, inherently weak, became strong and successful, almost beyond hope, through the extraordinary strength of mind of an individual, whom the weaklings, deemed wise by men run in the same mould and born to slide in the same groove, esteemed "a mad man."

The traveller in Lower Canada, who now visits the scenes of Wolfe's immortal exploits of more than one hundred and ten years since, would scarcely recognize in the scenes so transmuted by the vandalism of civilization, the savage significance of that parallelogram of tenniles by four, which constituted the stage of a military drama that changed the destinies of a Continent.

\* Bury, ii, 178-185.



The Falls of Mont Morenci, unequalled in their peculiar, exquisite beauty, still precipitate themselves one sheet of living, silver frostwork, into the same dark abyss as when Wolfe made his first assault and failed, under their canopy of spray and amid their "rainbow glories." Then the vivid vesture of the forest clothed the steep rocks with nature's unchanging green, dipping its foliage into the eddying, darkling tide, where now vast piles of lumber so deform the scene that the unrivalled cataract can scarcely redeem its naked ugliness. On the lofty bluff of Point Levis, where Monckton established his camps and batteries, flanked towards the East by the main branch of the St. Lawrence and towards the West by the river of Etchemius, down the latter of which the trader floated his canoes freighted with the peltries of Acadia, a suburb has grown up, noisy with the whistle and snort of the locomotive which connects the waters of the St. Lawrence with the far distant surf of Saco Bay; and, in the rear, on the crest, where the ground sinks to the vast plain or flat, bounded far southwards by the first elevations of the mighty chain (the Alleghanies) which divide the half-democratic, half-aristocratic new "Dominion" from the republican State of Maine; a trinity of forts are rising, with connecting lines and ditches blasted out of the solid rock, whose *shaving* fire is calculated to mow down any aggressive attempt of the United States, as a razor removes the thick stubble of a manly beard.

On the opposite, the northern shore, the Plains of Abraham, which then presented an unobstructed stage for one of the most brilliant phases of a drama which embraced a century in the vast extent of its rapidly shifting scenes;—a drama replete with glorious exhibitions of gallantry, intermingled with episodes of barbarian carnage unworthy of the Cross emblazoned in the blue field of England's battle-flag and of the lily, emblem of the Trinity, embroidered on the spotless white of France's standard. Villas, villages, public establishments, cottages, martello-towers and betterments have sprung, up into the thickness almost of a sparsely-settled suburb. How Montcalm, a good soldier, an experienced General, a profound statesman, could commit the inexcusable error of ignoring the advantages of his citadel and fortifications—at that time, almost, and as they proved in English hands, impregnable—and issue forth into the open plain, to offer battle, under every disadvantage, to a foe superior in everything which could yield superiority in the present, and inferior in everything which would constitute inferiority in the near future, can only be explained by the suggestion of Viscount Bury, for the first time presented by him, that the Military Commander was goaded into such a precipitate inconsiderateness of his duty

and soldiership by an imputation, hurled at him by De Vaudreuil, the Civil Governor—an imputation aspersing his personal bravery. Such a wicked taunt, so often spit forth by civilians against warriors, has spurred them on to the rash sacrifice of their own lives and those of their best troops; both thereby sacrificed, to the everlasting ruin of the Captain's own fame and the immediate shipwreck of the interests entrusted by a country confiding in the skill and calmness thus woefully falsified.

It is well known, or should be, that Wolfe's first attempt against Quebec from below, from the North-east, and at the foot of the falls of Mont Morenci, failed. It did not succeed for the very reason that due attention was not paid to *Time* and combinations entirely dependent on minutes for their success. The assaults were dislocated: the supports not in hand. Wolfe's attack ought not to have succeeded, because the French position was a type of that on Bunker's or Breed's-hill; and marksmen, sheltered and comparatively out of danger, took deliberate aim against regulars advancing, more or less massed and without cover. Every shot told. The British loss was very heavy. Then the supports, behind-hand, were caught by the ebbing tide. Valor was of no avail. The invader was decidedly worsted. Whispers were even circulated that the expedition had failed; that the campaign, like many a preceding one, must be abandoned. Despondency, as usual, took possession of the minds of many, at first most confident. Wolfe was unshaken: he saw his mistake.

Even so poor Braddock, dying, seemed to realize his errors. In the dawn of another state of being, his soldierly instincts, purified of prejudice and presumption, at length saw clearly, "We must try it over again," were his last words; "we will do better next time." There is more similarity between the fights of Mont Morenci, on the St. Lawrence, and of Duquesne, on the Monongahela, then are apparent to superficial investigation. The causes of both defeats were identical. The same mistakes were committed over and over again, in the French Wars. So, too, in the case of Ticonderoga, in 1757, where Lord Howe fell, and the flower of the British army. In every case, regular troops, in disciplined order, plunged into an ambush beset with deadly shots, and suffered fearful slaughter. Wolfe did not require a second lesson.

And, yet, notwithstanding all the over-praise which has been lavished on Wolfe and the praise really due and justly accorded to him, he was not a great General, but he was a very great man. He possessed, in a transcendent degree, the moral courage which will not see defeat in reverse; and out of the nettle danger, he showed he could pluck the flower safety.



How often has it been said that "Councils of War do not fight." This opinion, indeed, borne out by so many lamentable examples, has passed into a military axiom.

It was not so before Quebec, on the St. Lawrence, in 1759. This defeat, at Mont Morenci—a defeat owing as much to his own defective plan as to the shortcomings of his subordinates—prostrated Wolfe's feeble frame, but did not bow his strong determination. While he lay sick, his three Brigadiers—worthy to be the Lieutenants of such a commander—were on the alert. They reconnoitered, they reflected, and, between them, they conceived the daring plan which eventuated in the escalade of the Heights of Abraham. They submitted it to Wolfe. He endorsed it; and it was his practical ability which carried it out, successfully, and made it his own. Nevertheless, in magnanimity, he was not ahead of his time. The miseries of War received but little alleviation at his hands. The devastations committed by his army were awful: fourteen hundred habitations in one District; wholesale destruction of improvements, crops, and fruit-bearing vegetation, over an extent of nearly one hundred miles on both sides of the St. Lawrence. This was equivalent to blotting out the settlements and restoring them to the wilderness. These blows fell most heavily upon the non-combatants, and doomed them to perish; since, without shelter and food, who could resist a Canadian Winter, already close at hand, and starvation, already impending before his arrival? Considering the region, the climate, and the period, Turenne's devastation of the Palatinate was not as barbarous; and Sheridan's chastisement of the Shenandoah Valley was the excision of a trifling tumor as compared with a mortal wound.

There is no doubt that Wolfe was impelled to such severity by his knowledge that he could not afford to lose time; and he hoped that the torch and the axe would hurry events. In very fact, the season, short enough at best, was passing. Time was fleeting. With reflection came solution: Wolfe's resolve was taken. If Quebec was unattackable from below, he must try it from above. The fleet passed up beyond the town. In the darksome night, with the flood-tide, the boats loaded with troops, impelled with muffled oars, drifted and were rowed towards the point of destination, a little to the West, above the citadel. No man could have even cooler than Wolfe, under these momentous circumstances. If it is well known how he repeated Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, and, according to tradition, expressed the idea that he would rather have been the author of that poem than be the victor in the impending battle. The writer doubts the statement: not even "the mad General" would have exchanged the laurels of a conqueror, after such a contest as he

anticipated, for the bays of Homer. At all events, Wolfe's selection of these verses were like the ill-omened stave which burst from the lips of the Royal scold, Harold Hadrada, before the battle of York, in which he fell. For Wolfe, "the path of glory" did lead "but to the grave."

The morning broke: the British Army had crowned the Heights and stood drawn up, in battle array, upon the Plains of Abraham. Montcalm could not believe his eyes. Then it was, that the French General took that terrible resolution to issue forth from his impregnable defences; forego every advantage; and accept the offered battle, in the open field. It was an act of madness, one of those fits of apparent insanity, which often overcome the bravest, especially if the Civil Commander, de Vaudreuil, who abandoned the field, precipitately, when his own turn came to show decision, cast an imputation upon the personal courage of the veteran and elegant soldier. There must have been, however, other reasons. Montcalm was no rash fool. He was extremely short of provisions; ammunition was equally scarce. There were no hopes of supplies from any quarter. His Provincial or Canadian levies deserted, in spite of the lash and the halter, both applied without mercy. They could not stand to their arms and see their families perish amid the standing crops only awaiting the sickle and the garner. Montcalm had actually been compelled to disband two thousand Militia, to harvest the grain if he would not succumb to famine, even if should overcome the foe. It is most likely that Montcalm knew that triumph was as much a question of time as dependent upon trial by battle. If he defeated Wolfe, then and there, Canada might be preserved. If he permitted Wolfe to besiege Quebec, its fall was only deferred. It must yield in the end to famine. Montcalm's course of action has been styled "incredible rashness." Had he beaten Wolfe it would have been blazoned as intrepid sagacity. When the English army was first pointed out to him, on the Plains of Abraham, he said, "Yes, I see them where they ought not to be." Afterwards, upon reflection, he added, "If we must fight, I will crush them." Doubtless he hoped that an audacious exhibition of his accustomed or attributed military skill would accomplish this. General Cust justifies Montcalm, and declares that Montcalm delivered the battle because "he saw nothing but a battle could save Quebec."

Never, perhaps, in the war-pictures of modern times, had two more picturesque lines of battle been opposed to each other. Even as it was said, when the Grecian Phalanx appeared, the plain seemed to blaze with crimson and burnished brass, even so the greater part of the British line was resplendent in crimson and

gold. Garneau (ii, 27) refers to their "showy" costume as contrasting strangely with the "light capotes of the Canadians, girt round "the loins." On the right, were the Highlanders, in their wild but elegant costume, swaying, with every motion of the wearer. The British numbered four thousand, eight hundred, and twenty-eight men,\* all trained foot. They had but one or two light pieces of artillery. The French left was composed of Canadians and Indians—the first in a peculiarly picturesque costume; the second striking, in their hideous paint and barbarous war panoply. The French were formed in three columns, clad in the showy white, richly-laced blue, and ornamented red, amid the quaint hue and queer capotes of the Provincial Militia. The French brought out with them three small field-pieces, and numbered seven thousand, five hundred, and twenty men, besides Indians. Of these, three thousand, four hundred were Provincial Sharpshooters and Militia,—not very bad light troops, however, although they have been so stigmatized to excuse defeat, which more than one stern military critic ascribe to the faults of the General, rather than the inferiority or backwardness of his soldiers. A scattering skirmish-fire occurred about six in the morning; and the artillery began a truly murderous work, between eight and nine. About ten o'clock, the battle joined in earnest—the French advancing in three columns, preceded and covered by clouds of skirmishers, whose deadly fire cost the English the lives of many of their best officers. In fifteen minutes after the British line delivered its fire, at forty yards or paces, upon the advancing French, the fighting may be said to have been over. Never, it is asserted, on any other field, did British Infantry deliver a more murderous volley. It reduced the assailing Battalions to mere groups. Standing amid piles and swathes of prostrate dead and wounded, Montcalm strove to reform or rather rally his Regulars; and fell, mortally wounded, in the futile attempt. The Highlanders, with their claymores, supplied the place of Cavalry and their sabres; and fell upon the broken ranks. Then all was rout among the French, who, for the most part, streamed back into Quebec and across the St. Charles, so closely followed up that the pursuit

was only checked by the grape-shot of the artillery on the ramparts.

The Canadian Militia are branded, in mass, as runaways. This does not appear to be true. Some of them kept the field to the last, skirmishing effectively, after the Regulars were entirely routed; and it required a sharp struggle, like an epilogue to a tragedy, to dispose of the calumniated Provincials.\* Then came the farce: de Brungamville now appeared on the field, with a formidable corps of fifteen hundred troops, of whom a large proportion were picked men, Grenadiers and Light-infantry, besides three hundred and fifty Cavalry, who, if they had been good for anything and well handled, ought to have reversed the result, since of the four thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight British, five hundred and fifty-five had been killed, and six hundred and

\* It has become the rule to ascribe Montcalm's defeat to the misbehavior and cowardice of his Provincial troops. A close examination of the facts does not bear out the charge. The reader must keep in mind that this judgment is founded on the report of regular officers, many of whom had served in the Wars against the Camisards or Protestants of the Cevennes, and had been roughly handled by the irregular native militia of Languedoc. One of Montcalm's subordinates, La Jonquiere, had suffered a tremendous defeat at Devos de Martmarques, 1702, at the hands of the Baker's apprentice, John Cavalier, one of Nature's great Captains, who captured his magnificent war-horse, and was afterwards recognized riding him at Almanza, 1707. De Levis has likewise made his reputation in the same Civil War; and Montcalm himself was born at Miens, when Cavalier dictated terms—treating with the arrogant Louis XIV, through the magnificent Valloin—as equal with equal. Such men could not do justice to the people. They forgot that it was hardly to be expected that *farmers* could render the same service in a protracted campaign as regulars—consumers—without family ties, when those tillers of the soil, producers, knew that their wives and families were starving, and their property going to ruin through their prolonged absence. M. de Beaubien, Governor-general, demanded nothing but "arms and munitions of War." He said, "I can trust to the valor of the Canadians." This was in 1762. Duquesne, recommended by the great M. de Gallesoniere, and descended from the greater Duquesne, said that the Canadian "became obedient but spirited Soldiers." In the next year, in the action against Washington, "the Canadians" fought with so much ardor, they silenced the nine pieces "of British cannon with their musketry alone; and after a "struggle of ten hours duration, they obliged the enemy to "capitulate to be spared an assault." This victory was the first scene of the first act of the great war drama which lasted twenty-nine years. In 1755, the Canadian Provincials evinced "a living example of perfect devotedness." Minot, in his *Continuation of the History of Massachusetts Bay*, quoted by Bell and Garneau, terms them "the ever "terrible Canadians;" and asserts that it was their constancy and valor which deterred Sir William Johnson from prosecuting his advance upon Montreal, after his victory on Lake George, in 1755, over the French regulars under Dieskau. Such was almost invariably the case, wherever the Regulars, fighting methodically, encountered the Provincials, fighting according to their peculiar tactics. The former, whether English or French, always got the worst of it. It was only when the Colonial troops forgot themselves and undertook to play the part of Regulars, for which they were totally unfitted by habits and education, that they came to grief. Unrivalled as marksmen, they yielded up every advantage when they undertook to encounter regulars in the open field. The discipline told, and indiscipline, however brave individually, got the worst of it.

\* These are the estimates of Major Warhanton, (p. 257.) Viscount Bury, (ii, 295.) Roger, (i, 55.) British, four thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight; French, seven thousand five hundred and twenty, besides Indians. Garneau says (ii, 38.) British, eight thousand two hundred and four; French, four thousand five hundred; but even the French writer admits Montcalm had at hand as many more if he had chosen to wait or bring them up. The official Report examined does not give numbers, only the Regiments and smaller independent bodies; likewise General Cust and other works examined.



seven wounded; and almost all were scattered and fagged out. The French loss was fully fifteen hundred. Montcalm's successor recoiled before the resolute attitude of the victorious British; retreated precipitately; and did not halt until he reached Cape Rouge, nine miles above Quebec; and de Vaudreuil, who had still fifteen hundred more troops below Quebec, and had been so free with his taunts against the impetuous or rash, but gallant, Montcalm, abandoned everything and fled to Jacques Cartier. Thus less than five thousand British may be said to have dissipated double their numbers, operating on their own soil, defending their own homes and religion, and protected by the, then, strongest fortress in the new world.

But what of Wolfe? Thrice wounded, first in the wrist, second, in the groin, third, in the breast, he died, like Nelson at Trafalgar, in the moment of victory. He lived to see victory assured. The mist of death had already obscured his sight; and he was striving to wipe them away with his unwounded hand, when Lieutenant Brown of the Grenadier Company of the Twenty-second, who was assisting his General, exclaimed, "See! they run." "Who run?" demanded Wolfe. "The enemy, (the French,) Sir. They give way everywhere." Then it was Wolfe showed himself the superior Commander, even in his death throes. No writer, no biographer, no military critic, has ever dwelt with sufficient emphasis on the last words uttered by this remarkable young General, of thirty-four years of age, racked with the pain of triple wounds, one received early in the action. Faint with loss of blood, worn out with labor of brain and body, his mind was still as clear as his dying Order: "Go, one of you, to Colonel Burton: tell him to march Webbe's Regiment" [*the Forty-eighth*,] "with all speed, down to the St. Charles River, to cut off the retreat." Then, as if he felt his every duty had been fulfilled, and that his work was complete, he added feebly, but distinctly, "Now, God be praised, I die happy."

On the evening of the ensuing day, Montcalm also expired. He had fallen like a soldier, striving to rally a body of Canadians, or hold them up to their work, near St. John's-gate. He died like a man and a Christian. While Wolfe was buried with every honor which a grateful country could bestow, Montcalm was laid to rest in a hole or furrow, scooped or ploughed out by a British shell, along the wall of the Ursuline Chapel; and scarcely a decent inscription records the place of his eternal rest.\* He has left behind him the reputation of a brave soldier; but two blots rest upon his name—the

massacre at Fort Oswego, in 1756,\* and at Fort William Henry, in 1757,—the last the most inexcusable of all similar atrocities which grew out of the employment of savages as auxiliaries. This is undeniably so, since Montcalm had more than a sufficient number of Regular troops to restrain their ferocity. None of the attempted explanations or excuses are of the least avail.

Late on the evening of the fourteenth of September, Montcalm also died. When his wound was first examined, he asked the Surgeon if it was mortal; and being answered that it was, he said, "I am glad of it; how long can I survive?" "Perhaps a day; perhaps less;" replied the Surgeon. "So much the better," rejoined Montcalm, "I shall not live to see the 'surrender of Quebec.'" When his wound was dressed, M. de Ramsay, the Governor of the City, visited him, and desired to receive his commands for the defence; but he refused to occupy himself any longer with worldly affairs: "My time is very short," continued he, "so pray leave me. I wish you all comfort, and to be happily extricated from your present perplexities." He then called for his Chaplain, who, with the Bishop of the Colony, administered the last offices of religion, and remained with him till he expired.

An officer of the Forty-third Regiment, whose carefully-kept journal furnishes much valuable information on the subject of this Campaign, states that Montcalm paid the English Army the following compliment after the battle: "Since it was my misfortune to be discomfited and mortally wounded, it is a great consolation to me to be vanquished by so great and generous an enemy. If I could survive this wound, I would engage to beat three times the number of such forces as I commanded this morning, with a third of their number of British troops."†

On the other hand, the career of Wolfe was not without a stain—his ravages of the Laurentian shores already dwelt upon. Nevertheless, few men present so bright a record. His was a character worthy to be studied. His mistakes were the errors of temperament, which, if he could have infused his temperament into others, that very temperament carried the remedies with it. Neither English nor American should ever forget, that amid all the blunderings of delays of English Generals, Wolfe was the one through whose energetic capabilities the two strongest fortresses, Louisburg and Quebec, in French America, were taken. Their capture alone rendered the Declaration of Independ-

\* Warburton, 168.

† *The Conquest of Canada*, by Major George Warburton, 261.

\* Bell and Garneau's *Canada*, ii, 42.



ance a possibility. With France girdling the Colonies, and menacing them from Quebec to Pittsburg, and thence through the bravest tribes of Indians to the Gulf of Mexico, they would never have dared to develop the spirit of revolt nor throw down the gauntlet to Great Britain.

J. W. DE P.

[NOTE.]

The plan which had nearly succeeded in the preceding year, was again adopted. Amherst, the Commander-in-chief, with the main body of the Army in America, was to advance from his cantonments at Crown Point, and to fight his way to Montreal. Stanwix, with a force of manageable size, was to start from Pittsburg, and take possession of the line of posts between the Ohio and the Niagara which was still held by d'Audry for the French. General Prideaux was to advance through the woods, take Fort Niagara by storm, and then proceed with his force, northwards, across Lake Ontario and down the St. Lawrence to Quebec, joining, as he passed Montreal, the main body of Amherst's Army. Wolfe was to leave Louisburg, as soon as the breaking up of the ice would permit the fleet to move, and operate directly, by land and water, against the fortifications of Quebec.

It was well observed by Lord Macaulay, that in many of the expeditions planned by Pitt, there was no evidence of profound or dexterous combination. The warmest admirers of that great statesman's genius will admit that, in the instance of the Canadian Campaign, the allegation was true. Great masters of the art of War—Marlborough, Napoleon, Wellington—have held it as an invariable axiom, that the great efforts of a General should be directed, first, to discover the weak point of an enemy's line; and then to attack that weak point with an overwhelming force. Pitt's plan for the Canadian Campaign was just the reverse of this. Canada had three strong points upon her frontier—Crown Point, which gave her the command of Lake Champlain and the Hudson, and with them easy access to the heart of New York; Niagara, which commanded the route to the South and the West, and afforded a starting-place for the great Western fur-trade and a base of operations whence the military-road, through Le Boeuf, Venango, and Pittsburg passed to the Mississippi and Louisiana; and, lastly, Quebec, the strongest natural fortress, except Gibraltar, in the world. One point on the Canadian frontier was particularly weak—defenceless, indeed, if Crown Point were once lost—namely, the place where Richelieu-river falls into the St. Lawrence, at Montreal. The latter town had no defences and presented no facilities for defence. The district around it was the most highly-cultivated and thickly-settled part of Canada: if once the English were in possession of Lake Champlain, they would have, by way of the Hudson, the Lake, and the Richelieu, a broad and smooth highway into Canada. With Louisburg in the hands of English soldiers and covered by an English fleet, Quebec, cut off from the fertile country above it and from all access with France, would soon have been starved into a surrender. Instead of this obvious plan, a plan which Montcalm, who knew better than any other the weak points in his armour, thought would certainly be adopted,\* Pitt desired that the English forces should be divided into three; that each Division should be detached against one of the strongest points on the enemy's line, and trust to the doubtful event of victory at all points and delay at none, for the possibility of ever effecting its junction with the rest. The scheme has the merit of boldness and the double merit of success; but it may well be doubted whether Quebec would have fallen in 1759, if Amherst had been in the place of Wolfe.

In the early Summer, Admiral Saunders, with Wolfe on board his fleet, made his way out of Louisburg, and arrived, without accident, at the Island of Orleans, in the river, below Quebec.

The first blow was struck on the Niagara frontier, General Prideaux advanced on the Fort, which was held by Pouchat with six hundred men. The defences were now very

different from the simple palisade which had been made in the early days of the Colony by La Salle, or from the stockade which had been built on the ruins of La Salle's post, by Denonville. Prideaux found himself obliged to open trenches and invest the place in regular form. The besieged conducted themselves with great bravery: repeated sorties were made with a view to raise the siege; but Prideaux's forces were too numerous to be repelled, and even the death of the English General, which occurred by the bursting of a mortar in the trenches, did but devolve the command on an officer still more able and energetic, Sir William Johnson. On the day of the siege, news came to Pouchat that help was at hand—M. d'Audry having assembled a force of one thousand two hundred men from Le Boeuf and Venango. A desperate fight took place in the woods, between a portion of the besiegers and the relieving force, aided by a gallant sortie of the garrison, but it was in vain; Pouchat was at last obliged to surrender, and to march out with his brave men, unarmed, as prisoners of war. The victory was so complete, that Brigadier Stanwix was able to execute his part of the combined operation, by taking possession of the line of posts from Pittsburg to Niagara, without opposition.—*Erosius of the Western Nations*, by Viscount Bury, M. P. London, 1855, li. 288—291.

## VI.—A NOTICE OF SOME MANUSCRIPTS IN CENTRAL AMERICAN LANGUAGES.

By DANIEL G. BRINTON, A.M., M.D.

From *The American Journal of Science and Arts*, March, 1869.

The natives of Yucatan and most of those who formerly inhabited the Provinces of Vera Paz, Chiapas, Guatemala, and Tabasco, spoke closely-related languages, the most prominent of which was the Maya, current on the peninsula. Its name has been applied generically to them all, and may thus be understood to include the Maya proper, or Yucateca, the Cakchiquel or Guatemalteca, the Quiche or Utlateca, the Tzutuhil or Ariteca, the Zahuapakah, the Pokome, the Tzotzil, the Mam, the Tzendal, supposed to be, or most nearly to resemble, the parent stem, and the Huasteca of Tamaulipas, which was shown by the authors of the *Mithridates*\* to be an offshoot of the Maya. These various dialects resemble each other, both in vocabularies and grammatical forms, as closely as the various Romanic tongues of modern Europe.

This linguistic family is of great interest for several reasons. It included the most highly civilized portions of the red race: their ruined cities are among the wonders of the New World: they had elaborated a phonetic alphabet far superior to the picture-writing of the Aztecs: they had a body of mythology and poetry of which some very respectable relics still exist: and what of civilization was found in ancient Anahuac is supposed by many to have been inspired by them: moreover, there is some philological ground to believe that the Natchez of Louisiana, the most cultivated aboriginal nation, North of Mexico, had a large infusion of their blood.

They have deservedly, therefore, attracted the

\* Assuredly the English will make an attack by Lakes St. Sacrament and Ontario. . . . The enemy's preparations are made, and absolutely speaking, they might make themselves masters of Canada by these two points.—*Memoirs on the Defence of Canada*, January, 1759.

\* *Mithridates oder Allgemeine Sprachenkunde*, Th. III, Abth. III, S. 15. Berlin, 1813.

especial attention of those given to the study of native American languages. Mr. E. G. Squier has published a *Monograph of Authors who have written on the Languages of Central America, and collected Vocabularies or composed works in the native dialects of that country* (New York, 1861); the Abbé E. C. Brasseur de Bourbourg has emphasized their importance; and, in his *Collection de documents dans les langues indigènes*, (Paris, 1862-64,) has laid before the world that most interesting Quiche document, the Popol Vuh; Count Francisco Pimentel has treated of them at considerable length in his work on the languages of Mexico; M. H. de Charencey, of Caen, has inserted several excellent essays upon them, in various scientific serials; while Dr. H. Berendt, of Tabasco, has collected a vast amount of material in the different dialects, which he expects to send to press on his return from the explorations, in Central America, in which he is now engaged.

In addition to the materials here indicated for a comparative study of this group, there are in the library of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, some manuscripts presented by Mariano Galvez, Governor of Guatemala, in 1836. They seem to have escaped the notice of scholars—their very existence there having been entirely unknown, even to Mr. Squier, of New York City, although he tells us, in the introduction to the above-mentioned monograph, that he had “given ten years of devotion to Central American subjects;” while not one of them is included in the more recent list of works given by Pimentel,\* nor in Ludewig’s *Literature of American Aboriginal Languages*. Some notice of them, therefore, will doubtless be welcome to “American-istes.”

The first I shall describe is a work on the Cholti dialect of the Maya, by Francisco Moran. It is a small quarto of ninety-two leaves. The first three pages contain a narrative in Spanish, difficult to decipher, by Thomas Murillo, a layman, touching the Missions, in 1689-92. Then comes one leaf, not numbered, with notes on the verso, in Cholti, nearly illegible. On the recto of the fourth leaf;—“Arte en lengua cholti que qui ere decir lengua de mil peros.” Thirty-two pages, in a clear hand, ornamented with scroll-work and pen-sketches of birds and grotesque animals. On page 35,—“Libro de lengua cholti que quiere decir lengua de milperos:” twenty-four pages, in a cramped but legible hand. At the end, the colophon: “Fin del arte q’ trae no. M. R.º P.º Frai Franº moran en un libro de quartilla grande alto, que enquaderno i Recogio de nuestros Religiosos i barias cosas [añadió], el

“R.º P.º Frai Alouzo de Triana; Requiescant in pace todos. Amen Jesus, Maria Joseph.”

A few notes on elegant phrases are added “que mi dio el P. Angel.”

This is a duplicate of the preceding *Arte*, differing from it, however, in several particulars, being more full and accurate. They both seem to be copies of the original of Moran, not the one of the other.

After the *Libro*, follow eight leaves of questions and answers at the confessional, etc., in Cholti. On p. 77 commences:—“Confessionario en lengua cholti, escrito en el pueº blo de san lucar salac de en chol, año de 1685:” three leaves, ending with a catchword, indicating that it is but a fragment.

The remaining leaves are occupied by a Vocabulary, Spanish and Cholti, chiefly on the rectos only. At the commencement, is the following marginal note:—“Todo el Vocabulario grande de no. M. R. P.º fr. franº moran esta tra Dusido en este libro, Por el ABesedario, i algunos bocablos mas.”

The colophon is,—“En este pueblo de lacan-dones llamado de Nta Señora de los dolores en 24 de Junio día de S.º Juan de 1695 años.”

We have here, therefore, two copies of the Grammar and one of the Vocabulary of the Dominican Missionary, Francisco Moran, referred to by Father Francisco Vasquez, in his *Cronica*, (1714), as written in the characters invented by the Franciscan friar, Francisco de la Parra, (about 1550), to express the five peculiar consonants of the Maya group of languages. These are modifications of *k*, *p*, *ch*, *t*, and *tz*.\* Both these copyists have, however, adopted Roman letters. Neither the original nor any other copies are known to exist, nor any other work in the Cholti dialect, though a certain Father Córdoba also wrote a Grammar of it.† It has even been uncertain whether the Cholti was an independent dialect. It is not mentioned at all in Ludewig’s *Literature of American Aboriginal Languages*; and Mr. Squier gives the title of Moran’s work, from Vasquez, thus: *Arte de la Lengua Cholti*, (*Chorti*?)‡

The Chorti, however, was spoken in Chiquimula and vicinity; while the Cholti, Chol, or Putum, was the dialect of the village of Belen, in Vera Paz, of parts of Chiapas, and generally of the eastern Lacandones, among the mountains, between the former Province and Guatemala. The name *chol*, means cornfield, in Mexican Spanish, *milpa*: and *ahcholob* or *cholti*, owners or cultiv-

\* I have also noticed the occasional use in these manuscripts of a peculiar vowel sound, represented by an *i*, with a diacritical mark beneath it.

† Pimentel, *Cuadro Descriptivo de las Lenguas Indígenas de Mexico*, T. II. p. 234. Córdoba is not mentioned by Mr. Squier.

‡ *Monograph of Authors, etc.*, 38.

\* *Cuadro Descriptivo de las Lenguas Indígenas de Mexico*, Tom. II. p. 124. Mexico, 1865.



ators of cornfields, *milperos*. From the short Vocabulary of Chorti, collected by Mr. Stevens, at Zacapa, it appears to be farther than the Cholti, from pure Maya.

The Grammar of Morau is succinct, clear, and comprehensive, and eminently deserves publication, together with selections from the Vocabulary. I have made a careful copy of it for my own use; and have found it of great service as illustrating certain points of growth in these idioms; for instance, with reference to the development of the personal pronouns, recently discussed in a scholarly essay, by M. de Charencey;\* and affording some additional illustration of the "vowel echo," *lecho vocalique* of the Maya dialects, to which the same writer has called attention, as analogous to the law of the harmonic sequence of vowels common in Scythian languages.†

The remaining manuscripts are in the Cakchiquel dialect, at one time, and even yet, much spoken and studied in Guatemala; and hence called Guatemalteca.

*Calepino* || *en lengua cakchi* || *quel por Fray Francis* || *co de Varea hijo de* || *esta S. Provincia del* || *SS. nombre de Jesus* || *de Religiosos de* || *N. P. S. Francisco de Goatemala* || *la*. A small quarto, one unnumbered leaf, two hundred and twenty-seven leaves paged; eleven unnumbered leaves of additions. Colophon at foot of page 453: "Acabase de escrevir y trasladar este bocabulario "yo fray fran<sup>co</sup> ceron, siendo guardián aunque "sine meritis deste convento de S. Pedro de la "laguna, oy dia catirse de enero del año del Señor de mil seyscientos y noventa y nueve, dia "del Dulcissimo nombre de Jesus Patron de nuestra S. Prov<sup>a</sup> de Gua.<sup>ta</sup> y en el tercer año del "Provincialato de N. M. R. P. fr. Juan Bautista."

The title is on the recto of the second leaf. On the recto of the first leaf is the form of absolution in Latin and Cakchiquel; on the verso, a note dated 1732, to the effect that the owner, a Priest, received this volume in payment for masses for the soul of its previous possessor, a certain Señor Achutegui.

The Dictionary is Cakchiquel and Spanish, written closely but legibly, with thirty-five lines to a page and averaging about four lines of examples to each word. An abundance of phrases and forms are given; but the alphabetical order is not strictly preserved. The characters of Parra are used throughout.

No author of the name of Varea is mentioned by Mr. Squier. But Francisco Varela is said to have gone to Guatemala, in 1596, and to have composed a *Calepino* in four hundred pages, folio.‡ No doubt this is the same person; and, un-

less the original still exists in the Convent of San Francisco de Guatemala, this is probably the only monument of his labor extant.

The next manuscript is a large folio, bound, like the preceding, in parchment, of four hundred and seventy-six leaves, numbered on the recto. The title is:—*Vocabulario* || *De la Lengua cakchiquel, v. Guatemalteca* || *Nueuamente hecho y recopilado con summo estudio* || *trauajo y erudicion por el P.<sup>e</sup> F. Thomas Coto. Pre* || *dicador y Padre de esta Prov.<sup>a</sup> de el S.S. mo Nöbre* || *de Jesus de Guatimala. En que se contienen* || *todos los modos y frases elegantes conque los* || *Naturales la hablan y d. q. se pueden valer* || *los Ministros estudiosos para su mejor* || *educacion y ensenanza*.

This Dictionary is a splendid testimonial to the zeal and scholarship of the Franciscan Missionaries. The pages are large, with double columns, thirty-seven lines to a page—written quite distinctly, though here and there the ink has faded so that it is difficult to read. The first fifteen pages are handsomely written, in imitation of printed letters. The characters of Parra are adopted for the five peculiar sounds. Unfortunately, the copy is incomplete; ending with the word *vendible*. As it is exclusively Spanish and Cakchiquel, it complements the Cakchiquel and Spanish *Calepino* of Varea.

It should be observed that the letter C is wrongly bound, so that the latter part of it comes first; and several other letters do not seem to have been finished. This copy appears to date from early in the last century, and is unique so far as I know. Coto was a native of Guatemala, and lived in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Mr. Squier gives under his name only one title: *Thesaurus Verborum; ó Frases y Elegancias de la Lengua de Guatemala*; which probably is the same work as the above. It is peculiarly valuable, not only for the linguistic material it contains, but for the light it throws on numerous customs of the natives, on the Botany and Zoology of the country, and for its quotations of Manuscript works in Cakchiquel. Coto's principal authorities are Father Francisco Maldonado's Sermons in that tongue; those of Father Antonio Saz (*de san Joachimi, de la visitacion, de la asuncion, de la concepcion, manual en la lengua*, and others, none of them mentioned by Mr. Squier or Pimentel,) Father Domingo Vico, Bishop of Chiapas, and the *Calepino* of Varea.

Under many words, quite a description is given of this or that usage. For instance, under the word *baile*, native dance, which I choose, having in mind the remarks on it made by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, in his introduction to the Quiche drama of Rabinal Achi,\* he remarks that

\* *Le pronom personnel dans les idomes de la famille Tapachulane-Huastèque*: Caen, 1868.

† *Etude comparative sur les langues de la famille Maya-Quiché*, *Revue Americaine*, Tom. I.

‡ *Monograph*, etc., 47.

\* *Collection de Documents dans les Langues Indigenes* Vol. II.



they are of many kinds ; that, for instance, which represents Noah coming out of the ark, is called *avatal* ; that in which they whirl a stick with their feet, *vugh* ; that only engaged in by lovers, *xgul* ; that in which they played on their flutes of hollow reeds, *lots tun* ; this latter, he adds, was prohibited by Bishop Uguarte on the representations of Antonio Prieto de Villegas, Commissary of the Holy Office, a learned man, thoroughly versed in Quiché, and for twenty years incumbent of the benefice of Matzatenango ; it was also prohibited by the Diocesan Constitution, in 1690. Several other *bailes* are also described.

Under the word *luna*, he mentions that these Central American nations partook of a singular belief which we find very widely spread on the American Continent. It was that an eclipse was caused by some animal eating the moon ; and to drive it away accordingly they broke their jars, shouted, whipped their dogs, and made all the noise possible. They likewise attributed to this orb a malignant influence ; and supposed her to be the cause of disease—a belief extremely common among the illiterate, everywhere.

The fourth manuscript is a large folio of seventy-seven leaves, not numbered, written in Cakchiquel, in ordinary characters. On the recto of the second leaf is the following title :—*Arte pronunciaci6n y ortographia de la lengua en el mismo ydionama* || *Cakchiquel* ||

On the fourth line of the verso of the same leaf :—“RAMILLETE, Manual para los Yndios sobre || la Doctrina Christiana || por fray francisco Maldonado minorita, || Sub Censura sante Romanæ ecclesiæ Dialogo primo.”

This “nosegay,” or anthology, consists of twelve Dialogues on the Confession, Creed, Sacraments, good works, etc., between a Priest and his Catechumen. After the twelfth Dialogue there is an addition of nine leaves in Cakchiquel, with the following title, —*Esta explica* || *cion de la Doctrina Christiana* || *va con el mesmo texto de la cartilla impresa el Año* || *de mill y quinientas y cinquenta y seys por explicar los* || *terminos que los Yndios Saben mal entendidos, por turien* || *do el mismo autorre fformado la dicha Cartilla por man* || *dado de ill.<sup>mo</sup> Señor Don fray juan capata y Sanctoal* || *obispo de guatemala, se puso aqui en la misma for ma* || *pue la Convergencia para que sirva de breui.<sup>ta</sup> exposicion .A* || *la antigua sub censura Sanet* || *te Romane eccle* || *ssie.*

At the close, is a table of contents, followed by this Colophon, in Cakchiquel : “Chupam 6 de Julio huma 1748 año mixgizvi vugibaxic vae vutz libro Ramillete Manual tihobal quichin Yndios chupam vutizl Dios Doctrina Christiana yn Seastian lopez tzarin vae ueva voch-Sancta Maria Asumpcion tecpanatitan de tzol-ala.”

Then follow two leaves in Cakchiquel, headed:

“A la emperatrix a la vergln Maria Señora Nra su humilde esclavo.”

From this evidence, we learn that this is a copy made, in 1748, by Sebastian Lopez, at Solola, on Lake Atitlan, of two works, the older printed in 1556, author not given ; the other by Francisco Maldonado. The former must be the *Doctrina Christiana en Lengua Utlateca*, or Quiche, published at Mexico in that year, whose author, Fray Francisco Marroquin, died in 1563. It is true that this was said to be in Quiche,\* and that Zapata y Sandoval was not a Bishop, until 1613.† But as I have never seen a copy of Marroquin's *Doctrina*, I am unable to reconcile these discrepancies.

The *Dialogos* is a work hitherto unknown of Maldonado, one of the most learned of the Franciscan Missionaries. He lived in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The only one of his productions given by Mr. Squier is *Sermones y Panegiricos en Lengua Cakchiquelche*, which is that also chiefly referred to by Father Coto, in his Dictionary.

The next work is a small quarto of one hundred and nine leaves. Unfortunately, the first leaf, with the general title, is missing. The top of the second leaf commences in the midst of a sentence, in a *Doctrina Christiana*, in Cakchiquel. This covers ten leaves, and is followed by two leaves of *Preguntas de la Doctrina*, all in Cakchiquel. Next comes a *Confessionario breve en lengua Cakchiquel*. The Spanish translation of each question and answer is also given.

After the *Confessionario* are three leaves, unnumbered and blank, except that on the recto of the second is a Latin Prayer to the Virgin, difficult to decipher.

On the recto of the next leaf, is the following ; “Arte || de la lengua cak || chiquel.”

It is written in a clear small hand ; covers fifty-four pages, with thirty lines, on an average, to the page ; sometimes with one column, sometimes with two ; and closes with this Colophon :—“Martes a 24 de Junio de 1692 años dia del Nacimiento de S. Juan Baptista se acavo el traslado de oraciones y Arte en Kakchiquel.” From the close of this to the ninety-sixth leaf, there is another series of doctrinal questions, headed :—“Vae Kutubal Khabalt || Kut ubex richin Christianos || cak-chiquel Khabal ri || chin cakchiquel vinak.” (I designate the peculiar modification of the consonants by italics.)

Another *Confessionario breve en lengua castellana y cakchiquel* then follows, twelve pages in length, differing considerably from the previous one. The rest of the volume is taken up with *Platicas*, short discourses on religious subjects.

\* Fr. Pedro de Bentanzos, who died in 1570, published a *Doctrina en Lengua de Guatemala* also at Mexico, year unknown. If this should prove to have appeared in 1563, also, one of the difficulties would be surmounted.

† Squier, *Monograph*, 52.

One of them is an incident from the life of Saint Vincent Ferrer, related for the purpose of "terrifying the natives, and dispelling the shame they usually have about confessing." There is an index to the book, and on the verso of the last leaf, this note in regard to the binding,—"*Este quaderno es de Fr. Alberto Miguez;*" said "*quaderno*" being in dark calf, without boards and with strings. The characters of Parra are employed in all the divisions of the work; and the writing is mostly quite legible.

There is no hint throughout, where this was written, nor by whom. The colophon, above quoted, seems to show that it is the original, at least of the *Arte* and the prayers. From the mention of Saint Vincent Ferrer, a Dominican, and from the known rivalry of the two orders, at that time, in Central America, I am inclined to attribute it to a Dominican rather than a Franciscan. None of the bibliographical authorities already quoted, mention any writer, of either order, who prepared works of this kind, in Cakchiquel, at or very near 1692. The manuscript proceedings of the Philosophical Society to September 1836, when the books were received, throw no light on the matter.

The linguistic value of the *Arte* is considerable. Only two grammatical notices of the language seem to have been published—one, about 1560, in Meztico, another, in 1753, in Guatemala. Both of them are excessively rare, and indeed it is doubtful if any copy of the first is in existence. The Cakchiquel is peculiarly important in the comparative study of this group of languages; and with the rich materials here at hand, to illustrate all its constructions, a publication of this short manuscript with notes, would be most welcome to American linguists.

In concluding this brief notice of these interesting documents, I wish to express my acknowledgments to Professor J. P. Lesley, Librarian, and Mr. Eli K. Price, member, of the Philosophical Society, for facilities afforded me in examining its library.

## VII.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE MILITARY OPERATIONS IN VIRGINIA IN 1864.

By GENERAL ISRAEL VOGDES, U. S. A.

[These *Observations* were written within a few days of the dates of their publication, from data which had already appeared in the newspapers of the day, and without prejudice to the writer's well-known duty to the service in which he was employed.

They are valuable as the carefully-considered judgment of an experienced officer, concerning "the situation," at the time when they were written, and the probable result; and they have been furnished to us, by their distinguished author, at our request, in order that those who shall come after us may learn what was considered, by experienced and intelligent officers, at that early day, as the probable course of events.—EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

### I.

[From *The Press*, Vol. 7, No. 286, Philadelphia, Saturday, July 2, 1864.]

#### THE PROBLEM OF THE SITUATION.

The present position of affairs before Richmond naturally causes much speculation and anxiety. For sound and sufficient reasons, the Government has necessarily to withhold from the public, much of the information in its possession, for fear lest it may betray to the enemy the designs of our commanders. It must not be forgotten that war is an art, and that sometimes the smallest amount of information, a single word dropped unconsciously in conversation, may, to an adept in the art, betray the whole plan of a Campaign. In making the following remarks we do not use any facts other than those contained in the public papers. We merely endeavor to interpret them by the principles of the art of war.

I. Much has been said, during the present Campaign, of a change of base, outflanking, etc.; and these terms have been so often repeated, that the public begin to think that there is something serious embraced in the use of these mysterious words. If our readers will consider that armies, such as are now manœuvring in Virginia, are in point of numbers equal to the population of two large cities, they will see the necessity of guarding the points from which their supplies are obtained and the several routes along which they are carried. Such routes are lines of supply; the general direction towards Richmond, the line of operations; the line joining the points from whence the supplies are obtained, is the base of operations. Whenever you push a force, either to the right or left of your enemy, threatening his line of retreat or line of operations, according to whether he is retreating or advancing, you are said to have turned his flank. During the present Campaign, General Grant's real base has been the Chesapeake Bay, for it is upon its shore or the banks of its tributaries, that his supplies have been collected. The several routes leading from it to the several positions of the army are only temporary lines of supply. His line of operations has been, in its general direction, parallel to his base. General Lee's base has been the Upper James; his line of retreat perpendicular to that river. To these two facts is all of the success of the Campaign due. By a simple advance along his line of operations, General Grant outflanked his adversary, threatened his connection with his base, and compelled Lee to move parallel to him on his line of retreat. By so advancing, General Grant constantly threatened the line of retreat of General Lee; but the direction of his line of operations with reference to his own line of supplies, precluded his adversary from, at any time, turning his position or endangering his supplies.



To General Grant belongs the credit of having perceived this fact and of having skillfully availed himself of it.

II. WHEREABOUTS OF GENERAL LEE. The movement of General Grant having forced Lee to his base of operations and to defend the principal point on that base, the passage of the James threatened to isolate the base from the territory which supplied his resources. General Lee has necessarily to take a position to prevent, if possible, that catastrophe. The movements of Hunter and Sheridan having at least temporarily severed the railroad communication by the North side of the James, it becomes all important for him to maintain his southern communications. These are three in number: the railroad by Petersburg, to Weldon; that by Burkesville, to Danville; and the branch from Burkesville to Lynchburg, and from thence to Knoxville, Tennessee. The most important of these is the Danville. Its preservation is essential to the safety of Lee's army.

General Lee has a three-fold problem to solve—first, to prevent the seizure of the Danville road; second, to prevent General Grant from penetrating between the James and the Petersburg road to Manchester, and cutting him off from Richmond; lastly, to guard the James so that Grant, stealing a march upon him, may not recross the James, and, penetrating between that river and the Chickahominy, may not seize Richmond. The difficulties of this three-fold problem are great. To solve it successfully requires that he should have forces to guard the approaches to the Danville road, by the right bank of the Appomattox; also, forces to guard the two other approaches to Richmond, and a central force, by way of reserve, to direct as may be necessary upon the critical point. His main body is probably somewhere in the vicinity of Chester Hills and Chesterfield Court-house, extending to Swift-creek, with advance posts towards Bermuda Hundred. He is also in strong force at Petersburg and Richmond, and along the Newmarket and Osborne pike. He probably has a bridge of boats between Drury's Bluff and Richmond, to maintain his communication with the last. This position gives him great advantages. Should General Grant attempt to ascend the Appomattox, threatening the Danville road, holding the bridges at Petersburg, Lee can debouch in his rear, cut him off from his base, sever his army, and, unless General Grant is greatly superior in numbers, inflict upon him a serious disaster. So long as General Grant's main force threatens Petersburg, he can re-inforce his various points as may be necessary, and allow his adversary to exhaust himself in ineffectual attacks. Should General Grant cross the Appomattox below Petersburg, he can recall rapidly his right and left wings, and receive his attacks in a strongly entrenched position. Should

General Grant cross the James, debouching by his bridges, he will take his advance in flank. In fact, he can always choose his own field of battle, have it prepared beforehand, and thus counterbalance any not very decided superiority of numbers on the part of his adversary.

Can we take Richmond? Assuredly; but it must depend upon the relative amount of forces of our army and that of the rebels. We should have two to one, to counterbalance the advantages of the position of the enemy. Whenever we can spare forces enough to seize his communications by the Danville road and at the same time threaten Richmond seriously by either of the other two routes, Lee will abandon Richmond, fall upon the army on the Danville road, and re-open his communications by way of Burkesville. We trust that there is sufficient energy and resolution on the part of the people to grant all the means to secure this important end.

## II

[From *The Press*, Vol. 7, No. 295. Philadelphia, Thursday, July 14, 1864.]

### THE SITUATION.

The importance of the military problem, now about being solved at Richmond, must be our excuse for occupying so much of the time of our readers, in giving all the light which a careful analysis of the facts in our possession will enable us to do. Never before in the history of humanity have so many interests of civilization been staked upon the issue of a campaign; never before have the friends and enemies of liberty been so keenly alive to the importance of the struggle; and never before have the contending forces of true progress and false conservatism, of democracy and aristocracy, been so firmly purposed to settle the problem of the future destiny of this great people. Should we, as we trust we will, ultimately succeed, then forever is the great question of self-government settled. Henceforth, progress, freedom of thought and action, equality of rights, and the improvement of man, intellectually and physically, will be the order of history. If we fail, despotism, slavery, and oppression will triumph; and the world's clock will be put back a century.

The friends of humanity may congratulate themselves that the chances all appear in their favor.

Two objects have presented themselves to the minds of our rulers in order to secure the crushing out of the rebellion: First, the occupation of the line of the James-river; second, the destruction or capture of the rebel armies and the military resources that maintain them. The latter of these is the most important of the two; in fact, the first is only important as it affords means of accomplishing the second. During the Campaign we have had two principal armies. All others have been secondary to these. They are the Army of



the Potomac, under General Meade, and the Army of the Cumberland, under General Sherman. Although separated by thousands of miles, they have, nevertheless, one commanding object in view, and are, in the general outlines of the Campaign, directed by a single mind. Of these two armies the principal one is that operating against Richmond. Starting from the Rapidan, by a series of skillful marches, after numerous combats, with various results, it has at length established itself on the South side of the James-river, and is now, as a preliminary movement, besieging Petersburg.

A careful study of the several movements has convinced us that General Grant has had, during the whole of the Campaign, two grand objects in view. First, to bring on a general action in such a position as would enable him to inflict serious disaster on the adversary: Second, to constantly press him back on Richmond, restricting the line of his operations, and destroying his military resources. The rebels claim, in their foreign correspondence, to have been so far completely successful. If we may credit their accounts, in every partial engagement their forces have been victorious, and the falling back to Richmond is only a skillful movement on the part of Lee "to get his adversary where he wants him." It is possible that the writers believe this; but it is impossible for men of the military ability of Davis and Lee to think so for one moment. They may avow themselves of this belief, in hopes of producing an effect abroad or with the view of keeping up the spirits of their followers, but they are too astute to permit themselves to be deceived by such ideas. They know well enough that in abandoning Northern Virginia they have lost all possible chance of striking a serious offensive blow at the North. Raids, doing much damage, destroying much private property, are possible, but a serious offensive Campaign against the North, until the re-establishment of the railroad system in Northern Virginia, is henceforth impossible. In the several rencontres of the Campaign we willingly concede that the rebels have sometimes been successful; they are well-trained, brave, and skillfully led—in these respects equal to our own army—but in the grand success of the Campaign, all has been in our favor. Tactically, the enemy may have on a single occasion been successful; but all the strategical success has been with us, and it reflects no slight credit on our military authorities, then, that the choice of their base and the general direction of their line of operations has enabled us constantly to march forward towards the attainment of our object. At most, the checks have only postponed, they have never endangered the ultimate success. We deem it probable that in endeavoring to bring General Lee to a decisive action, General Grant may have somewhat delayed his final march on Richmond.

Several circumstances have convinced us, not only that the views above put forth are correct, but also that the enemy has been greatly weakened; and that, very soon, he will be necessitated either to risk a general action or adopt some other equally decisive course, to escape from the toils by which he is surrounded. Foremost among these is the change that has plainly taken place in the tactics of the enemy, since the opening of the Campaign and that of his former Campaigns in the same region. On every other occasion, and even during the earliest movements of the present Campaign, Lee has always adopted that system of defence classed by writers on the military art as the offensive-defensive, the leading feature of which is, that while your general object is to cover your own resources, to maintain your communications, &c., you seize every opportunity to attack your adversary, to separate his columns, to drive him back to his own soil. Such was the policy of Frederick, in his great Campaign at Robeck, and of Napoleon, in the immortal Campaign of 1814 and '15. Contrast the course pursued by Lee at Fredericksburg, at Chancellorsville, and during the first week in the Wilderness, with the course now pursued. Mark the boldness, promptness, and decision, in the one case, and then consider the timidity, the irresolution and purely defensive system of the present, and say if a change has not come over the spirit of his dream? In the first case, the initiative was in his favor, his adversaries were compelled to follow his movements; now he tamely awaits the developments of his adversary's plans, and opposes to them the inertia of material resistance. One is a body full of life and vigor; the other is a galvanized corpse. The most obvious and rational method to account for this inertness is to suppose that it is owing solely to his weakness and the exhaustion of his resources. That his army is brave, and that he is skillful, we candidly admit; but that it is inert is manifest, and we consequently infer that it is weak.

In a former article, we sketched what we believed to be the essence of the military problem about being solved at Richmond. Before making any conjectures as to the probable solution of that problem, it would be desirable to know positively the strength of the contending forces. Did we know this exactly, it would be improper for us to state it at present. We must confine ourselves to simply stating that the advantage of numbers is greatly on our side. Having this advantage, we deem it morally certain that General Grant will endeavor to bring on a decisive action; that he will spare no means to destroy the enemy's communications, to prevent his receiving any reinforcements or supplies, and thus compel him either to abandon Richmond or bring on a general engagement. He has no intention that Lee shall leave Richmond, except with a defeated, routed,

and dispirited army. With this object, Hunter had been destroying the roads in Western Virginia; and had he succeeded in his attempt on Lynchburg, it would have been of immense importance to us. With this same object, too, the recent raids were undertaken against the Danville railroad—at present the prominent railroad communication between Richmond and the South, as well as between that point and Lynchburg, are destroyed. No other means of communication than plank roads, old pikes, and ordinary roads, at present exist between Richmond and the South. These may serve to march troops upon, but we doubt whether the rebels have the requisite means of transportation to convey over them the necessary military supplies. To procure them is, we take it, the object of the present raid into Maryland and Pennsylvania.

There are three main routes of communication between Richmond and Lynchburg: by railroad, via Gordonsville, distance about one hundred and fifty miles; by railroad, via Burkesville, distance one hundred and ten miles; and the James-river Canal, along the banks of the James, about one hundred and ten miles. For the movement of heavy supplies, this last is the only one not temporarily interrupted.

Burkesville, the junction of the railroad from Richmond to Lynchburg and the Danville Railroad, is a point of great strategic importance for the present military operations. It is about fifty miles Southwest from Richmond, and about the same distance from Lynchburg and Danville. This last point is almost due South from Lynchburg, distance by common roads about one hundred miles. Could we only entrench a considerable force at this point, so as permanently to hold it, Lee would have to abandon Richmond or remain there until famine and defeat would compel him to surrender. Holding, as we do, Knoxville, Lee cannot retreat by way of Lynchburg; and he must, as a matter of necessity, hold the Danville road. As the possession of this road is of vital importance, it is to be presumed that all possible effort will be made by General Grant to obtain it, at the same time maintaining his hold on the Weldon road, as well as his communications with the James.

The difficulties of General Lee's position are immense. Richmond is of great, almost vital, importance to the rebel Government. Nearly two-thirds of all the purely military supplies are or were manufactured there; the prestige of former success in its defence; the threatening position it occupies for offensive movements against Washington; the pride of Virginia, the most important State in the Confederacy, in maintaining her capital—all render it necessary that every possible effort should be made for its preservation. In a preceding article we have stated the three-fold

problem that General Lee has to solve if he perseveres in the attempt to hold Richmond. Has he the men and resources sufficient to justify him in so doing? This is a question which time alone can answer.

General Lee has always borne the character of a prudent rather than a great soldier. He has knowledge; and in his judgment of ground and its capabilities of defence, he was unsurpassed by any officer in the old army. The general opinion was that he lacked decision and was deficient in military administration; his plans were always superior to his execution. If this be a correct estimate of his character, we may hope for great ultimate success before Richmond. The position in which he is placed is one that requires not only knowledge to devise, but also energy to execute. His Lieutenants are energetic men, but by no means men of a high order of intellect. They are the hands, not the brains, of the rebel armies.

There is one aspect of the Campaign, we must confess, that gives us uneasiness when we contemplate it: that is the advance of General Sherman on Atlanta. It is laid down by all writers on the military art, and all history attests the soundness of the maxim, that you should never act by double or exterior lines of operation. Every mile that Johnston falls back brings his and Lee's army nearer together; and it must be borne in mind, that when we speak of the distance between two armies, we mean the length of time it will take them to unite. Were Johnston to-day at Augusta, and Sherman before that place, we should consider that our position was really less favorable than it is at present. We look upon every foot of advance that Sherman has made upon Chattanooga as a serious military error. If we fail in the present Campaign, we believe that history will trace the failure to that advance.

None of the movements made in the present Campaign have been unforeseen by the enemy. The fact that General Grant would cross the James was anticipated at Richmond before it was known at the North. Whether they had positive information we know not; but that intelligent persons in Richmond anticipated it there is not the slightest doubt. None of our successes have been the result of surprises; each and all have been the necessary result of our adherence to sound military rules, the zeal of our officers, and the sterling capacity of our troops to receive and give hard knocks. Adhering to these principles, we doubt not but the energy and determination of General Grant will ultimately lead us to a favorable result. The great point of the rebels, the indispensable point to them, is now to unite their two armies, under Johnston and Lee, without our being able to unite those of Meade and Sherman. We think that General Grant is manoeuvring to prevent this. Should the rebels resolve to make one of those great sacrifices which have, when success-



ful, stamped the name of their authors with immortality, it is possible that an opportunity may occur for them to prolong the War; but to do so the sacrifice must be real and complete, not half-way. Should General Lee determine to abandon Richmond to its fate, restore the Danville-road, move all his forces, or the main body of them, on Atlanta, the position of General Sherman would be critical in the extreme. We deem it possible to re-inforce Johnston's army by thirty thousand or forty thousand men from Richmond. With that force, that able General (for we regard him the first among the rebels) might inflict a disaster upon Sherman. To recover East Tennessee and Nashville, with the command of the Knoxville-road, with Lynchburg and Burkesville as advanced posts, might well compensate the rebels for the loss of Richmond. We deem such result possible, but we doubt whether the men at Richmond have the nerve to withstand the clamor that will be raised as soon as that city is abandoned. If we are not mistaken, both Davis and Lee are of that type of men that are bold in success, daring when fortune smiles, but lack nerve in desperate circumstances. They may have the capacity of Danton or of Cromwell, but lack the iron will which gave those men the name they will always bear in history.

#### VIII.—NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN NEW ENGLAND.

[Reprinted from *The Boston Pilot* of 1856.]

By JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL.D.

When or where the solemn service of the Catholic Church was first offered on our Atlantic coast, cannot now be positively told. Every custom and usage of the time justifies the belief that Cabot, Gomez, Verrazzani, and the other early Catholic navigators who ran along the coast and studded the maps with names drawn from the Church Calendar, had on all, or nearly all, their voyages, Priests to minister to those who thus ventured into unknown seas. Landing, as they frequently did, Mass was undoubtedly said at many an inviting harbor where cities have since risen. Claims have been made for a spot in Newfoundland, as the place of "the first formal religious act in the whole region of the Atlantic coast." (*Maine Historical Collections*, vi. 175.) But, between the limits of the See of Gardar, in Greenland, and that of Bishop Xuarez, who landed at Pensacola, in 1526, the first place where formal religious worship was for any length of time established, regularly, was undoubtedly the port of Brest, at the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, whose history has come to us in so fragmentary a way.

In this region, which in some early maps bears the name of Holy Cross, we find the celebration of Mass, in the harbor of Brest, on the eleventh of June, 1534, recorded by Jacques Cartier, in the account of his first voyage. As he mentions the celebration of Mass only here, at St. Martin, during a stay there, and at Blanc Sablon, near Brest, just before he sailed for France, we may infer that a Chaplain, now unknown, then presided in a rude church, at Patriarch on that already frequented coast.

When Cartier returned, the next year, two monks, Dom Guillaume le Breton and Dom Antoine, attended him; and his first settlement, Sainte Croix, or Holy Cross, near Quebec, saw the Catholic service established; but there is no illusion to a Priest sailing with him on his first voyage.

The New England coast, too, revives the same title of Holy Cross. Not only is the first Cathedral of New England's first bishop dedicated to the Holy Cross; but the first spot on the New England shore, where a chapel was reared for divine worship, was on the island of Ste. Croix, or Holy Cross, at the mouth of the river which still bears the name.

De Monts, coming to colonize New France, bore with him clergy of both faiths. Priests and Calvinist Ministers alike landed on St. Croix island, in June, 1604. The names and number of these Catholic Priests are not given; and we know the name only of Rev. Nicholas Aubry, who, having gone ashore with some others, was lost, shortly before, in St. Mary's-bay, but was subsequently found by a boat sent from St. Croix, and taken over to the new settlement, after having narrowly escaped starvation—having subsisted for seventeen days on berries.\*

He was a Parisian of good family, who came over much against the will of his relatives. When the party landed at St. Mary's-bay, he laid aside his sword to stoop for a drink at a stream; and having gone off without it, returned, but lost, what was more important, the direction in which his comrades went. They did not abandon him without an effort—firing repeatedly to attract his attention—and they sailed away only when all hope seemed lost.†

The log chapel of the new settlement was on a rocky promontory, almost an islet apart, seaward, looking on the inlet around and on the sea that came madly rushing in; and here, under the flag of France, the services of the Church of Rome were solemnly offered; and it may well be, that it witnessed, too, the services of the Reformed—the settlement thus typifying the future of the

\* Williamson, in his *History of Maine* (i. 81, 188) erroneously makes him lost near Frenchman's-bay, Maine. Lescarbot is very clear.

† Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Second edition) 453, 462; Champlain (Ed. 1613).



country where Catholic and Protestant were to live, side by side, in comparatively constant harmony.\*

This settlement was, the next year, transferred to Port Royal, which Annapolis has replaced; and when De Monts returned to France, only one Priest was left in the new Colony, and, from expressions in Lescarbot, it would seem that he died, either at St. Croix or Port Royal.† Whether this first Christian clergyman, dying at his post, was the Reverend Nicholas Aubry, whose constitution must have suffered from his long fast, or another, is not recorded.

After a time, the Reverend Jessé Fleche, a Priest from Langres, came to Port Royal, to minister to the religious wants of the Catholic settlers; and he was followed by two Jesuit Fathers, Peter Biard, a native of Grenoble, and Enemond Masse, of Lyons, who though sent out long previously, were constantly prevented from crossing by the religious hostility of the shipowners and the indifference of Jean de Biencourt, Sieur de Poutrincourt, the new Lord of Port Royal.

Their object was to evangelize the native tribes; and the sympathy of the pious in France, and especially of the noble-hearted Marchioness de Guercheville, had enabled them, at last, to reach Port Royal. Here they devoted themselves to their missionary labors with great success, converting, among others, the almost centenary chieftain, Memberton, and many of his people. The Colony was, however, in great distress; and, for a time, the Jesuits labored for the good of all, becoming carpenters, fishermen, everything that charity could suggest or devotedness inspire. Instead of melting, this only hardened hearts against them; and, treated with every form of brutality by Biencourt, a young and headstrong son of Poutrincourt, they resolved to leave Port Royal and return to Europe. This, however, their oppressor prevented; and they were compelled to remain.

When the good friends of the Mission heard of this, a vessel was sent out with other Fathers, emigrants, and supplies of every kind to begin a new settlement, at a different spot. Mount Desert-island, at the mouth of the Penobscot, was selected; and thither the Sieur de la Saussaye, the Commandant, having taken Fathers Biard and Masse on board, steered, in the month of March, 1613. Landing on the eastern shore of the island, they planted a cross and traced out a fort

on the West side of the "Pool," a part of the Sound which runs into the center of the island.\* Religious in its design, the settlement bore the name of the "Holy Savior." Here the Fathers daily offered the holy sacrifice at the foot of the cross, expecting soon to see a rustic chapel rise on their island. Father Biard himself, with one of the officers, proceeded to the mainland to visit the natives. The wailing of distress first announced the site of an Indian village; and entering it, they found all ranged in a double row, thus surrounding a poor Indian who held his dying child in his arms. Touched with the scene, the Missionary hastened up, and taking the poor child, baptized it; eager to enrol it among the members of the Christian church; the child recovered; and the natives looked upon the new-comers as envoys of heaven.

While the natives were thus won and the Mission seemed destined to effect immeasurable good, it pleased the Almighty to arrest it in a moment, and dash all its hopes to the ground. A fleet of fishing-smacks from Virginia, escorted by one Argal, already noted for his lawless acts and known at a later date as the tyrant and scourge of Virginia, reached the coast of Maine. Hearing of the French settlement, Argal resolved to destroy it; and, sailing up, opened a brisk fire on the unprepared French, few of whom were in their vessel. De Saussaye made what resistance he could; but was soon compelled to surrender with all his party. In this skirmish, a lay-brother, named Gilbert du Thet, was mortally wounded and expired soon after his removal to the shore; rejoicing, with his latest breath, at his happiness in being permitted to shed his blood for the faith. He was buried at the foot of the Mission cross; and then the Missionaries were compelled to bid a last farewell to that spot whence they had hoped to spread civilization and Christianity through the land of the Abnakis. Two of them, Fathers Biard and Masse, were carried off to Virginia, as prisoners; two others, Fathers Lalemant and Quentin, were allowed to set out for the nearest French post.

Such was the close of this celebrated Mission, destroyed by violence and injustice. Argal's career of wrong did not end here: seizing de Saussaye's commission, he treated him and his comrades as pirates; and almost succeeded in having them hanged in Virginia, as such. The bloody penal laws of England, which darken with their atrocity so many a page of the Colonial Statute-book of Virginia, were also held in terror over the heads of the Fathers; and after being taken back to Acadia in a new plundering expedition, they owed their lives only to a storm which drove them to the Catholic Azores. Here the Captain

\* Governor Willis errs in *The Maine Historical Collections*, (vi, 175) in supposing this a Huguenot Colony, exclusively. The word "*chapelle*" shows that the building was raised for Catholic worship. If raised for the Calvinists, it would be styled a "*preche*."

† "Pour -- soulager celui que le Sieur de Monts y avoit laissé à son voyage, lequel nous peusions estre encore vivant" (p. 510); "lequel on nous dit estre mort quand nous arrivâmes la Lescarbot p. 521."

\* Williamson's *History of Maine*, i. 206. 79.

was in their power, but disdaining to repay evil by evil, they forebore to disclose their character and sufferings to the authorities at the island, and allowed him to depart. They soon after reached England; and after a little delay they proceeded to France; one to die soon after in the midst of his labors, the other to return to America, to labor for years.\*

A few years later, a Catholic Priest, it is generally believed, was cast on the coast of Massachusetts. In 1617, a French vessel was wrecked near Cape Cod, and all who reached the shore were massacred by the Indians, except three who were sent from one Sachem to another, in triumph. Two soon sank, victims to disease and violence. The third, supposed to have been a Priest, lived longer and endeavored to convert the Indians and win them from vice; but their obdurate hearts were proof to all his appeals; and he frequently held up to them the terrors of eternity and the wrath of an offended God. Soon after his death, a pestilence swept over the land, which they looked upon as the result of his prayers; and as their tribes were reduced to a mere handful, they repented of their obduracy and resolved to listen to the white men who should tell them of the Great Spirit.†

Argal's violence disturbed but did not arrest French fisheries and colonization in Maine and the adjacent parts. In 1619, two associations were formed at Bordeaux, one to carry on sedentary fisheries, the other to carry on trade with the Indians on the Acadian coast. Not to be deprived of religious succor on that lonely shore, the members of these associations applied to the Recollects of the Province of Aquitaine for three Fathers and one lay brother, whom they promised to support as long as their companies lasted. Several Fathers came and established a central Mission on the river St. John's, whence they extended their labors to Miscou, near the mouth of the St. Lawrence, on the one hand, and the Penobscot, apparently, on the other. Their labors

were not fruitless either to the Indian or the French trader and fisher; and, in the discharge of their duties, they shrank from no hardship and no peril. One of them, Father Sebastian, was, above all, noted for his intrepidity: he penetrated even to Quebec, over land; and wintered with the Recollects there. In 1623, however, setting out from Miscou for the Mission on the St. John's, he sank beneath his labors, and perished of hunger and misery in the woods, closing a three years' apostolate by a kind of martyrdom. The next year, his surviving companions, Fathers Jacques de la Foyer, Louis Fontinier, and Jacques Cardon, in consequence of orders from their Provincial, left their Missions and penetrated by the River Loup to Quebec.\*

The English swept over Acadia, and the French settlements fell into their hands; but the conquerors did not secure possession. As early as 1630, Charles St. Etienne de la Tour was on the Acadian coast, and extended his stations to the Penobscot. Three Recollect Missionaries attended him; and soon restored their Missions in the present State of Maine. Champlain tells us, in 1632, that they were still there; and as the French, in that year, seized the last English post on the Penobscot and at Machias, the Mission probably lasted for some years; but of it we have no details.†

The great rival of La Tour, in Acadia, was d'Anlney de Charnisé, who succeeded to the rights of the Commander de Razillai and his brother. He made Bignyduce his chief post. A more zealous Catholic than La Tour, he made greater exertions to afford the Colonists on his Grants the benefit of religious ministry. For this purpose, he applied to the Convent of the Capuchin Fathers, in the Rue St. Honoré, Paris, founded by Catherine de Medecis, in 1575.

These Fathers of St. Francis had houses on the Kennebec and the Penobscot; and, for many years, acted as Chaplains to the French settled on the coast, as well as to all drawn thither to trade or fish.

The manuscript annals of this Capuchin Province, still exist in the Mazarine Library, at Paris, but have not yet been examined to obtain a connected account of their American labors. What we know is fragmentary, derived from some notes published by Mr. Ferdinand Denis, in an edition of the work of Yves d'Evreux, from the manuscript Journal of the Jesuit Superior in Canada, and a narrative of Father Dreuillettes, to be hereafter mentioned, and from a curious relic of their labors—a plate evidently placed in the cornerstone of their chapel of Our Lady of Holy Hope, near Castine.

\* Biard Relation. Litteræ Annæ, 1611-3.

Lescarbot 663; Charlevoix, i. 173-215; Shea's *Indian Missions*, 131-135.

Peter Biard, a native of Grenoble, was a Jesuit of learning and ability. After his American mission, he was for some time Professor of Theology, at Lyons, and afterwards a Chaplain in the French army, in which post he died at Avignon, November 17, 1622. See Jouvency's *Historia Societatis Jesu*, 324. His *Relation*, one of the earliest works on Maine, passed through several editions.

Enemond Masse was born in 1574; and entered the Society of Jesus at the age of twenty-two. When chosen for the Acadian mission, he was socius of the Provincial, Father Cotton. His misfortunes in Maine did not quench his Apostolic spirit; he was one of the first Jesuits sent to Quebec, in 1625; and though again taken by the English, in 1629, he again returned in 1633, and labored chiefly among the Montagnais and the French, till his death, which took place May 12, 1646. Some prayers in Montagnais, from his pen, were published by Champlain. Shea's *History of the Catholic Missions*, 134. Bressani *Relation Abrégée*, 174.

Le Clercq *Etablissement de la Foi*, 204-294.

† Hildreth's *History of the United States*, i. 222.

\* Champlain's *Voyages* (Edition 1632.) 282; Charlevoix, *New France*.

† *Relation*, 1646-7; Williamson's *Maine*, i. 71, 322.



The Capucins known to have been here are: 1. Father Arsenius of Paris, who, after laboring in Brazil, was for five years Superior in Acadia; and died at Paris, on the twentieth of June, 1645; 2. Father Angelus de Luynes, Guardian of Noyon, Superior, and Commissary in 1646;\* 3. Father Ignatius of Paris, Superior in 1646; 4. Father Cosmas de Mante, Superior, in 1648; and, 5. Father Leo, of Paris, who founded the Chapel of Our Lady of Holy Hope, on the Penobscot, on the eighth of June, 1648.

The strange war between the two rival Acadian proprietors, effectually broke up all the settlements; and the Recollect and Capuchin gradually abandoned this field of labor.

Catholicity was, however, now to take a firm hold in the land, not in the stranger from afar, but in the children of the soil; the red man of the forest.

The Jesuits had not abandoned the Mission-ground where du Thet was lying at the foot of the broken cross. Their eyes were often turned longingly towards it. In 1642, they had gathered at St. Joseph's, on the St. Lawrence, a number of Algonquins and Montagnais, won from their nomad life to Christianity and civilization. The settlement was the charitable work of the pious Knight, Noël Brulart de Sillery, and, indeed, it is generally known by his name.

Like all the Mission-settlements, its early annals show examples of high and heroic sanctity. Among the Christian warriors of Sillery, none is more illustrious than Charles Measkwat. In 1642, the year we mention, he heard that some of his pagan countrymen were torturing some Abnakis who had fallen into their hands, although the tribes were allied by blood and at peace. He set out at once to rescue them, with Nicolet, the great explorer of the West; and though Nicolet perished in a rapid, the generous Charles succeeded, and brought the poor Abnakis to Sillery, where the Hospital-nuns then had a Convent. Here, nursed and cared for, they soon recovered and set out with Charles for their home on the Kennebec. Here the Algonquin was received with welcome; and mindful of his duty as a Catholicist, he proclaimed the truths of Christianity. The English had a post at Augusta, and he visited it, expecting to find Catholics there.

Returning to Sillery, Charles was accompanied by a Sagamore, or Chief, who remained at St. Joseph's and was soon followed by others.

Ere long, an embassy came in the name of the Abnakis, to invite the blackgowns to come and reside in their midst. As soon as the fearful Iroquois War, which desolated Canada, lulled so as to enable the Missionaries to attempt a new Mission, Father Gabriel Druilletes was sent, in 1646, to found the Mission of the Assumption. He set

out on the twenty-ninth of August, with a party of Indians; and after a painful and laborious journey through the wilderness, reached the village of the Abnakis in safety. His uncomplaining endurance had won all hearts; and he found a rude chapel raised for his use, about three miles above the present town of Augusta. This became the center of his labors: in a few months, he had acquired their dialect so as to be able to converse readily in it. His people were docile and attentive; they were soon won to the Faith and numbers implored Baptism, but he wisely deferred it. He had come to lay the foundation, to sound the disposition, leaving to a later day to raise the superstructure. He required, however, at once a renunciation of their superstitions, quarrels and intoxication.

The English at Augusta, and the French, lower down, both encouraged him in his good work. Especially did he receive a kind and cordial greeting from the Capuchin Superior, Father Ignatius, of Paris, at his Convent.

He wintered with his flock, sharing their fatigues and dangers without a murmur; and, in May, set out for Quebec, in compliance with the orders of his Superiors, on setting out.

The grief of the Abnakis was great at his departure, although it was alleviated by a promise of a speedy return. Such was not, however, to be the case. A month after his return, there arrived at Quebec some of the tribe, bearing a letter from the Capuchins asking that he should not return. The grounds for this request are not stated, but the Jesuits yielded; and, though Father Cosmas de Mante, the Capuchin Superior, in 1648, wrote to encourage him in his plans for converting the Abnakis, he did not return while those Fathers remained on the coast.—They were carried off by De la Tour, in the following year; and a new train of circumstances enabled him to return. The New England Colonies had made proposals of Amity and Alliance with Canada, and the Governor of the latter Colony chose Father Druilletes to proceed to Boston to discuss the matter with the General Court.

Before entering on his embassy, we shall glance at the early history of the New England Colonies, The French had, as we have seen, explored all the coast, but made no attempt to settle West of the Kennebec.

In 1620, the *May Flower* bore to the rocky shore, which had already received the name of Plymouth, the gloomy Separatists, men of iron will, intolerant, tyrannical, and self-righteous. who, ruling the land for more than a century, never produced a scientific work, or added a volume on the Botany, Topography, Geology, or Natural History of the country. Discarding the forms and Creed of the Church of England, they assumed the divine right of forming a new Church: in this they enrolled the more mature as *members*,

\* See HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, I. viii. 176, 80; ix. 146.



and admitted others only on their giving such proofs of personal religion and due submission as pleased them. Such is Church-membership. But these zealots not only thus narrowed down the number of those who were to share in the benefits of the Church of their creation, but enriched Church-membership with the exclusive privilege of an elective franchise. None but a Church-member could vote, much less be elected to office. Massachusetts, soon after founded, followed the example thus set. No Protestant, even, who differed from their views, was permitted to stay within their territory. Roger Williams, the Baptist, was driven out; Gorton, another Baptist, dragged into their territories and flogged; Mrs. Hutchinson, exiled; and Quakers hanged. As might be supposed, Catholicity was unknown, except as an object of horror and dread. In 1631, Sir Christopher Gardiner, on mere suspicion of being a probable "Papist," (for such in those days was the common term for Catholics,) was summarily seized and sent out of the Colony without the least form of trial.\*

Three years after, led by Williams, so often held up as the father of toleration in America, they declared the cross a "relic of antichrist! a "Popish symbol savoring of superstition; and not "to be countenanced by Christian men;" and accordingly, in the height of their zeal, they actually cut the cross out of the English flag, refusing to march or live under anything that bore the "sign of the Son of Man."

In 1646, d'Aulney visited Boston with some troops in order to get aid, if possible, in his War with de la Tour; and exceedingly alarmed the Protestant town. That same year, as we have seen, Father Druilletes reached the English settlement at Augusta. This increased the alarm: in their fervid imaginations, New England was already in the hands of Catholicity. They resolved to check its inroads: in 1647, while the simple-minded Druilletes was still laboring to regenerate the red man, of whose salvation these self-righteous men scarcely thought, the General Court of Massachusetts met and took the matter into consideration. They resolved to pass an Act preventing Jesuits to enter their domains. The Preamble is curious, as showing the degree of enlightenment then prevalent in New England. "The Court taking into "consideration the great Wars, combustions and "divisions which are this day in Europe, and that "the same are observed to be raised and fomented "chiefly by the secret underminings and sollicitations of those of the Jesuitical order, men

"brought up and devoted to the religion and the "Court of Rome, which hath occasioned divers "States to expel them their territories; for prevention whereof among ourselves," etc. It enacts that all Jesuits should be forbidden to enter their jurisdiction, be banished if they did, and be put to death if they returned. With a degree of humanity quite remarkable in men who thus charged on others their own seditious principles, they kindly added that if a poor Jesuit should be shipwrecked on their shore, they would not hang him!\*

Such was the province to which, in 1650, the Jesuit Druilletes was sent as envoy.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

#### IX.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES. (CONTINUED.)

148.—REV. J. WILLIAMS TO HIS SON.†

DEER F: Aug. 24. 1724.

DEAR SON

j have reciev'd 3 letters from you sence you came from Boston the 2nd of which was more then three weeks before it came to me, j did not know of an opportunity of writing to you till now. Wh<sup>n</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Williams went down j had but two or three minutes notice of it it was so sudden & then j wrote farther but suppose you have had the full account of what has happend here by Bos<sup>t</sup> j shall now only add that this morning we are alarm'd by news from Albany that a party of 70 indians are come over the lake divided into three companies 40 in one 20 in another 10. in another, & that there is another party the number of which is uncertain come over we are in the hands of God, & unless he put the enp of trembling into our hands they cant we are still an unhumbled & an unreformed people. God is holy in all the rebukes of his providence. if you have any pray send them to me. as for the remarks & j pray you to reserve it for Cap<sup>t</sup> Williams & then Br Williams of will let me have a one some body has sent me a Catalogue. now your Moth Br & Sister send Salutations to you & my dear daughter & all the Children j desire to commit you & all yours to the care, protection & gracious providence of God wishing all proper influences from the holy Spirit to all your duty & desire your prayers for me so am your Loving Father

J WILLIAMS

\* In the same year, Mr. Philips, the Minister at Watertown, and Mr. Brown, one of his Elders, expressed the opinion that the Church of Rome was a true Church of Christ. So terrible did this doctrine appear to the Puritans, and so important to the State, that the General Court, or Legislature, of Massachusetts took the matter in hand, and wrote a letter denouncing such an opinion.

\* *General Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts Colony.* p. 67.

† This letter, from the well-known Pastor of Deerfield, is from the original, in the Wheelock Correspondence.

Like others, from divers sources, we are indebted to Rev. Dr. Gillett, for its use.

## 149.—MAJOR MONTRESOR TO PAYMASTER FORMAN.\*

BOSTON 1<sup>st</sup> October 1774.

SIR

You are hereby directed and required to pay Mr Jonathan Hampton the Sum of One hundred pounds Newyork Currency for the expences attending coming from Newyork to Boston, returning again to Newyork and coming a second time to Boston with Contracted Artificers for carrying on His Majesty's Works, for which payment this shall be your order

JOHN MONTRESOR

Command<sup>r</sup> Engineer.

To Mr William Forman  
Paymaster to the Works in the  
Engineer Department at Newyork.

## 150.—GENERAL JACKSON TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.†

The Honorable,

JAMES K. PAULDING,

SIR.

At the request of my republican friends I am induced to forward you the enclosed letter recommending Archibald Roome for a midshipman's warrant to fill the vacancy of Midshipman Mason, resigned. I comply with the more freedom, as he is a good young democrat, as I see the administration is threatened to be put down by force, by one of its captains, *Stockton*—if it cannot be changed at the ballot box. Such captains, for their treasonable threats ought, to be stricken from the rolls of the Navy.

I am very respectfully

yr. mo<sup>st</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

ANDREW JACKSON.

HERMITAGE,

August 26<sup>th</sup> 1840.

## 151.—GENERAL HEATH TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HULL.‡

GARRISON, WEST POINT, Jany. 1<sup>st</sup> 1781.

DEAR SIR:

Your favor of yesterday came to hand this morning. I am happy to find that by your vigilance, precaution, and good conduct the Inhabitants are likely to enjoy protection and the plundering Enemy to be defeated and disappointed in their attempts. His Excellency was pleased with Captain Pritchard's conduct. I have taken notice of it in the orders of the day.

I have ordered about three thousand cartridges

to be sent to you which you will dispose of as the service may require.

I am with great regard

Dear Sir

Your Obedient Servant,

W. HEATH,

M. General.

P. S. Colonel Humphreys and all his party are safely returned; by the violence of the wind they were driven down past New York. One Boat as far as Sandy Hook; the others past between Staten Island and the Main; the whole finally landed at Brunswick. One Boat was lost but no person.

W. H.

[Superscription] LIEUT. COLONEL HULL

Commanding

(W. HEATH)

in the lines

[ON BACK OF LETTER] Pass the bearer over the Ferry.

W. HEATH,

M. General.

## 152.—ORIGINAL SUBSCRIPTION FOR THE PROFESSORSHIP OF DIVINITY AT YALE COLLEGE.\*

Whereas the present Incomes of Yale College in New-Haven are not sufficient for the Settlement of a Professor of Divinity which is very necessary for the better Instruction of the Students in the Important Doctrines & Articles of Religion.

In Order therefore to encourage and help forward that good & pious Design, We the Subscribers do promise to pay to the President & Fellows of s<sup>d</sup> College to be Delivered to the Steward of s<sup>d</sup> College or such other Person as they shall appoint to receive the Same within one Year after the Date hereof the several Sums affixed to our Names in the Currency specified, to be improved by the President & Fellows towards purchasing & procuring a Dwelling House & Lot for the Use of a Professor of Divinity forever. Who shall always hold & preach the Doctrines contained in our Confession of Falth & Catechism

Dated Sept 1, 1755

W<sup>m</sup> Pitkin.....£ 50Tho<sup>s</sup> Clap..... 100

Roger Wolcott..... 50

Phineas Lyman..... 50

Joseph Fowler..... 50

Tho<sup>s</sup> Dyar..... 50

Hez. Huntington..... 50

Joshua Lothrop..... 50

Daniel Welch..... 30

John Mix..... 40

Tho<sup>s</sup> White..... 40

Joel White..... 50

Tim<sup>s</sup> Jones..... 100

A Copy

\* From the original belonging to John Buckley, Jr., Esq., New York.

† Contributed by Charles J. Bushnell, Esq., New York.

‡ From the original in the American Antiquarian Society's Collection.

\* From the Original Manuscript, in the Wheelock Papers, belonging to Professor Henry R. Smith, of New York City.

153.—GENERAL SIR WILLIAM ERSKINE'S RECEIPT FOR BAGGAGE, BATT, AND FORAGE-MONEY, FOR THE ROYAL ARMY.\*

Nov 30 1778

RECEIVED from  
THOMAS BARROW Esq;  
Deputy of the Paymaster  
General of His Majesty's  
Forces, 98,762. Dollars;  
and 8-56. Parts of a  
Dollar, which, at the  
Rate of 4s. 8d. per Dollar.  
Amounts to the Sum of  
Twenty Three Thousand  
and Forty Four Pounds,  
Ten Shillings Sterling  
without deduction, being £23,044.10.  
200. day Baggage Batt &  
Forage Money paid to the  
General & Staff Officers  
of British & Provincials  
Corps at Philadelphia for  
the Year 1778.—  
PURSUANT to General  
Clintons Warrant Dated  
Sept<sup>r</sup> 15. 1778 For which  
I have given two more  
Receipts of this Tenor  
and Date, to serve but  
for one.

DOLLARS.  
98,762.856

WILL: ERSKINE  
Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> G<sup>r</sup>.

154.—POWER OF ATTORNEY BY COLONEL RICHARD GRIDLEY, THE ENGINEER ON BUNKER'S HILL.\*

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, that I Richard Gridley a Reduced Captain in Colonel Shirley's First Regiment of Foot, Do Constitute & Appoint, and by these Presents have Constituted & Appointed, James Fitter Esquire of Westminster in Great Britain, my true & Lawfull Attorney, for me and in my name, to Ask Demand and receive, of and from the Right Honourable Henry Fox Esquire Paymaster General of His Majesty's Forces, or from the Paymaster General of the said Forces for the Time being, all such sum or sums of money, as now is, or shall become due; and payable to me as a Redue'd Captain afore said: and I do further Constitute and appoint the said James Fitter, to be my Lawfull attorney, to ask Demand sue for & recover in any Court of Record, to my use of Barlow Trecothick; or otherwise call'd

Thomlinson Trecothick & Company; with full power of appointing one or more Attorneys under him, my said Attorney, for the purpose aforesaid; and for me, and in my name, to give final Acquittances: Hereby Ratifying and allowing all that my said Attorney shall Lawfully do in my name. In Witness whereof I have set hereunto my hand and Seal at Louisburg in His Majesty's Dominions in North America this Eleventh day of October in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred & Fifty Eight.

RICH'D GRIDLEY.

Signed Seal'd & delivered in  
Presence of R<sup>d</sup> VEALE  
F. BENSON.  
LOUISBURG, Octob<sup>r</sup>, 12 1758.  
The within nam'd Richard Gridley appeared  
before me and acknowledg'd the within Power  
to be his act & Deed.

X.—THE WINCHENDON, MASS., SLAVE CASE.

LETTER FROM REV. A. P. MARVIN.

WINCHENDON, April 29, 1869.

Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

DEAR SIR:—The number of your valuable Magazine, for March, 1869, contains a notice of the *History of Winchendon*. This notice, so far as it relates to the work and to myself, as its author, is very commendatory, and is certainly quite agreeable to my feelings. But there is in it a remark in reference to the town of Winchendon, which I cannot suffer to pass without animadversion; and I doubt not your readiness to make the correction which the facts surely demand. The case is this: EDEN LONDON, a colored man, became dependent, in his old age, on charitable support. The question was: What town is legally bound to support him? On this question, Winchendon "went to law," and lost the case. In regard to this, the Magazine says: "The Town of Winchendon attempted "to throw him off—why should she not, since "he was both black and a pauper?—that Win- "chendon pleaded in behalf of her brutality, that "slavery in Massachusetts had had no foundation "in law; and that Judge Parsons curtly disregard- "ed the dishonest plea by telling the municipal "falsifiers," &c., "and made Winchendon pay "the bill as a penalty for her own dishonesty "and because, when the pauper was a chattel— "yes, a CHATTEL,—his owner lived there."

You are aware, that in Massachusetts, as in other States, pauper-cases are continually before the Courts, when the only point to be settled is, not whether the pauper shall have a comforta-

\* From the original, belonging to John Buckley, Jr., Esq., of New York.  
\* From the original belonging to John Buckley, Jr., Esq., of New York.



ble support, but what town is legally under obligation to furnish the support. Such was the case before us. There was no peculiar prejudice against Eden London; and there was no objection to supporting him, if his legal settlement was in this town. He had lived with various masters, in many different towns; he had been set free, very soon after his coming to this town; after his service in the Revolution, in consequence of which his master gave him his freedom, he became a permanent resident. Becoming old, he was unable to support himself. Who should support him? The town where he had a legal settlement, of course. There were two legal decisions, by the Supreme Judicial Court, which bore on the case. By one of these, it was decided that "by virtue of the first Article of the Declaration of Rights, Slavery in this State was no more." A later decision was to the effect "that a negro, born in the State before the present Constitution, was born free, although 'born of a female slave.'" It was not questioned, on the trial, that London was a native of this State. In this state of facts, it was quite right and proper for Winchendon to have the question, whether the town was legally obligated to support Eden London; and there is no ground for accusing the town of "brutality," or "dishonesty," or for speaking of her officials as "municipal falsifiers." Judge Parsons reversed a previous decision of the Court; and the town took comfortable care of Eden London, during the remainder of his life. There is nothing on record, nor in tradition, to raise the suspicion that this duty was not cheerfully done. I may add that a subscription paper is now in circulation, by one of our aged citizens, to set up a suitable monument over the grave of Eden London, as a Revolutionary worthy.

Respectfully yours,

A. P. MARVIN.

[REMARKS ON THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Our respected friend, Mr. Marvin, is too charitable toward those who lived in Winchendon, sixty years ago, on this matter of the old negro pauper, EDEN LONDON.

The facts are soon told: the possession of those facts will as quickly establish the Truth.

EDEN LONDON was a native-born Massachusetts negro—Mr. Marvin, in this letter, is free to say it "was not questioned on the trial, that London was 'a native of this State'"—and he was, also, a

Massachusetts slave, since, in the course of his remarks, while deciding the question of which town was *not* this same negro pauper's legal residence, the Chief-justice of the Commonwealth, speaking for her Supreme Judicial Court, stated, unequivocally, that "the issue of the female slave, 'according to the maxim of the Civil Law, was 'the property of her master,' even in Massachusetts." (*4 Massachusetts Reports, 128.*)

The law concerning "settlements," under which the maintenance of paupers became chargeable to the towns in which they lived, was radically changed, in Massachusetts, in 1767; and, after that date, not only were those who were "lawfully restrained in any town," not thus made chargeable by a mere residence therein, but those, also, unto whom, concerning their residence therein, the town had not given its official *approbation*, to the extent therein designated.

Now this Euoch London—this native Massachusetts negro slave—as early as 1757, was owned by Samuel Bond, who, in that year, sold him to William Williams, of Weston; and the latter having died, in 1760, Euoch descended, like other "property of his master," to one of the daughters of the deceased—the wife of Oliver Partridge of Hatfield—who evidently owned him when the Statute concerning settlements was amended, in 1767. On the second of October, 1767, this Partridge sold the negro to John Ingersoll of Westfield; and the latter, about 1770, sold him to John McCluster of Long-meadow, who, a few weeks after, sold him to Joshua Holcomb, of Simsbury, Connecticut. Four years afterward, say in 1774, Holcomb sold the negro to William Bond of Lincoln, who held him in servitude "a short time," and then sold him to Thomas Cowdin of Fitchburg. "About 3 or 4 years" after—we quote the Records of the Court of Common Pleas of Worcester County, December Term, 1806, because we prefer to be held innocent of the arithmetic—Cowdin sold him to Jonathon Stimson of Winchendon; and on "the day following, he absconded and enlisted in the eight-months service, in Cambridge."

We do not propose to inquire *why* Euoch was sold by Cowdin; but we have known what were conceived to be vicious horses, and kicking cows, and ugly dogs, which were sometimes hurriedly sold, just when their owners had discovered their unwelcome propensities and just while those living in another town had not discovered them; and we have asked ourselves if this other "property of his master"—this native Massachusetts negro slave, who had evidently learned how to "abscond," for the purpose of uniting with those who talked more loudly about "Liberty," "Rights," etc., than his master was wont to talk—might not have been thus sold by Mr. Cowdin, because of his propensity for running—toward what he fancied was "Liberty."

\* What a pity it is that Judge Gray, Governor Washburne, Charles Sumner, *et al.*—the modern gentry who have deliberately asserted and persistently maintained, in the face of the best of evidence, that hereditary slavery was unknown to the Laws of Massachusetts and in the practice of her inhabitants—had not taken lessons in morality, from this plain, honest country Pastor, before they aspired to become leaders in the historical and political circles of the United States; but that would not have suited their purpose.

Be that as it may, he was sold, by Cowdin and bought by Stimson; and, next day, he ran away; joined the Army, at Cambridge; fought at Bunker's-hill; and what not. His master did not seem to approve of this hankering after "Liberty" by his newly-purchased "property;" and "before the expiration of said eight months, and in the year 1775" [*as we said before, the arithmetic is not ours, but that of the Court of Common Pleas, of Worcester-county,*] the negro "was sold by Stimson to Thomas Sawyer of Winchendon," who held him until July, 1776, when he sold him to Daniel Goodridge, also of Winchendon. "Five weeks" after the last transfer, *with the consent of his master, who "received the whole of his bounty and part of his pay,"* the poor native-born slave of Massachusetts, enlisted in the Continental Army for three years; and he seems to have been sold no more.

At the close of the War, and for some twenty years after it, the negro seems to have been self-sustaining, and so was no trouble to Winchendon—the home of his last master and, evidently, Mr. Marvin being our authority, his own home—but, in the progress of time, he became old and he seems also to have been poor, as others besides negroes very often are. He was *old*; he was *black*; he was, worse than all, *poor*, and needed support by the town.

Mr. Marvin charitably supposes "there was no *peculiar* prejudice against Eden London;" and in making that statement he may be correct, to some extent, since it is very likely that *all* paupers were somewhat similarly considered, and that there was, to some extent, "no *peculiar* prejudice against Eden London," which every other pauper did not encounter in that town: it is not quite so clear, however, that Winchendon had no more objection to support him, than she had to support any and every other pauper within her limits, since she carried her "*peculiar* objections," in this particular case, from her town-officers to a Justice of the Peace, from the Justice to the Court of Common Pleas of the County, and from the latter to the highest appellate Court in the Commonwealth—the Supreme Judicial Court—repeating before each successive tribunal, and by each as often overruled, that she had "objections"—"*peculiar* objections," too—why *she* should not support the negro pauper who was the subject of the controversy, notwithstanding he had honored the town, years before, by fighting for it, and still lived there.

There is no doubt that the same underlying "objection" was at the bottom of Eden London's case, which was the foundation of all other pauper cases—those in 1869 as well as those in 1807—but there were other reasons, in this particular case, than the ordinary reasons—if Mr. Marvin will excuse us, there were "*peculiar*

"objections" to the support of Eden London—and on those other reasons, those "*peculiar* objections," Winchendon mainly relied for a license to allow the old man who had fought Winchendon's battles, on Bunker's-hill and elsewhere, to die within Winchendon's borders for the want of a slice of Winchendon's charity. Let us see what were those "*peculiar* reasons," in this particular case; and let us see, at the same time, if those who thus resisted the payment of less than two dollars per week, for the support of a pauper, *only because he was black, and notwithstanding he had fought, like some other men, for the political independence of Massachusetts,* were not, what we said they were, "*municipal falsifiers.*"

Eden London, after having fought Winchendon's battles, became old and poor, and needed public charity; but Winchendon's town-officers declined to grant it, notwithstanding the negro's necessity and their own evident duty. A Court of Justice was resorted to, for redress; and the honest Justice of the Peace, who presided therein, determined "that the lawful settlement of the said Eden London was not" [*as Winchendon had untruly affirmed*] "in the town of Hatfield," where he had resided, in 1767, when the Statute concerning settlements was amended. Still obstinate, as unrighteous men are apt to be, Winchendon appealed to the Court of Common Pleas of Worcester-county; but that Court, in the December Term, 1806, affirmed the Judgment of the Court below. Winchendon, still obstinate, appealed again; and in the September Term, 1807, of the Supreme Judicial Court, the case was brought on, Mr. Upham appearing for Winchendon and Mr. Blake for Hatfield.

Mr. Upham, for Winchendon, evidently asserted, and Mr. Marvin says "it was not denied," that Eden "was a native of Massachusetts." It was also evidently asserted by Winchendon's town-officers and their Counsel, that Eden, *because of his birth-place*, was, in law, a *free man*; that he was *born free*, notwithstanding his mother was a slave; that he was, therefore, from his birth, a *man*, and not *property*—the peer of every other man, even of those who, successively, had bought and sold him—and could, consequently, acquire a settlement in, and become entitled to relief from, any town in which he might reside, by the same right and under the same law as any other man; and that the limitations imposed by the Statute were quite as applicable to him, and quite as directly, as they were to the men of Winchendon who had successively assumed to be his master and owner.

All this, we say, Winchendon's town-officers by their Counsel, learned in the law, presented, in their plea, to the Courts into which they carried the case; yet they also very inconsistently



recited, in the same plea, the averments, which we have re-produced in our narrative, concerning the successive sales and purchases of Eden, one after another, by a dozen or so of the citizens of Massachusetts, each of whom, with his residence, was named in that plea. (*Records of the Worcester-county Court of Common Pleas, December Term, 1806.*) Does not the plea, thus made in the teeth of their own knowledge and of their own averments to the contrary, by the Winchendon men who thus fought a poor old negro, for the purpose of depriving him of a couple of dollars per week, indicate that, if they were not "municipal falsifiers," they were, individually, wilful and willing disregards of the truth?

The records indicate, also, that the Court was not ignorant of Winchendon's evident propensity to tell what, in this case, was not true—of the fact, unpleasant as it may have seemed, that Winchendon's representatives, concerning Eden London, were "municipal falsifiers"—and in these emphatic words, it retorted on Winchendon's plea of the pretended birthright of Eden to enjoy, to an equal extent, the freedom which was enjoyed by his successive masters: "The issue of the female slave, according to the maxims of the Civil Law, was the PROPERTY of her master;" that the slave was "the PROPERTY of his master, subject to his orders and to reasonable correction for misbehavior" [*his master's mule was nothing less than "property," and was "subject," under the law, to no more than "reasonable correction for misbehavior" before his master*] "was transferrable, like a chattel," [*the aforesaid mule, for instance*] "by gift or sale, and was assets in the hands of his Executor or Administrator." \* Concerning the case of Littleton vs. Tuttle, in 1796, in which the presiding Justice had charged a Jury "that a negro born in this State, before the present Constitution, was also 'born free, although born of a female slave,' which had evidently been cited by Mr. Upham, in behalf of Winchendon's plea, the Supreme Judicial Court in the case of Eden London, curtly remarked, through the presiding Chief-justice of the Commonwealth, that it was "very certain" "that the general practise and common usage" "had been opposed to this opinion;" † and it entirely disregarded that opinion, in the Judgment which it gave in the pending action.

Nor was the Court less emphatic concerning a slave's alleged capacity to acquire a settlement, in his own right, apart from his master, which Winchendon had so persistently averred, and on which she mainly depended. "The slave could not acquire a settlement in his own right," the Court said, since he was not a man, in the

eye of the law: he had merely "a derivative settlement, from his master;" and whenever "the master acquired a new settlement, it was accompanied by the settlement of the slave," "who could not be separated from his master." \* When Partridge sold Eden from Hatfield into Westfield, therefore, Eden lost his settlement in the former and acquired "a derivative settlement," from his new master, John Ingersoll, in the latter town; and thus he had also changed owners and settlements, simultaneously, until Thomas Sawyer of Winchendon bought him and gave him a settlement in Winchendon—a right which was not disturbed by the subsequent transfer of the poor fellow to Daniel Goodridge of the same place; by his manful struggle on Bunker's-hill, in Winchendon's cause; nor by his subsequent return to Winchendon, to labor and to become a pauper in, and to immortalize, that town, as a glaring illustration of the ugly fact that all "republics are ungrateful," even to those who have established them.

Entertaining these views—the conclusions, as it expressed it, of "the general practice and common usage"—at the March Term, 1808, to which it had been laid over, the Court determined, judicially, that Eden London had no settlement, UNDER THE STATUTE, anywhere: that the provisions of the Statute, did not, at any time, apply to him nor affect him: that his settlement was "derived" solely from the master whose "property" he had been, and not from his own alleged manhood before the law—a manhood which, at best, was only a mere myth: that he had "lost his settlement in Hatfield," when his master sold him thence: that he had "derived" a settlement from his new master, in Winchendon, when he was carried there as a slave: that he had not regained a settlement in Hatfield nor lost one in Winchendon: that "the Defendant [*Hatfield*]" "was not liable for his maintenance:" that Winchendon necessarily was thus liable.

For the reason, therefore, that Winchendon while she unquestionably knew that poor Eden had neither been a free man nor enjoyed the rights of one, while he was yet a slave, had, nevertheless, indecently and falsely averred that he was born free; that his legal rights, even while he was a slave, were similar to those enjoyed by his several masters; that he had not, while a slave, been "lawfully restrained" by his master—all this, and more, for the single purpose of saving a couple of dollars per week which an old soldier's charity-fare would have cost her—we maintained, in the place complained of Mr. Marvin, that her town-officers were "municipal falsifiers;" and, in view of the language of the Court, in giving Judgment against her, we see no reason to change

\* 4 Massachusetts Reports, 127.

† Ibid. 129.

\* 4 Massachusetts Reports, 129.



our opinion of them, thus expressed, for one which is more favorable or less emphatic in its terms.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

## XL.—CHRISTOPHER COLLES AND INLAND NAVIGATION.

### EXPLANATORY.

Concerning one feature of the statements respecting the connection of Christopher Colles with Inland Navigation projects, incidentally alluded to in my letter concerning that remarkable man, (published in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for April, 1869,) a few additional words may be useful in further explanation of the subject.

The allusion, in the Legislative Report and Bill of 1786, to an extension of the boat navigation to "Lake Erie, if practicable"—and to which Doctor Hosack and Colonel Troup referred (vide page 265, HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for April, 1869,) should not be confounded with the *Erie Canal project*, as afterwards suggested by Jesse Hawley, in 1806-7, and realized by Clinton and his compeers, between 1817 and 1826.

Those allusions were, either to a possible extension of the inland-navigation, westward of Oswego, by means of Seneca-river, flowing from Seneca-lake, which unites with the Oswego-river near Oswego; and to a continuance of boat navigation, westward of Seneca-lake, by canals and locks connecting with any stream or streams that might enable boatmen to reach Lake Erie, without going into Lake Ontario, at Oswego; or, to a proposed canal and locks around Niagara Falls, to enable vessels reaching Oswego from Albany, to traverse Lake Ontario and ascend to Lake Erie by means of a canal and locks at Niagara Falls—for which latter purpose, a Company was chartered by the Legislature, in 1798—which Company, however, did not carry out the Niagara Falls project,

The *Erie Canal* project, on the inland route suggested by Hawley in his fourteen memorable essays, (re-published in the Hosack Memoir,) and afterwards gloriously realized by Clinton and his associates, was styled by Hawley, the "*Overland Route*," in contra-distinction to the *Lake Ontario and Niagara Falls* route, for "tapping," or connecting with, Lake Erie.

As much of the confusion and conflicting claims, concerning the origin of the respective projects, evidently arises from the want of proper appreciation of the marked distinction between the "*Ontario Route*" and the "*Overland Route*," attention is here particularly requested to the subject; and a reference to any map of the State is respectfully suggested, for the better illustration of the distinction between the respective routes.

Even Mr. Elkanah Watson, while claiming to be the originator of the idea of the "State Canal System," and who was concerned in the Western Inland Navigation Company, for carrying out *Colles's project* of the "*Ontario Route*," expressly says, in his *History of the Canals*, published in 1820, "The utmost stretch of our views was to follow the track of Nature's Canal, and to remove natural or artificial obstructions; but we never entertained the most distant conception of a *Canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson*. We should not have considered it much more extravagant to have suggested the possibility of a Canal to the moon. The projectors of the grand Canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson have soared to a sublime height in conceiving at once the boldest and most daring attempt (and, in its consequences, the most important to society) ever encountered by the genius of man."

One of the noblest features in the character of De Witt Clinton, is the magnanimity with which he ascribed to Jesse Hawley the honor of having originated this *Erie Canal Project*, as he also gladly recognized the fact, proven by our Legislative records and cotemporary history, that "Christopher Colles was the first person who suggested to the Government of the State the Canals and improvements on the *Ontario Route*." Sufficient for Clinton's noble heart was the consciousness of having aided to consummate the Great Idea which he thus honorably conceded to Hawley, and with the realization of which his own fame is imperishably connected.

HENRY O'RIELLY.

NEW YORK, May 10, 1869.

## XII.—ORIGIN OF THE ERIE CANAL.\*

### 1.—Services of Benjamin Wright.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE *New York Observer*.

The contemplation of the benefits, beyond computation, conferred by the execution of the Erie Canal, ever and anon, incited by the slightest allusion to its origin, calls forth some advocate of the claims of this or that individual to the first conception of that great project. In a recent number of your paper, Mr. Goodsell, of Oswego-county, repeats the claims of Jesse Hawley.

It is well-established that Mr. Hawley wrote and published, at an early period—relatively, however, not so early—in the *Genesee Messenger*, printed at Canandaigua, several essays in support of a canal between Lake Erie and the Hudson.

\* We copy this from *The Buffalo Daily Courier*, Saturday, February 23, 1867.

We propose to continue the subject, from time to time, as opportunity shall offer.

river. These essays have been collected and republished in such form as to rescue them from oblivion. In one respect, they were crude as to the plan they then suggested, since they recommended an inclined plane, or channel, of regular descent, by which the waters of Lake Erie were to descend to the Hudson-river or to the Mohawk. In other respects, they evince a comprehensive mind, great research, and, in fine, are of very marked ability.

In regard to the influence these essays exerted on the first measures taken, those who, like the writer, belong even to a later generation, can well recollect when country papers had a very circumscribed circulation, barely extending outside the township where they were published, or, if at all, most invariable to the westward of their offices of publication. There is no evidence that even one of our active public men, of the period of the essays, saw the only ones then published, prior to the first legislative action; and they, therefore, although possessing great merit, fell still-born as to any real influence at the time of their publication; they were subsequently duly honored and appreciated. Mr. Hawley himself asserted no claim in these to the first idea; on the contrary, he leaves the matter susceptible of an interpretation that the idea might have had its birth during some casual conversation, in such a way that he regarded it as new. And Judge Geddes said, moreover, that he conversed with Mr. Hawley on the subject, the Winter before he wrote his essays. These are the words used by Mr. Hawley, in his introductory essay, when announcing the project he is about to advocate, viz: "*It is the connecting of the waters of Lake Erie and those of the Mohawk and Hudson-rivers, by means of a canal. As the project is, probably, not more than twelve months old in human conception,*" &c., &c.

There is evidence that others of corresponding large views, limited only by their less perfect knowledge of the topography of the western part of the State, had their thoughts, prior to this period, directed to a navigable communication between the Lakes and the Hudson-river, as far West as Seneca Lake, and thence into Lake Ontario—the latter furnishing an extended natural navigation. After weighing the testimony in my own mind, I have come to the conclusion that the views of Gouverneur Morris and Schuyler, Watson, and others, were thus limited. In proportion as the features of the country became better known, the independent through-route was the natural consequence. Disinterested examiners may be disposed to concur with Judge Platt, a prominent citizen and well-versed in the early history of the State, where he says: "As to the merit of the first design of a Canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson, it belongs, in my opinion, exclusively to no

"person. It was gradually developed to the minds of many who were early acquainted with the geography and topography of the western region of the State."

Conceding that, in the order of time, the conception of the project, although equally original with them, was a little subsequent, those who, spreading before their minds the immense benefit this colossal enterprise would confer—fully appreciating its magnitude, yet comprehending its practicability,—at once, upon their own volition, initiated measures for its accomplishment—these individuals, when the question comes up who was the originator of the Erie Canal, ought certainly to be thought of, and named, one or both, if not in advance, at least in the foremost rank of those to whom the gratitude of so large a portion of the nation as is now enjoying the benefits is justly due. This claim by no means detracts from that likewise due to those legislators who, when the time had fully come and their incipient measures had culminated, brought great powers of mind and eloquence, and thereby influence, to the accomplishment of the work. And so, too, to that man, with giant intellect, who, from the instant the project was presented to him, penetrating the future and picturing to himself the magnificent development,—and could he have foreseen the obloquy, the partizan malice, and personal malevolence, that was to shower down upon him, it would not have deterred him—threw his whole soul into the enterprise. I mean De Witt Clinton. Many can recollect how he was the butt of all the derision its enemies heaped upon this great work. And with what calmness and equanimity he bore it, even the disgraceful ejection from the office of Canal Commissioner, from which position he derived not one particle of emolument, serving his State gratuitously. I said he bore all this with equanimity, and, I may add, with the dignity of true greatness. I remember one of his letters addressed to my father. Although not fully understanding or remembering the particular occurrence that prompted the expression, to this day that letter is vivid in my memory, its chirography and one of its two sentences. To those who knew the connection those two sufficed. The first sentence was the simple quotation: "*The vipers bite at a file.*" I read in this the character of the man.

Now I wish to show you how feeble a beginning a mighty project or undertaking may have. At the Session of the Legislature, the Winter of 1807-'8, were found my father,—familiarily known throughout the region of public works as Judge Wright,—a representative from Oneida-county, and the Hon. Joshua Forman, the representative from Onondaga-county, occupying a room together. Judge Wright, being a subscriber for *Rees' Cyclopaedia*, then in course of publi-



cation by Webster & Skinner, of Albany, carried to his room, one evening, the volume just then issued, containing the article, "CANALS." Opening to the latter, a conversation ensued between him and Mr. Forman, on the importance to the State of improved communications. Limited improvements had been already made, directed toward Lake Ontario. More than one hundred miles of the route of the Erie Canal had been surveyed by Judge Wright, before the close of the last century; and locks had been constructed, under his supervision, on the Wood-creek, a tributary of Oneida Lake. At first, he was naturally attached to this route; but Judge Foreman, living West of this, favored an independent canal to Lake Erie; and the advantages to the industry of the State were immediately admitted by my father. It is not a little singular that the route he had previously been pursuing should now, at the present Session of the Legislature and in Congress, be urged with no little zeal. Neither of these gentlemen, they have said, had ever heard of Mr. Hawley's essays. If they had, allusion would there have been made to them. Mr. Hawley himself said that "*they were commenced in the Fall of 1807, (October) and concluded in the following April.*" Consequently, a considerable part of the series did not see the light until two months or more after these incipient measures, taken by these two individuals, *unaided and unprompted* by any other person. Before going to bed, it was arranged that Mr. Forman should, on the following morning, introduce Resolutions for the survey of the route for a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson-river, which Resolutions were to be seconded by Judge Wright. This arrangement was carried out. (See *Assembly Journal*.)

With persevering zeal, they effected the introduction into the Supply Bill, of an appropriation of one thousand dollars for the above object, which was reduced to six hundred dollars in the Senate. This meagre appropriation was suffered to pass, because the object was looked as chimerical, and not probably to be attempted when those who supported it should recover their reason. Think of it, Mr. Editor, six hundred dollars for a survey from Lake Erie to the Hudson-river. The writer was a lad and volunteered in the survey of 1816, from this place to Seneca-river, then through an almost uninterrupted forest. According to his recollection now, he can count upon the fingers of one hand the spots of cultivated ground—first, at Oneida Creek; next, at Canaseraga and Chittenango; next, with a few rods intermediate, at Syracuse; beyond that, one or two more, in a total distance of eighty miles. This will be understood as applying only to the route of the canal. That survey occupied a large part of the entire season.

Under that appropriation, to Mr. Geddes was

assigned the examination,—my father's engagements on the St. Lawrence precluding his participation. Mr. Geddes's Report was made early in 1809. Then followed the appointment of a Board of Commissioners and other surveys, under direction of Judge Wright, in 1810, '11, and '12. The War of 1812, necessarily suspended all proceedings. That War served to further enlighten the public mind as to the importance of the enterprise, for the Government availed of the existing works to transport their war-material up the Mohawk and through the canal then existing across this former carrying-point, to the waters of Wood-creek, and then into Oneida Lake.

It is exceedingly interesting, at this period, to recur to the early history of the Erie Canal. One stands amazed at the strong and persistent opposition it encountered. Were it not that New York city has been so often recreant to her own interest in sending mediocre men to the Legislature, and thus rendering nugatory her influence in the councils of the State, it would be beyond surprise that her representatives were the obstinate opponents of the undertaking. More than once, this noble offspring of the State was upon the verge of strangulation; but, one by one, the great intellects enlisted into the ranks of its friends. "Judge Pendleton," says Wm. L. Stone, in his interesting narrative, "was at first opposed; but, on the following day, after having examined the surveys and calculations of Benjamin Wright, Esq., the principal Engineer, Judge Pendleton came out decidedly in favor of 'the Canal System.'" There were others equally worthy of gratitude; but, with a brief allusion to the speech of Mr. Duer, that preceded his, I would like to copy the report of that made by Elisha Williams, Esq., of Hudson, on account of its bearing on the course of the New York members. There was every indication that a death-blow would be struck by its enemies. On collateral issues they had outnumbered its friends. In the narrative contained in the letter of W. L. Stone, Esq., to Dr. Hosack, the former says:—"The debate was recommenced by Mr. Duer, on the morning of the ninth (*April, 1817*), in the ablest manner. His language was at once persuasive and powerful. His close observation and his deep thought, upon the grand results evidently to grow out of this momentous question, revealed to his enlightened understanding the immense utility of the work in contemplation and the honorable fame to be awarded by unborn ages, to those who might now or hereafter step forth as its honest, fearless, and successful advocates. He did not hesitate. He avowed his determined purpose, in the course of the debate, to sustain the cause and persevere in it to the end.

"At this critical point of the struggle, Elisha



"Williams, of Hudson, who had not hitherto manifested any particular friendship for the project, having been rather reserved, stepped forward in its favor; and the events soon proved 'the might that slumbered in his arm.'"

"\* \* \* In the course, of the debate, in which he now engaged, Mr. W. had occasion for all his powers; and he wielded them with all his might, contesting the ground, inch by inch, and defending the Bill, Section by Section. But it was in one grand speech, that in the most masterly manner he sustained the motion of Mr. Duer and urged the question upon the broad ground of its merits. From this time until the battle was fought and the victory won, he was at his post and often upon the floor—now gravely answering the objections of the leading opponents of the measure; now nerving the arms even of the strong, and now dispelling the apprehensions of the timid and confirming the vacillating and doubtful; now tearing the mask from those pretended friends of the project who were secretly aiming at the destruction of the Bill; and now extinguishing, in a breath, by some happy stroke of raillery, the petty objections thickly interspersed by those legislators, who have neither the mind to conceive nor the judgment to appreciate extensive projects of public improvement. He labored hard to harmonize and soften jealousies and conflicting interests. He, as well as several gentlemen who opposed the Bill, represented a County bordering on the Hudson-river—a county that might possibly be opposed, for the present, to so great an undertaking. But he relied on the patriotism and the magnanimity of his constituents; and he was not mistaken. He appealed to the members from New York, who were almost to a man hostile to the project. He conjured them, in the most animated and persuasive manner, not to forget that this was in fact an attempt of the People of the State to supply their favorite city, at the cheapest rate, with every production of the soil, in abundance. The glowing picture which he drew of the future greatness and splendor of New York, when the great channels of inland navigation then under consideration should be completed, is yet floating in my mind like the fragments of a bright and glorious vision. 'If' said he, turning to a leading member of the New York delegation, 'if the Canal is to be a shower of gold, it will fall upon New York; if a river of gold, it will flow into her lap.'" Adopting now, with redoubled emphasis, the remarks of Mr. Stone:—"How true we have found this prediction! But, strong as was his belief and sanguine as was his temperament, his anticipations, though then considered extravagant, have fallen far short of the reality, both on the score

"of revenue derived from these Canals and as regards the incalculable benefits they have conferred upon the State and country at large."

Mr. Duer's motion to amend was adopted soon after Mr. Williams sat down, by a vote of sixty-one to forty-five. Mr. Sergeant then moved to reject the whole Bill, which motion, after a brief discussion, was lost, seventy to thirty. The battle was won; and the residue of the time occupied upon the Bill in the House of Assembly was in a running debate upon its minor details. The question on its final passage, in Committee of the Whole, was taken on the tenth of April. The vote stood; ayes, sixty-four; noes, eighty-six.

The Bill, after another struggle there, passed the Senate, and had then to be subjected to almost hopeless issue in the Council of Revision. Mark on what a slender thread hang great events. The following narrative is given by one of its members:—"Lieutenant-governor Taylor, acting Governor, was the President of the Council of Revision; and had ever been distinguished, as one of the ablest and most formidable opponents of the Canal. After reading the Bill, the President called on Chancellor Kent for his opinion. He said he had given very little attention to the subject; that it appeared to him like a gigantic project, which would require the wealth of the United States to accomplish it; that it had passed the Legislature by small majorities, after a desperate struggle; and he thought it inexpedient to commit the State in such a vast undertaking, until public opinion could be better united in its favor.

"Chief-justice Thompson was next called on for his opinion. He closed a few remarks with a declaration of opposition to the bill. Judges Yates and Platt were in favor. And now the President of the Council panted, with honest zeal, to strangle the infant Hercules at its birth, by his casting vote in the negative. A warm and animated discussion arose; and afterwards, a more temperate and deliberate examination of the Bill obviated in some measure the objections of the Chancellor and the Chief-justice. Near the close of the debate, Vice-president Tompkins came into the Council Chamber, and took his seat familiarly among us. He expressed a decided opinion against the Bill; and, among other reasons, he stated, that the late Peace with Great Britain was a mere truce; that we should undoubtedly soon have a renewed War with that country; and, that instead of wasting the credit and resources of the State, in this chimerical project, we ought immediately to employ all the revenue and credit of the State in providing arsenals, arming the militia, erecting fortifications, and preparing for War. 'Do you think so, Sir!' said Chancellor Kent. 'Yes, Sir,' was the reply. 'Eng-

“land will never forgive us for our victories on  
 “the land and on the ocean and the lakes; and  
 “my word for it, we shall have another War,  
 “within two years.’ The Chancellor then, a-  
 “rising from his seat, with great animation de-  
 “clared, ‘If we must have War or have a  
 “Canal, I am in favor of the Canal; and I vote  
 “for the Bill.’ His voice gave us the ma-  
 “jority; and so the Bill became a law.

“If that Bill had been rejected by the Council,  
 “it could not have been carried by two-thirds  
 “of the Senate and Assembly. \* \* \* At no  
 “future period could the work have been ac-  
 “complished at so small an expense of land, of  
 “water and hydraulic privilege. Rival routes  
 “and local interests were daily increasing and  
 “combining against the project; and, in my es-  
 “timation, it was one of the chief grounds of  
 “merit in the advocates of the Erie-canal, that  
 “they seized on the very moment most proper  
 “and auspicious for that immortal work.”

That early history of the canals ought not to  
 slumber in obscurity. It ought often to be called  
 up, that the people of this and the Western States  
 may be reminded of the difficulties they en-  
 countered, and thus be led to place a higher es-  
 timate upon them. It will then be more gener-  
 ally known by the community, to whom they are  
 indebted for the great advantages they possess.  
 It is with this view, at the expense of extending  
 greatly my original object, that I have introduc-  
 ed some little of that history. Recognizing ful-  
 ly and cheerfully the obligations due to others  
 for their services, I aver that the name of my hon-  
 ored parent, Benjamin Wright, if not in ad-  
 vance, should be placed in the foremost rank, of  
 those to whom the gratitude of the country is  
 due. Without a candid examination, this opin-  
 ion will be ascribed to the relation in which I  
 stand to him. Hence I solicit that investigation  
 and attendant reflection. That he was not, dur-  
 ing his lifetime, among the clamorous claim-  
 ants for honor or fame, is no evidence of lack of  
 title thereto. True merit shrinks from public  
 demonstration. All who knew him will bear  
 testimony that such were his characteristics. Ex-  
 ceedingly diffident and even shunning notoriety,  
 he never appeared conscious that he was entitled  
 to equal, if not greater, merit. It was the con-  
 versation in which he engaged with the Hon. Mr.  
 Forman that elicited the suggestion, then, of the  
 through-route; and it does not require very pow-  
 erful perception to be satisfied, that, so far as Mr.  
 Forman was concerned, the idea would have  
 gone no further, had it not been for the presence,  
 practical experience, and counsel of Judge  
 Wright. It was his co-operation that gave form  
 to the abstract idea.

He was at Albany during the entire discussion  
 of the Bill. His friends and neighbors, represent-

ing this County in the Legislature, were found  
 among the firm and active supporters of the pro-  
 ject, at times saving the Bill by their tact and ad-  
 dress. It may well be inferred that their convic-  
 tions were in some measure due to their intercourse  
 with him; else why were the members from Onei-  
 da-county at all periods so active in support of  
 the enterprise? Of extraordinary intuitive ca-  
 pacity and sound practicable judgment, he rested  
 upon these: boisterous pretensions was unnat-  
 ural to him. His was a quiet influence. Under  
 these circumstances, his claims remained hidden  
 and obscured, by the clamor made by others.

To his unswerving integrity, the State of New  
 York is largely under obligations, where so much  
 depended on economizing her resources. Not  
 one cent of the money of the State ever sullied  
 his hands; on the contrary, I have the best rea-  
 son to believe, from other circumstances and  
 from his complete devotion to the interests of the  
 State, his ardent desire for the success of the  
 work, together with the absolute disregard of his  
 private interests, that considerable sums in the  
 aggregate were expended by him, for which no  
 claim was ever made. He was for a long period  
 in the service of the State: longer than almost any  
 other individual. That service he would not aban-  
 don until the success of her public works was  
 secure.

The Board of Commissioners, more than once,  
 during the prosecution of the work, publicly ac-  
 knowledged their great obligations to Judge  
 Wright. One of these testimonials I will copy.  
 In one of their Annual Reports they said:

“In looking back to the numerous difficulties  
 “and responsibilities,—some of them of an aspect  
 “the most disheartening—which surrounded  
 “the Canals, especially in their commencement,  
 “we feel compelled by common justice to com-  
 “mend the aid which has at all times been afford-  
 “ed by our Engineers. In the selection of all the  
 “persons who are now employed by us, under this  
 “character, we have been eminently fortunate.  
 “But to the Hon. Benjamin Wright and James  
 “Geddes, the State is mostly indebted. Possess-  
 “ing much local information, competent science,  
 “long experience in many kinds of business  
 “bearing some analogy to canal operations, and  
 “well-established characters for industry and fi-  
 “delity, these gentlemen have rendered the most  
 “essential service in all the duties of their de-  
 “partment. They have unceasingly devoted their  
 “best faculties to the great cause in which they  
 “were engaged; and they have hitherto been  
 “found equal to the highest trusts confided in  
 “them.”

I have said that his was a quiet influence; and  
 I am able to cite an instance where to this influ-  
 ence an organization in your city is greatly in-  
 debted; and, according to my recollection of



the critical circumstances in which it was at the time, owes its very existence. When the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company made application to the Legislature for the loan of the credit of the State, the application met with strong opposition, in part because of the general principle involved. The Bill passed by a very small majority. I was told by a very prominent member—one who frequently addressed the House, and never failed to influence its vote—that “he was opposed to the measure; but, out of deference to my father’s presence and opinion, refrained from saying anything. Had he spoken, he knew full well the Bill would have failed to pass.” So that the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company owe their success to his influence, of which the Managers may never have been aware. The member I refer to is still living; and will confirm this statement.

BENJAMIN H. WRIGHT.

ROME, N. Y., April 20, 1866.

2.—*Secret History of the Incipient Legislation of the Erie Canal.*

WHITESBORO. March, 1866.

WM. C. YOUNG—

MY DEAR COUSIN:—The copy of the *Courier and Republic*, containing “A paper on the origin of the Erie Canal,” has been received, and for which please accept my thanks. Having read it with care, it appears liable to some criticism in this, that too much care and research are bestowed in trying to discover who has, or rather, who was the person, among our statesmen really entitled to having made public, the first *idea* of connecting the waters of Lake Erie with the waters of the Hudson-river. Practically, it seems to me of more importance to discover who were the first projectors, and entitled to the high and honorable position of projecting, the first legislation of the State of New York, and which resulted in the completion of the Erie Canal. Jonas Platt was elected by the Federal party to the Senate of the State of New York; and was a member of that body when Thomas Eddy, of the city of New York, came to Albany, as Agent of the “Western Inland Lock Navigation Company,” to obtain an enactment by the Legislature to enable said Company to connect the waters of Lake Ontario with the Cayuga and Seneca Lakes; and he called on Senator Platt, for consultation, and often repeated such calls, until, finally, General Platt said to him, “Mr. Eddy, why not make application at once for a canal to connect the waters of Lake Erie with the waters of the Hudson-river?” To which Mr. Eddy replied, “It would frighten the members of the Legislature to such a degree that nothing would be granted; and I should lose even what I am sent here to ob-

tain.” General Platt replied, that he thought the greater project might be carried, if De Witt Clinton would lend his aid and influence with the Democratic party, of which De Witt Clinton was then one of the leaders, and confessedly its leader in the Senate, both agreeing that, if Mr. Clinton should oppose, the measure would be lost; and it was agreed that General Platt should see Mr. Clinton, and assure him that there was no political object in the application. It may be well to mention that General Platt was the leader of the Federal minority in the Senate, and he proposed to Mr. Clinton that he (Mr. Clinton) should introduce the Joint Resolution, spoken of by the author of the piece you sent me, as “the resolution joint,” that Thomas Eddy, Jonas Platt and De Witt Clinton, were “*instrumental in procuring*,” in the Winter of 1810. Mr. Clinton declined to introduce the Resolution as its mover; and it was agreed that General Platt or some other member of the Senate should introduce it, and Mr. Clinton would second it, but not make a speech. The Resolution was offered, and Mr. Clinton rose and seconded it, but said nothing. The above was related to me by General Platt, in his office, I being a student of law in that office at that time; and at my solicitation he stated the above, as the secret history of that Resolution. This I was anxious to obtain from the best source; deeming it at that time a measure of more importance than any other that had ever been agitated by our State Legislature. I had read the Reports and commentaries thereon of individuals who had broached the *idea* of water communication between the great Lakes and Hudson-river: having seen the first practical move in that direction by our Legislature was, alone, the occasion of my seeking the conversation with General Platt and of his disclosure to me.

The subject was more or less used by the political parties of those times, when the subject came before the Legislature; and De Witt Clinton afterwards left the Democratic party, was elected Governor, and became the great advocate of the canals, staking his popularity upon that issue, which was made against him, under the lead of Erastus Root, a member of the House of Assembly from Delaware-county, a man of great talents, and leading the policy of the Democratic party in this State.

I have taken the liberty of giving an account of the first *practical Legislation* of the State, deeming it as of infinitely greater importance to know who the actors were, and by what means the great internal improvement policy was successful in this State, than it can be to ascertain who originated the *idea first*, but never moved for its practical consummation—a wonder that challenges the world for its compeer. The glory is our own—the work was accomplished, and the whole



world benefited. The monument, although as yet unfinished, will stand for ever in the work itself.

Very respectfully, your ob't servant,

F. C. WHITE.

### XIII.—SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

LETTER FROM MR. MOORE.

To the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

The following Note appears in a recent publication of a lecture on Slavery in Massachusetts under the auspices of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in Boston. The lecture contains extracts from the draft of a proposed letter to the Continental Congress from the Legislature of Massachusetts, in 1777, which I communicated to the *Evening Post* of the twenty-eighth of January, 1869, and your Magazine for the same month.

"A writer in the 'New York *Evening Post*,' of the twenty-eighth of January, 1869, informs 'the public, in a communication, dated the twenty-fifth of January, 1869, including the letter referred to in the above text, that he had 'discovered' the draft of the letter to Congress, 'which is of sufficient interest to deserve publication.' A copy of the original had been read 'before the Massachusetts Historical Society, at its regular meeting in September, 1868, by Charles Deane, Esq., its Secretary; and the above extract had been taken from the printed sheets of 'the forthcoming volume of its Transactions, and 'had been delivered, forming a part of this lecture, on the twenty-second of the same January."

This carefully studied, though obscure, note is intended to convey the impression that your correspondent has stolen the thunder of the Massachusetts Historical Society; or improperly interfered in some way with the peculiar sphere or domain of its "learned Secretary;" to whom the lecturer, "on the twenty-second of the same January," credited the *discovery* of the document in question.

As for the "discovery" and use made of it by that gentleman, none of us are likely to be the wiser for either until the volume to which he refers is not only "printed" and "forthcoming," but published. But I desire to say now that I was under no possible obligation to the Society, or the Secretary, or the diligent antiquary from whom they obtained their "discovery," either for the document itself, or any of the facts which I have published in connection with its history. I "discovered," or "found," or "met with," and copied the document myself from the original in the Massachusetts Archives, to which I credited it, among which my personal researches for materials to illustrate the neglected history of Slav-

ery in that State, have been long-continued, persistent, faithful, and honestly intended to be thorough and complete.

I do not claim to be one of those historical head-centres "around whom facts hitherto untold seem to revolve, with a tendency to fall to 'them like meteors;'" neither am I a retailer of second-hand historical discoveries.

GEORGE H. MOORE.

NEW YORK: April 24, 1869.

### XIV.—MATERIAL FOR TELEGRAPH HISTORY.—CONTINUED.

III.—HARRISON GRAY DYAR,

INVENTOR AND CONSTRUCTOR OF THE FIRST EXPERIMENTAL ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH IN AMERICA.

To the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

Having, in the last number, alluded to the efforts of Christopher Colles for attracting public attention toward the establishment of a Telegraph System through the United States, at the commencement of the War with Great Britain, in 1812—being the first public proposal of such a system of correspondence in America—more than thirty years before Congress built the forty-mile experimental line between Washington and Baltimore; we now turn to another interesting feature of Telegraphic History, the date of which is intermediate of the Colles Project of 1812 and the construction of the Governmental Line, in 1844.

It is proper here to repeat substantially what was said in a preceding article of this series—that Colles was not the first person who suggested a telegraph in the United States—that Jonathan Grout, (misprinted Graut in that article) a lawyer of Belchertown, Mass., proposed and built stations to signalize from, "hill-top to hill-top," between Boston and Martha's Vineyard, about the year 1800, somewhat accordant with the plan which had been previously introduced and was long used in France; and that a message is said to have been sent in ten minutes, between Boston and Martha's Vineyard, ninety miles; "but that no "public proposition for a national range of Telegraph appears to have been made before that "of Mr. Colles in 1812." No further information has come within my reach about Mr. Grout, though inquiry has been made by Mr. Dawson, of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, in correspondence with gentlemen at Belchertown.

To prevent confusion, it is also proper here to say that the plan of Colles did not contemplate an *Electric* Telegraph—for Electric discovery had not, in his time, proceeded far enough to justify such an attempt, at least on a large scale—but he did refer to a mode of *Semaphoric* Telegraphing,

such as had been used in France for several years previously—improved somewhat by himself.

The plan to which attention is now called, however, was of an *Electric* character, proposed in 1826-7—about fourteen years after the Colles project was published, and about seventeen years before the short Governmental *Electric* Line was erected between Washington and Baltimore.

Although various suggestions had been made by scientific men concerning the possibility of Telegraphing by Electricity—one of those suggestions having been made by Dr. John Redman Coxe, of Philadelphia, in 1816—nothing of *that* kind appears to have been reduced to practical test, in America at least, till the year 1827; while in Europe, notwithstanding the discoveries or improvements of Ampere, Arago, Sturgeon, and other eminent electricians, Mr. Barlow's experiments of 1825, in which he availed himself of all discoveries prior to that time, caused him to declare that an *Electro-magnetic* Telegraph was *impracticable* on a long range—a statement which was, however, soon after, gloriously contradicted by the brilliant discoveries of Professor Joseph Henry, now of the Smithsonian Institution, but then of Albany and Princeton, who, after hundreds of experiments in *Electro-magnetism*, between 1828 and 1831, discovered and published the great law whereby *adequate* Electro-magnetic Power could be *easily* developed, as it is now substantially developed on all the Telegraph Lines, sub-oceanic as well as overland, "which now connect, in electric unity, men and nations widely separated." Yet an American, calling himself a "Professor," who recently printed in Europe a book about his and other Telegraphs, has not a word to say concerning—does not even name—the great discovery of his countryman, which thus renders *Electro-magnetic* telegraphing *possible* on long lines; and which, forever, ranks the name of JOSEPH HENRY alongside that of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, in the history of electric progress.

The circumstances under which Dyar's electric experiment was made, curiously enough, involve recollections connected with certain banking and monetary transactions, for which sundry prominent citizens were indicted and tried, as shown in the books on *Conspiracy Trials*, to be found in the New York Historical Society's Library. Not that the inventor or projector of this primitive Electric Telegraph was concerned in any of those Bank conspiracies, but suspicion pointed towards him and his associates as being engaged in some plot for transmitting secret intelligence between different cities, like New York, Philadelphia, etc.

Here we are brought to examine the statements of HARRISON GRAY DYAR, formerly a resident of the City of New York—the inventor and con-

structor of the first short section of *Electric* Telegraph erected on the American continent—which will show the troubles and trials to which that ingenious and enterprising man was subjected, even as late as 1827, when endeavoring to organize a Company for constructing an Electric Telegraph, and to demonstrate the practicability of which he actually constructed a short experimental line of posts and wires on Long Island—seventeen years before the Federal Government built the short experimental line for Professor Morse, between Washington and Baltimore.

The narrative of Mr. Dyar was elicited from him by the controversies that arose, about twenty years after his operations, concerning the respective merits of sundry inventors, about which contests sundry lawsuits were instituted and occupied the Courts and public attention for many years. In several of those lawsuits, the following was sworn to as a correct copy of a letter written at the time and place indicated by its date, by Mr. Dyar. Though thus submitted in Courts, it is evident that this letter was written merely as a private communication to an old friend, who, being called as a witness, submitted the matter as a part of his testimony.

The letter, now for the first time published, is printed entire, that the reader may the better judge of the characteristics and fate of the projector of the primitive American *Electric* Telegraph:

[MR. DYAR'S LETTER.]

" LUTHER V. BELL, Esq.,

" Somerville,

" near Boston, Mass.,

" of the McLean Asylum,

" Etats Unis.

" 31 RUE DELA MADELINE, PARIS, March 8, 1848.

" MY DEAR FRIEND:—A few days since your letter was handed to me, and the recognition of the hand-writing immediately called up a crowd of recollections of times long gone by, of numerous interesting events, acts, projects, and dreams, which occupied the several years of our personal, intimate, friendly intercourse. The feelings accompanying these so-suggested reminiscences convinced me of the truth of what you did me the honor once to state, viz: that we make acquaintances in manhood, but our friendships only in youth.

" On reading your letter, I was touched by the exhibition of your continued interest in my destiny, and especially by your solicitude in reference to my establishing my just claims as discoverer of the Electric Telegraph. I have in years past thought of bringing forward my claims, but was checked by considering that by so doing I might deprive another person of the profits of his invention, which, although



"subsequent to my own, I had supposed were  
"original with the patentee, and so independent  
"of any connection with my previous projects  
"and experiments. I had, however, thought it  
"very remarkable that Mr. Morse's plan should  
"be so almost exactly like my own, especially  
"extending to the mode of representing the let-  
"ters of the alphabet, which is identical.

"Since reading your letter, when searching  
"for some papers in reference to my connection  
"with this subject, I found a letter of introduc-  
"tion, dated the day before my departure from  
"America, in February, 1831, from an old and  
"good friend, Charles Walker, to his brother-in-  
"law, S. F. B. Morse, artist, at that time in Eu-  
"rope. At the sight of this letter, it occurred  
"to me that this Mr. Morse might be the same  
"person as Mr. Morse of the Electric Tele-  
"graph; which I found to be the case. The  
"fact of the patentee of this Telegraph, so  
"identical with my own, being the brother-in-  
"law of, and living with, my friend and legal coun-  
"sel, Charles Walker, at the time of and subse-  
"quent to my experiments on the wire, or Electric  
"Telegraph, in 1826 and 1827, or about twenty  
"years ago, has changed my opinion as to the  
"justice of my remaining passive and allowing  
"another to enjoy the honor of a discovery which,  
"by priority, is clearly due to me; and which, pre-  
"sumptively, is only a continuation of my plans,  
"without any material invention on the part of  
"another.

"Now I wish you to tell me if I am unjust in  
"presuming that Mr. Morse must have heard his  
"brother-in-law mention the certainly remarka-  
"ble circumstance of my project, of establishing  
"Telegraphic communications by wires hung up  
"on poles in the air, between New York and  
"Philadelphia; and that I was stopped by a  
"suit instituted, or believed to be instituted,  
"against me, *under the charge of conspiracy for*  
"*transmitting secret intelligence from city to city,*  
"and because of which I was obliged to drop  
"the project when ripe for execution, and fly  
"from New York, i. e., for attempting, ten years  
"too soon, to carry out what is now universally  
"considered one of the greatest inventions of  
"the age. *I was treated as a criminal, and was*  
"*obliged to find safety in flight.*

"It is such experience as this, and others, where  
"I had neither honor nor profit, which has made  
"me indifferent to reputation or popularity.  
"My inventions, however, yielded me a fortune;  
"and I can now neglect barren praise, especially  
"living as I now do, in an ideal world of my  
"own creation. I will, however, give you a  
"sketch of what I did do and projected to do,  
"about twenty years since, in this matter.

"I invented a plan of a Telegraph, which should  
"be independent of day, or night, or weather;

"which should extend from town to town, or  
"from city to city, without any intermediary  
"agency, by the means of an insulated wire in  
"the air, suspended on poles, and through which  
"wire I intended to send strokes of electricity, in  
"such a manner as that the difference of time sep-  
"arating the divers sparks should represent the  
"different letters of the alphabet and stops be-  
"tween the words, &c., &c. This absolute or  
"this relative difference of time between the  
"several sparks, I intended to take off from an  
"electric machine by a little mechanical contriv-  
"ance, regulated by a pendulum; and the sparks  
"were intended to be recorded upon a moving  
"or revolving sheet of moistened litmus paper,  
"which, by the formation of nitric acid, by the  
"spark in the air, in its passage through the pa-  
"per, would leave a red spot for each spark on  
"this blue test-paper—these so-produced red  
"spots, by their relative interspaces, separating  
"them severally from each other, being taken as  
"equivalent for the alphabet, &c., &c., or for  
"other signs intended to be transmitted, where-  
"by a correspondence could be kept up through  
"one wire of any length, either in one direction,  
"or back and forwards, simultaneously or suc-  
"cessively, at pleasure.

"In addition to this use of electricity, I con-  
"sidered that I had, if wanted, an auxiliary re-  
"source in the power of sending impulses along  
"the same wire, properly suspended, somewhat  
"like the action of a common bell-wire in a  
"house.

"Now you will perceive that this plan is, with  
"one exception, like the plan known as Morse's  
"Telegraph;\* and in the exception, his plan is  
"inferior to my own, inasmuch as he and others  
"*now* make use of the Electro-Magnetic action,  
"in place of the simple spark, which requires  
"that they should, in order to get dots or marks  
"upon the paper, make use of mechanical mo-  
"tions, which require time to move; whereas  
"my dots were produced by a chemical action  
"of the spark itself, and would be, from that  
"cause, transmitted and recorded with any re-  
"quired velocity, only preserving the relative  
"distances between the sparks, which is a decid-  
"ed superiority over the use of motions got by  
"the electric motive action. Perhaps Mr. Morse  
"was not sufficiently familiar with electricity to  
"know of this faculty.

"My idea is, that Mr. Morse, when returning

\* This refers to Professor Morse's first views about the Telegraph—while he talked of using Electro-Chemical agency, like that used by Dyar, in 1826. It was not till about the year 1836, that, on the suggestion of Professor Gale, (one of his partners,) Professor Morse adopted the mode of generating adequate Electro-magnetic power, discovered by Professor Joseph Henry, several years before—which discovery of Professor Henry forms the basis of the Electro-Magnetic Telegraph, by sea and land, all over the world.—H. O'R., 1869.



"to America, as you mentioned, got, by the conversation with Dr. Jackson, some notion about carrying electricity along a wire, which enabled him to understand the nature and mode of operation of my wire Telegraph, which he must have heard his brother-in-law speak of as a wire reaching from city to city. I may do his science and inventiveness injustice; but you know the intimacy between Charles and myself, and the presence and relation between him and Mr. Morse. I believe that Mr. Morse is not known to be an inventor or a man of science, and for such reasons not likely to originate such a project.

"In reference to what I did to carry out my invention, I associated myself with a Mr. Brown of Providence, who gave me certain sums of money to become associated with me in the invention. We employed a Mr. Connel, of New York, to aid in getting capital wanted to carry the wires to Philadelphia.

"This was considered as accomplished; but, before beginning upon the long wire, it was decided that we should try some miles of it on Long Island. Accordingly I obtained some fine card wire, intending to run it several times round the race-course on the Island. We put up this wire, (i. e., Mr. Brown and myself,) at different lengths, in curves and straight lines, by suspending it from stake to stake and tree to tree, until we concluded that our experiments justified our undertaking to carry it from New York to Philadelphia.

"At this moment, our agent, Mr. Connel, brought a suit or summons against me for *Twenty thousand dollars*, for agencies and services, which I found was done to extort a concession of a share of the whole project. I appeared before Judge Irving, who, on hearing my statement, dismissed the suit as groundless. A few days after this, Joseph F. White, who knew about our plan of a new Telegraph by wire hung up in the air, and who was our patent agent, (intending to take out a patent when we could no longer keep it secret,) came to Mr. Brown and myself, and stated that Mr. Connel had obtained a writ against us under a charge of conspiracy for carrying on secret communication from city to city; and advising us to leave New York until he could settle the affair for us, stating that the Sheriff's officer was then out after us.

"As you may suppose, this happening just after the *notorious bank conspiracy trials*,\* we

"were frightened beyond measure, and the same night slipped off to Providence, where I remained some time, and did not return to New York for many months, and then with much fear of a suit. This is the circumstance which put an end, killing effectually all desire to engage further on such a dangerous enterprise.

"I think that, on my return to New York, I advised with Charles Walker, who thought that, however groundless such a charge might be, it might give me infinite trouble to stand a suit. From all this, the very name of *Electric Telegraph* has always given me pain, whenever I have heard it spoken of, until I received your last letter, stimulating me to come out with my claims; and even now I cannot overcome the painful association of ideas which the name excites.

"I observe that, in a New York paper, a Mr. O'Rielly has offered a reward of *Three hundred dollars* for the best essay on the progress of Electric Science with reference to the Electric Telegraph, to be presented before next May. I suppose this is done by him with a view to discover grounds of invalidating Mr. Morse's patent. If you think it best to write to him, pray do so—or to Mr. Morse; for if he had an account of my Telegraph through Mr. Walker, and will state the same, I should not wish to injure his patent, which could be no gain to me. In fact, after the lapse of so many years, it might require my presence in America to get sufficient evidence to invalidate his patent. Although the love of fame is too feeble to stimulate me to take any pains to establish my just claims to this invention, yet it gives me much pleasure to see an old friend interest himself thus in my behalf.

"I have received from America no other letter than yours on this subject, which may be because of my change of quarter in Paris. It is over two years since I left the Hotel des Princes, since which I have been at home at my present residence, 31 RUE DE LA MADELINE, where all letters will be directly received by me.

"Nothing can give me greater pleasure than to hear from you, from time to time. We have just passed through, or *seemingly through*, what I consider the greatest revolution of the age. France is now a *being-born* republic. I have been a spectator, present in all the memorable

\* This dread of prosecution, in 1827, seems almost ludicrous; but it will appear in a more serious light, when we recall the state of public feeling against speculators about that time. When Mr. Dyer left this country, in 1828, the "Bank Conspiracy Cases," to which he alludes, might well have caused alarm; for the people were then "dreadfully earnest," as proved by the conviction of sundry prominent

men, such as Henry Eckford, Jacob Barker, Joseph G. Swift, Thomas Vernilley, William P. Rathbone, Matthew L. Davis, Mark Spencer, George W. Brown, and others, for practices which seem almost like innocent amusements when compared with the bolder shaving operations among the bulls and bears of the money market, in 1869. The mystery formerly connected with projects for telegraphing by electricity might then have induced a fear that it (the mystery) might aid in prejudicing a jury against his Telegraph as a portion of the machinery for cheating in stock operations, in case his project was brought before a Court—H. O'R., 1869.

"events of the three days, of which I send you accompanying papers, which will give you accounts better than I may write. All is now perfectly tranquil, and may remain so for a time. It would give me great satisfaction to see you again in this city; and I hope to have that satisfaction before long. I am now keeping house, and could receive you better than when you were here. I cannot realize that it is now twenty years since we formed projects together, nor that our course of life should have separated us, geographically as well as circumstantially.

"But few events in life turn out as we plan them; yet I have found that by *striving after something excellent*, although we may not achieve that for which we aimed, yet nevertheless we *almost always get something good*, either incidentally, by such strife, or along the way-side leading to our such fancied ends. I constantly reproach myself for the little that I have attempted and the less which I have accomplished; yet I flatter myself that if I live to the probable old age due to my constitution, I may yet accomplish something to give me the consoling reflection upon the bed of death, that I have not lived for nothing, either in reference to society or my own personal moral perfectionment. But I regret to find that all external motives of exertion are dying away as years add themselves to years. I have hardly any preceptible desire for wealth or popularity, or ambition in any shape; yet I believe I am one of the most happy of men—happy in living not for, but within, myself; driven by a providence or by a destiny leading where I know not; feeling as if I had not yet got into my right place in the world or as if I belonged nowhere in that world. Twenty more years, friend Bell, and where shall we be, and how situated, if alive? This consideration is consoling, for in twenty years we shall then not decidedly be old men; and in that time many un conjectured acts of ours or circumstances may bring us together to attempt to accomplish. I suppose that I shall always remain single, and pass much of my time in Paris; often, I trust, however, visiting America during the above time. Pray make known to me your project, thus thrown off into the distant future of twenty years. I hope for that distant future, but by no means dread a shorter future.

"Receive from me, my old and tried friend, the assurances of unalterable affection.

"Yours, H. G. DYAR."

The length of this article, occasioned by a desire to present the facts in the precise language of Harrison Gray Dyar himself, so far exceeds the bounds intended to have been occupied, that I defer till another occasion some further remarks on the history of the first practical movement for

using Electric agencies in Telegraphic operations in America.

The coincidence between the plans of Mr. Dyar and those of Professor Morse, as far as the plan of *Electro-chemical* Telegraphy is concerned, is sufficiently marked by the language of Mr. Dyar's letter; and, it need only be repeated here, that it was not till the year 1836 or 1837, that Professor Morse adopted the *Electro-magnetic* power for Telegraphing—the discovery of Professor Joseph Henry, for *easily* developing *sufficient* power of that kind, rendering *Electro-magnetism*, instead of *Electro-chemistry*, the preferred agency for Telegraphic communication; and it is now almost exclusively used on all the great lines which connect the people of all civilized nations with the bonds of Electric Unity.

Next in the order of dates, that great discovery of Professor Henry, consequent on his experiments in *Electro-magnetism*, between 1828 and 1831, should be noticed; and it shall be, in the next number of this series, as one of the most important features in the history of Electric development and in the extension of Telegraphic correspondence through the world.

Respectfully Yours,

HENRY O'RIELLY.

NEW YORK, 26 Pine-street, May, 1869.

#### XV.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them, and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

#### THE SURRENDER OF GEN. JOHNSTON. LETTER FROM GENERAL SHERMAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Tribune*:

SIR: In your issue of yesterday is a notice of Mr. Healy's picture, representing the interview between Mr. Lincoln, General Grant, Admiral Porter, and myself, which repeats substantially the account published some time ago in *Wilkes's Spirit of the Times*, explanatory of that interview, and attributing to Mr. Lincoln himself the paternity of the terms to General Johnston's Army at Durham, in April, 1865.

I am glad you have called public attention to the picture itself, because I feel a personal interest that Mr. Healy should be appreciated as one of our very best American artists. But some friends here, think, by silence, I may be construed as willing to throw off on Mr. Lincoln the odium of those terms. If there be any odium, which I doubt, I surely would not be willing that the least show of it should go to Mr. Lincoln's memory, which I hold in too much veneration to be stained by anything done or said by me. I understand that the



substance of Mr. Wilkes's original article was compiled by him, after a railroad conversation with Admiral Porter, who was present at that interview, as represented in the picture, and who made a note of the conversation immediately after we separated. He would be more likely to have preserved the exact words used on the occasion than I, who made no notes, then or since. I cannot now even pretend to recall more than the subjects touched upon by the several parties and the impression left on my mind, after we parted. The interview was in March, nearly a month before the final catastrophe; and it was my part of the plan of operations to move my army, reinforced by Schofield, then at Goldsboro', N. C., to Burkesville, Va., when Lee would have been forced to surrender in Richmond. The true move left to him was a hasty abandonment of Richmond; join his force to Johnston's; and strike me in the open country. The only question was: Could I sustain this joint attack till General Grant came up in pursuit? Mr. Lincoln, in hearing us speak of a final bloody battle, which I then thought would fall on me near Raleigh, did exclaim, more than once, that blood enough had already been shed; and he hoped that the War would end without any more. We spoke of what was to be done with Davis, other party leaders, and the rebel army; and he left me under the impression that all he asked of us was to dissipate these armies and get the soldiers back to their homes, anyhow—the quicker the better—leaving him free to apply the remedy and the restoration of civil law. He (Mr. Lincoln) surely left upon my mind the impression warranted by Admiral Porter's account, that he had long thought of his course of action when the rebel Armies were out of his way; and that he wanted to get civil governments reorganized at the South, the quicker the better, and strictly conforming with our general system.

I had been absent so long that I presumed, of course, that Congress had enacted all the laws necessary to meet the event of Peace, so long expected, and the near approach of which must then have been seen by the most obtuse; and all I aimed to do was to remit the rebel Army, surrendering to me, to the conditions of the laws of the country, as they then existed. At the time of Johnston's surrender at Durham, I drew up the terms with my own hand. Breckinridge had nothing at all to do with them, more than to discuss their effect, and he knew they only applied to the military; and he proceeded to make his escape from the country—a course that I believe Mr. Lincoln wished that Mr. Davis should have succeeded in effecting, as well as all the other leading Southern politicians, against whom public indignation always turned with a feeling far more intense than against Generals Lee, Johnston, and other purely military men.

I repeat that, according to my memory, Mr. Lincoln did not expressly name any special terms of surrender; but he was in that kindly and gentle frame of mind that would have induced him to approve fully what I did, excepting, probably, he would have interlined some modifications, such as recognizing his several Proclamations antecedent, as well as the Laws of Congress, which would have been perfectly right and acceptable to me and to all parties.

I dislike to open this or any old question, and do it for the reason stated, viz.: lest I be construed as throwing off on Mr. Lincoln what his friends think should be properly borne by me alone.

If, in the original terms, I had, as I certainly meant, included the Proclamations of the President, they would have covered the slavery question and all the real State questions which caused the War; and had not Mr. Lincoln been assassinated at that very moment, I believe those "terms" would have taken the usual course of approval, modification, or absolute disapproval, and been returned to me, like hundreds of other official acts, without the newspaper clamor and unpleasant controversies so unkindly and unpleasantly thrust upon me at the time.

I am truly yours,

W. T. SHERMAN, General.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 11, 1869.

#### INDIAN VASES.

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Round Table*:

In your review of Mr. Brinton's book, *The Myths of the New World*, you speak of the universality of the worship of the Cross among the Indian race. Several years ago, when in Rome, I promised an antiquary to send him a box of Indian pottery, from one of the mounds on my estate in Louisiana, in exchange for some Etruscan vases. In 1860, I had a number of vases, and other articles of earthenware dug up out of a mound, with the intention of sending them to Rome.

Many of the vases were peculiar and some very graceful in shape. Upon one of the largest, which was, I suppose, a foot in diameter and a foot-and-a-half high, shaped not unlike some Etruscan vases that I had seen, the graving was very deep.

It was composed of a series of distinct Crosses, surrounded and separated from one another by a writhing serpent; there was an attempt to imitate even the spots on the snake's skin. Another small vase, half a foot long, was in the form of a large frog. This was absolutely perfect.

The head, feet, and legs were capitally moulded. This was green in color; the other vases were almost black. To my regret, these articles were burnt when my house was destroyed during the War, before I had an opportunity to send them off; but it might be interesting to have such confirma-



tion, from this portion of the country, of Mr. Brinton's suggestions. Many persons saw and examined these vases at my house, in 1860.

\* \* \* \* \*

Respectfully, S. A. DORSEY.  
TENSAS PARISH, Louisiana, Sept. 2, 1868.

MILITARY.—“The Governor’s Foot Guard, of Hartford, is one of the very oldest companies in the country. It was formed in 1771, and has appeared in the same uniform since its organization.”—*Exchange Paper*.

The next oldest Military Company in the United States is the “Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry,” at Fayetteville, North Carolina. It is but a few years younger than the Company at Hartford, Conn. We do not know whether the Fayetteville Company has an active organization at present or not—if not, we hope it will again “fall into line.” For services in the War of 1812, the Legislature of North Carolina, by special Act, conferred on the Commander of this Company and his successors, the title of Major; and on the Lieutenants that of Captain. No Fayetteville boy will ever forget the “Independent Company” and the big dinners, on the twenty-third of every August.

XVI.—NOTES.

TALLIES.—FOR keeping daily accounts with customers, the device of “Tallies” was in common use by some tradesmen in the last century; and is, probably, not yet obsolete in Europe. It is noticed in *The Antiquary*: In the back-parlor of the Post-office at Fairford, Mrs. Mailsetter even sorted the letters in the presence of female gossips, who vastly enjoyed the opportunity of gleaning information about their neighbors and food for comment, by examining the outside of the letters and, if not belied, by occasionally taking a peep into the inside. The wives of the butchers and bakers were active critics. Two letters for Monkbairn, turned their attention to him. The woman of joints and giblets was hard upon his parsimony and measures; but Mrs. Shortcake replied, “I winna say ony ill o’ Monkbairn. ‘We serve the family wi’ bread, and he settles wi’ hus ilka week—ony he was in an unco nip-page when we sent him a book instead o’ the Nicksticks; whielk, he said, were the true ancient way o’ counting between tradesmen and customers.”

Walter Scott thus refers in a note to the *Nicksticks*: “A sort of talley generally used by bakers of the olden time, in settling with their customers. Each family had its own Nickstick; and, for each loaf as delivered, a notch

“was made on the stick.” Accounts in Exchange, kept by the same kind of check, may have occasioned the antiquary’s partiality. In Prior’s time, the English bakers had the same sort of reckoning.

“Have you seen a baker’s maid,  
“B tween two equal panniers swayed?  
“Her tallies useless, lie and idle,  
“If placed exactly in the middle.” LUX.

NAVAL SHIP-BUILDING IN NEW ENGLAND.  
*Extract of a letter from Jamaica, dated June 29, 1776.*

A pamphlet has been circulated here, under the title of *Common Sense* which was sent hither from America. It is written with great virulence against the English Administration; and its design is to stir up the Colonists to assert their independency on the Mother Country. There are many false assertions in it, one of which Admiral Gayton has thought proper to contradict, in the *Jamaica Gazette*, in the following words:

“I have seen a pamphlet, published in Philadelphia, under the title of *Common Sense*, wherein the author says, that 40 years ago “there were 70 and 80-gun ships built in New England:—in answer to which, I do declare, that, at that very period of time, I was in New England, a Midshipman on board his Majesty’s ship, with the late Sir Peter Warren, and then, there had never been a man-of-war built of any kind. In 1747, (after the reduction of Louisburgh,) there was a ship of 44 guns ordered to be built at Piscataqua, by one Mr. Messervey; she was called the *America*, and sailed for England the following year; when she came home she was found so bad, that she never was commissioned again. There was, afterwards, another ship of 20 guns built at Boston, by Mr. Benjamin Hollowell, which was called the *Boston*; she run but a short time before she was condemned; and those were the only two ships-of-war ever built in America—therefore I thought it my duty to publish this, to undeceive the Public in general—to show that what the author has set forth is an utter falsity.

“CLARK GAYTON.”

—*Upcott Collection, IV, 371*, New-York Historical Society.

To the PRINTER :

As Admiral Gayton has taken upon him publicly to declare in Opposition to the Author of *Common Sense*, and from his own Knowledge that when he was here, forty Years since, “there never had been a Man of War of any kind built in

"New England," it is but just that the public should be informed, that, in the year 1690, a Fourth Rate Ship of War was launched at New Castle in Piscataqua River; and in the year 1696, another, whose Force is not remembered. The former was the *Falkland*, and the latter *Bedford Galley*.

It is not probable that Admiral Gayton had any Knowledge of these Ships having been built here, so that he cannot be charged with Falsehood; but it is hoped if he should publish any Thing further relating to this Country, he will express himself not quite so positively, especially if he undertakes to prove a Negative.

The Evidence of the above Facts dependson an original Manuscript Letter from Mr. Emerson, formerly Minister of New Castle, to the late Mr. Prince; and it is to be found among the Collection of Manuscripts relating to the History of New-England, made by 50 years Industry of that worthy Gentleman, unless it has been pilfered or destroyed by the *Saracen-like* Barbarity of the late Occupiers of the Old South Meeting House in Boston, in an Apartment of which those valuable Manuscripts were deposited.—*Freeman's Journal*, or *N. H. Gazette*, January 14, 1777.

W. K.

BARONETS IN AMERICA.—*The Royal Kalender for 1775*, contains a list of the Baronets of Great Britain, with their places of abode, and the dates of the original Patents. Among these I find the following residents at the time in America.

Names	Date of Patents.
BECKWITH, JONATHAN, Virginia,	April, 15, 1681.
HEAD, EDMUND, South Carolina,	June 9, 1676.
JOHNSON, JOHN, New York,	Nov. 18, 1755.
PEPPERRELL, WILLIAM, Boston,	Oct. 29, 1774.

LIST OF ADVERTISED LETTERS.—A list of letters, remaining in the New-York Post-office, April 6th, 1752, was advertised in the *N. Y. Gazette*. Among the lot, one is particularly indicated as a "High Dutch Letter," without stating the name of the person to whom it was addressed! The chances are that it ultimately found its way to the Dead-letter office.

O'C.

## XVI.—QUERIES.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CONGESSONAL PUBLICATIONS.—Is there any accurate printed list of Congressional Publications and Documents, of which a Librarian, anxious to complete a set of that work, could procure a copy? I should like to hear from Bibliographers on this point.

REHCTELF.

ALBANY INSTITUTE SERIES.—Some years since, it was announced that a series of volumes relating to American History, were to be speedily issued by this Society. Will some one be kind enough to inform me, through the Magazine, what volumes were issued and where they may be found?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

BROOKS'S "HISTORY OF MEDFORD." Some years since, it was announced that Mr. Brooks, its author, was about to publish an Appendix or Supplement to it. Was that ever done?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

DUANE AND DUANESBURGH, NEW YORK.—There is a town in Franklin-county, named "Duane;" and in Schenectady-county is one named "Duanesburgh." What was the origin of those names; and when were they applied to those towns?

SCHENECTADY, N. Y.

P. S.

THE DUANES.—What was the origin of the two families of Duane who have been prominent in American history—that of JAMES DUANE, of New York, and that of WILLIAM J. DUANE, of Philadelphia?

D.

EDWARD JOHNSON.—I find, in the Town Records of Charlestown, Massachusetts, that, in 1699, Nathaniel Dowse was ordered to prosecute, in law, at the town charge, one Edward Johnson, for not maintaining his mother; that Dowse was authorised to retain and fee an Attorney, to assist him in the prosecution; and that the Town Treasurer was directed to relieve the widow Johnson, at the public expense, she complaining that she should perish from want, if they did not.

Will such of your correspondents as have explored the recesses of these archives be kind enough to tell us who this "widow Johnson" and "Edward Johnson," of Charlestown, were?

CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

BUNKER.

DID DOCTOR FRANKLIN WRITE TWO AUTOBIOGRAPHIES?—In his *Autobiography*, "printed for J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church-yard; and Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orman, Paternoster-Row, London, 1806," at page 79, I find the following paragraph:

"My parents had given me, betimes, religious impressions; and I received, from my infancy, a pious education in the principles of Calvinism." In Franklin's *Autobiography*, by Sparks,

published in 1844, by Tappan and Dennet, Boston, at page 74, is this sentence :

"My parents had early given me religious impressions, and brought me through my childhood, piously, in the Dissenting way." Again, at page 102. "I had been religiously educated as a Presbyterian."

If Doctor Franklin wrote but one autobiography, which one of the above is the correct text? CLEVELAND, O. M. B. S.

The following advertisement is copied from the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, of the seventeenth of May, 1773. Can any one give information of a copy, now in existence? The English edition is not uncommon. MIDDLETOWN, CONN. J.

JUST PUBLISHED,

"And to be Sold by JOHN KNEELAND, next to the Treasurer's Office, in Milk Street.

"An Impartial View of a Narrative of the Principal Circumstances relative to the Rev. Mr. Wesley's late Conference, held at Bristol, August the 6th, 1772, &c., with the Declaration then agreed to by Mr. Wesley, and Fifty Three of his Preachers.

"BY THE REV. MR. SHIRLEY.

"In which the Reader is presented with the Minutes of the Conference, the preceding year, which gave great Offence, as containing Justification by Works, and overturning the Gospel of Christ, Lady Huntington's and Mr. Shirley's Letters to Mr. Wesley on the Occasion, And the Declaration which satisfied the Objectors.

"The Author's chief Design is to show, That this famous Declaration declares nothing in Favour of Justification by Faith only, but is perfectly consistent with Justification by Works; That Mr. Wesley never intended it as a Recantation of the offensive Minutes; and, consequently, that the Joy that hath been occasioned by it and Mr. Shirley's Narrative, on the other side of the Water, hath been only rejoicing in a Thing of Nought.

"BY A. CROZWELL,"

"Pastor of a Church of Christ, in Boston.

"*Psalm* 25, 2. Let integrity and righteousness pursue me."

XVII.—REPLY.

THE ORIGIN OF THE TELEGRAPH SYSTEM. (II. M., II. v. 263.)

BELCHERTOWN, MASS., May 14, 1869.

DEAR SIR: \* \* In the communication, an extract from which you send me, there is a mistake in the name of the "Pioneer of the Telegraph System." It was not "Jonathan Grant, Jr." but JONATHAN GROUT, JR. No descendant of his has lived here for many years. His

HIST. MAG. VOL. V. 28

name disappears from the town records, soon after the year 1800. From 1795 to 1800, it is frequently inserted. Whither he went from here, I do not learn. Some of the older people remember hearing, in their boyhood, much said of Mr. Grout (who was a lawyer here) and of his system of telegraphing by signals from hill-top to hill-top, read by means of a telescope. This is all I am able to learn on the subject. \* \* \*

Very truly yours,

W. W. WOODWORTH,  
Pastor of First Church.

XVIII.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Voyages to the East Coast of America, in the XVI Century.* By William Willis. Reprinted from the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for April, 1869. Boston: 1869. Octavo, pp. 12.

In this tract, Mr. Willis presents a summary of the histories of the several voyages to the Northern Atlantic Coast of America, in the sixteenth century—indeed, he commences, introductory to his subject, with the Cabots, in their voyage of 1497, and notices that of the younger Cabot, in 1498, and that of Gaspard de Cortereal, in 1500, both of them in the preceding century. In the prosecution of the stated purpose of his paper, Mr. Willis passes before his readers the voyage of Gaspard de Cortereal, in 1501—that from which he never returned;—that of his brother, Miguel de Cortereal, in 1502—that in which he, also, was lost;—those of John de Verrazano, in 1524 and 1525—from the last of which he never returned;—those of Jacques Cartier, in 1534, 1534, and 1541; those of La Roche, Lord Roberval, in 1542 and 1549; those of Martin Frobisher, in 1576, 1577, and 1578; those of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1579 and 1583—from the last of which he never returned—and those of Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1584, 1585, and 1587; and he closes with a very brief argument, descriptive of the causes which led to the want of success in such of these expeditions as were designed for colonizing the New World—those of Cartier, Gilbert, and Raleigh.

While discussing these causes, Mr. Willis uses these words: "Another serious cause of failure should not be omitted, and that was the employment, in the various expeditions, of vagabonds and convicted felons, of whom the English nation was but too glad to be rid in voyages of unusual danger." He refers, in a foot-note to



the above, as his authorities for the statement contained therein, to Pasquilli's letter to his brothers, August 23, 1497 in which reference was made to the prisoners who were promised to Cabot, and to a paper, dated April, 1577, in which reference is made to the eleven prisoners carried by Frobisher, on his second voyage of *discovery*—six of whom he was ordered to leave "in Friezland, to learn the state of the country." At the same time, Mr. Willis very properly and very decidedly remarks that "these facts do not sustain the statements of some recent writers" [*William Frederic Poole, Esq., for instance*] "that the Popham Colony of 1607, on the Kennebec, was designed as a convict establishment. The proprietors, Sir F. Gorges and others, in this undertaking, were laying the foundations of a State, which some of them were to occupy and govern, and were taking measures to give value to their large territorial possessions. The supposition that they were commencing their improvements by placing a Colony of convicts on their domain, is not only absurd, but would indicate a want of intelligence and common sense in men who were thought competent enough to discharge the duties of Chief-justice of England and to fill other important and responsible positions in the realm. The evidence to support such statements has either been misunderstood or misapplied."

The significance of this foot-note will be fully apparent to all who know the high character and excellent judgment of its venerable author; and there are some who will be astounded at the unequivocal firmness of his opinion on this much-disputed subject, and the precision and fullness of his language. He is no longer, it seems, to be claimed by the apologists of the Puritan fathers, who have heretofore considered him as one of the pillars of that faction and as a quiet believer that other thieves than those primitive settlers of the Massachusetts Bay were among the founders of the New England Colonies. He has thus disclaimed the connection of his name with that party, and pronounced it to have been unauthorized. He has declared his entire unbelief of the averments that Maine—whatever may have been the case of the Bay Colony—was originally peopled by those "of whom the English nation was but too glad to be rid in voyages of unusual danger;" and while he leaves Massachusetts to settle with Mr. Moore and other accusers of the Puritan fathers, who charge the latter with stealing Indians and other articles, in *America*, he insists that the founders of Maine, under Sir John Popham, were not among those who stole pocket-books and—when compared with the plunder obtained by the Massachusetts Puritans—other minor articles, in *Europe*,

We congratulate Maine on this very satisfactory

exposition of the carefully-considered opinion of her distinguished citizen, on this, to her, very interesting subject; and we do so more cheerfully since it is perfectly in accordance with our own judgment on the same subject.

This tract, we believe, was printed exclusively for private distribution.

[Since the above was written, we have received the following, on the same subject, from a valued personal friend, in Massachusetts, whose views are not in harmony with our own; and we cheerfully give place to them, in order that "the other side" may have an equal opportunity to be heard.

The HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, unlike its Boston cotemporaries, has no hesitation in letting those have a hearing who differ from it; nor has it any hesitation in saying that, also unlike them, whenever it shall be *proved*, by any one, that it is in error, on any subject, it will back out, *fairly and squarely*. There is no cause for uneasiness to us, in honestly acknowledging that we have been in error, whenever the evidence of that fact is shown to us.

We need say no more, except that we have seen no reason, in the following remarks, for either withdrawing what we had written concerning the pamphlet of Mr. Willis, including his foot-note, or modifying the tone of a single syllable. As an impartial witness, we say that Maine seems to have the best of the controversy; and that, so far, Maine has it, unquestionably. But, hear what is said by our honored contestant:]

The last Note to Mr. Willis's excellent summary of *Voyages to the East Coast of America*, contains several lines additional to what is found in the original text, though the typographical arrangement in no way indicates that it is not all a "reprint." The new lines are, in fact, not a "reprint," as stated in the title, but *supplemental*, as if discovering facts or ideas new to the writer, after the first going to print.

The original Note simply exposes, without comment, the naked truth that the State furnished criminals, "condemned men . . . convicted of robbery, by the highway," and the like, as a part of the material in Cabot's and Frobisher's Voyages; while the supplement is the equally naked and singular inference that "therefore" Popham did not use such material.

In this supplement, it is assumed that the Popham "proprietors" thought of and intended "laying the foundations of a State;" but this is not at all in accord with the explicit statements of Gorges himself, nor of Strachey and cotemporary authorities, cited in Thornton's *Colonial Schemes of Popham and Gorges*, pages 3 and 4, and in Note F.

But elsewhere, in his more deliberate pages, Mr. Willis himself attributes to them lower and narrower thoughts, and not even a dream of a "State," unless Botany Bay may be called a "State." At the first Popham Celebration, Mr. Willis said plainly, in his *Historical Statement*, that "profit was the grand stimulant, as Gorges himself frankly admits. . . . They were in search of gain . . . it required another sentiment, the religious element . . . as was signally indicated in the renowned Colony "of the Pilgrims," 1620. Then Mr. Willis

read correctly, for

"Mammon led them on:  
"Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell  
"From heaven; for even in heaven his looks and thoughts  
"Were always downward bent, admiring more  
"The riches of heaven's pavement, trodden gold,  
"Than aught divine and holy."

Popham's sole idea was to get riches by convict labor; and Gorges' plan was to rid England of dangerous riffraff, or, as it might be more delicately expressed, of brave gentlemen who loved danger and despised life and death; gentlemen who, anticipating the philosophical doctrines of Proudhon, were accustomed to use their liberty regardless of the rights of others and of the established usages of society; somewhat dissolute, perhaps, and who abandoned, or reluctantly left, their country, on considerations of general welfare and safety, and with the cordial consent of the communities where they were best known. If Sir William Alexander had shaded his *facts* with a little rhetoric they might have given less offense; but honest chronicler, as he was, he did not imagine the sensitive feelings of later times. Lloyd, one of Popham's biographers, says, somewhat roughly it is true, that not only "did he "punish malefactors, but provide for them . . . "he first" [1607, at Sagadahoc] "set up the discovery of New England to maintain and employ "those that could not live honestly in the old . . . who would rather hang than work." But Lord Bacon was still less gracious, for he called those gentlemen "the scum of people, wicked "and condemned men;" while "Holy and Protestant" Fuller, with yet more indecorous contempt, says they were such as "leapt thither from "the gallows . . . spit out of the very mouth of "England." Fuller considered the Sagadahoc enterprise as an emetic! As if malignant Fate followed these importunate gentleman, "miserable sinners," their two hundred and fifty years of happy oblivion, "when the wicked "cease from troubling," is now disturbed by ruthless inquisitors; and the Maine Historical Society spreads upon its pages, (ii, 31,) Mr. George Folsom's eulogy upon the Pilgrims of Plymouth, which he used to point the taunt that "had a tithe of their energy and resolute spirit "animated the Kennebec colonists," [q<sup>d</sup> 1607] "whose resources were so much superior, a more "grateful task might have awaited the pen that "should relate the story of this enterprise." And Mr. Rufus King Sewall, in his *Ancient Dominions of Maine*, pp. 93-95, gives but the burden of the old song, "Lawlessness, recklessness," and as little regret at "their early departure" from New England as had followed them from Old England.

But their year of grace came at last—Judas, Richard III., Phillip II., Aaron Burr, and Jefferson Davis have had defenders; and, in 1864, Mr.

Edward Bourne came to the rescue, and standing, not on the graves of those unhappy gentlemen, for they were wise and ran away, but of "the poor Indians" whom, it is said, they shot down in ranks, solemnly swept away all this testimony, from Strachey to Sewall, as only "some severe criticisms on the moral character of the Sagadahoc "Colonists of 1607;" and that he had been "requested" by his "Committee of Arrangements to "say," that, in their "belief," they "have no foundation in history;" and that those injured gentlemen "had abandoned all the genial associations of home life, exposed themselves to "hazards, over the wide oceans, of which few of "them had any experience," etc., etc. Will the "Secretary" of that "Committee" send to the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, the authorities for their "belief," as Mr. Bourne forgot to mention them? The next year, 1865, Mr. Patterson, on the same spot, assured the Committee "This is hallowed ground;" and they printed it. How much easier this, and to quote the maxim, "nothing but good "of the dead." "Give every man his due, and which would escape a whipping.?"

But, to return to Mr. Willis's *supplementary* lines: he goes on to argue his baseless assumption of a Popham "State," and thinks the "the supposition" that the "proprietors . . . were "commencing their improvements by placing a "Colony of convicts on their domain is not only "absurd, but would indicate a want of intelligence and common sense." All this is speculative rather than historical, like the curious reasoning of the schoolmen rather than the usual appeal of the Portland historian, "to the Law and "the Testimony."

Doubtless it would be "absurd," *now*; but it was *then* "a common and grosse error" to look upon these outside places as "sinckes of State . . . "to drayne away their filth." So wrote John White, in his *Planter's Plea*, 1630.

Indeed, is it courteous to President Bourne to pronounce the "supposition" an "absurd" one, when so lately as the memorable year of the great *Address*, 1864, that learned and logical antiquary therein asserted, with notable emphasis, that Jamestown was no better than it should have been? The particulars are curious and interesting. It appears that a friend of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, familiar with and interested in these American affairs, one Sir William Alexander, published in 1630, *A Mappe and Description of New England*. Mr. Bourne quotes this book, with more or less accuracy, that "The first company" [Popham's, of 1607] "that went of purpose to inhabit there, "near to Sagadahoc, were pressed to the enterprise, as endangered by the law or by their own "necessities," (page 25,) and then adds, "Let "any one read the Chapter, in Bancroft's *History of the United States*, in relation to Jamestown,

"in Virginia, and he will at once be convinced "that the writer" [Alexander] "had that Colony "in view."

It would not be right to omit that Mr. Bourne had anticipated this point of improbability with an intensely animated and quite exhaustive eloquence, which was quieted, at last, only by his lucky discovery that, after all, Alexander had only blundered as to the place and really meant Jamestown, though he wrote especially of Sagadahoc; when, *presto*, rhetoric became dumb before the certainty of *facts*. If Mr. Willis could adduce a scintilla of evidence that Popham had the generous idea of "founding a State," it might give a momentary shadow of a reason for waving aside concurrent and according proof to the contrary, found in Strachey, Alexander, Gorges, Aubrey, Fuller, Bacon, Lloyd, and others, as being "misunderstood or misapplied;" but all the zealous research of "the faithful" fails of an iota of such testimony, and ends only in the whispered report that, *sotto voce*, "the less we say of Mr. "Chief-justice Popham, the better!" Lame and impotent conclusion!

The difference, then, between Mr. Willis and Mr. Bourne is, that while Mr. Willis *argues* the *improbability* of a certain plan, and that the mere "supposition" is "absurd" because it "would indicate a want of intelligence and common sense," to do so *now*! Mr. Bourne turns to his books for *facts*, and shows that, "absurd" or not, exactly that plan *was* pursued; that Bacon, the wisest of mankind, did that very thing, and attempted "the "plantation of Munster" with "the scum of "people, and wicked and condemned men;" and that the folly *was* repeated at Jamestown, under the same Charter, and under the same general auspices which stimulated the enterprise at Sagadahoc. (*Address*, 22-25, 36, 37.).

"But your *theory* does not agree with the *facts*." "So much the worse for the *facts*," said the Scotchman.

The force of Mr. Willis's *reasoning* being so completely broken by Mr. Bourne's unquestioned historical *facts* to the contrary, any apparent inconsistency on the part of the latter gentleman, in his memorable Address of 1864, becomes a separate and incidental inquiry.

Mr. Bourne yields full faith to Alexander, if he meant Jamestown; but if Alexander did not blunder in writing Sagadahoc instead of Jamestown, and really meant what he said—for he was writing particularly of New England—then Mr. Bourne, in some unexplained way, suddenly detects in the unfortunate Alexander, "some of the "worst features of humanity," "an uncharitable "and slanderous spirit," and "thinks it manifest "the calumny of Sir William has no support in "imperfect history." (pp. 25, 35.) Perhaps it may soothe the wounded sensibilities of Sir Wil-

liam's kindred to read some of Mr. Bourne's reflections in this connection; which no doubt were intended as an emollient. "When one's deepest "thoughts are stirred, the outward manifestations "are frequently not very creditable to God's "children. Slander, though sometimes even the "offspring of quiet religious sensibilities, was "then, by no means, an uncommon element in the "intercourse of life." (p. 25). Good for Sir William Alexander!

How it happens that whether Alexander referred to one or the other of the two solitary squads of English outlaws, on our Atlantic coast, in the year 1607, makes him a saint or a sinner, in Mr. Bourne's "opinion," he does not tell.

The distinguished historian does sometimes seem a little confused—for instance, on page 25, he says that Alexander "speaks specially of the "Popham Colony;" but, on page 36 he is positive, this Sir William had Jamestown specially "in view," and that "it cannot be otherwise!" Of course, there is no "absurdity" in this, more than in a great part of modern Popham literature; but to understand it requires a subtlety that can

"distinguish and divide  
"A hair twixt South and South-west side."

May the next twenty-ninth of August be a genial day at Fort Popham, and yield abundance of balmy eloquence on the worth and virtue of Popham and his convicts.

"True patriots they, for be it understood,  
"They left their country for their country's good."

2.—*A Parlor Comedy. Our best Society*: being an Adaptation of *The Poliphar Papers*. In Four Acts. By Irving Browne. Troy, N. Y.: Privately printed. 1868. Octavo, pp. 50.

This is a very clever little drama, for the parlor, in which the hollowness of "our best society" and the shallowness of its more prominent members are cleverly satirized. The different characters are very well sustained; and the plot is not more unnatural than plots generally are.

It is very well calculated for the purpose for which it was written; and, we doubt not, will be very acceptable to the young people who engage in such amusements.

The printing is Munsell's, and, therefore, very good; and the edition numbered three hundred copies, exclusively for private circulation.

3.—*History of Grants under the Great Council for New England*: a Lecture of the Course by members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, delivered before the Lowell Institute. Jan. 15, 1869. By Samuel F. Haven, A.M. Boston: 1869. Octavo, pp. 36.

Our readers are already acquainted with the circumstances which led to the organization of this noted Course of Lectures, by members of the



Massachusetts Historical Society, before the Lowell Institute, of Boston, since, in our last number, we called their attention to them, while noticing Mr. Winthrop's Introductory to the series. We need not repeat, therefore, what we said on that subject, on that occasion.

The tract before us, which has been sent to us by its excellent author, is devoted to a subject which, in itself, was unfit, from its dryness, for a popular discourse; and it required the skill of an adept in such matters and the resources of a close student to make it at all acceptable to a mixed audience of such thoughtless, giddy hearers as generally assemble in a public hall, on such an occasion.

In this delicate undertaking, however, Mr. Haven was eminently successful. He perceived the danger into which the Committee had cast him; and with admirable judgment and a clear head he not only skillfully avoided it, but he really surrounded his subject with so many attractions—appropriate attractions, too, and by no means misplaced—that his Lecture must have been well received, if it met with a tithe of its deserts.

The paper presents a retrospect of the European organizations, for discovery and settlement, and of the various voyages which were made under their patronage; and it notices, in its chronological order and with great precision, the character and doings of "The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the Planting," "Ruling, and Governing of New England in America," and the various Grants of Lands which were made, or attempted to be made, under its authority. In a Supplement, because they "would have been tedious in a Lecture before a general audience," Mr. Haven has given a more particular account of the "Grants made or proposed by 'the Council' referred to.

Whatever Mr. Haven does is generally done well; and the service which, in this instance, he has rendered to students, in a somewhat obscure portion of American History, will be widely welcomed.

We are sorry that Mr. Haven did not see fit to give an authority for stigmatising the settlement at Sagadahoc, as "The company of outlaws which, 'in imitation of the French, Chief-justice Pop-ham sent to the mouth of the Sagadahoc or Ken-bee-river, in 1607;" especially in view of the fact that his statements concerning "the Puritan leaders" have not been thus overlooked.

If reliance was then placed on the malefactors of Europe for material for colonization, as some would have us suppose, would it not be well for Mr. Haven to show us the evidence that those "Puritan leaders" who settled in Massachusetts, were not also exiles "for their country's good;" and how many of those gentry were not actually fugitives from justice, if nothing more? It is very

well known that more than one of the Fathers of the Bay Colony came away secretly, in order to avoid the officers of the law who were then looking for them: was it because they were innocent men, that they thus stole away from England; or was it because they were conscious of their own short-comings before the law of England, and preferred to fly rather than meet the issue? No one can tell us the facts better than Mr. Haven: let him be the duty of *proving* to us that these fugitive Puritans, stealing out of England, *like many other culprits, then and now*, were guiltless before England's laws, when they sailed from England.

The pamphlet is very neatly printed, and seems to have been intended exclusively for private circulation.

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4.—*Records of Massachusetts under its first Charter: a Lecture of a course by members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Delivered before the Lowell Institute, Jan. 26, 1869. By Charles W. Upham. Boston: Printed for the Author. 1869. Octavo, pp. 30.*

We are indebted to Mr. Upham for a copy of this Lecture, delivered in the Course which was organized by the venerable Massachusetts Historical Society, for the purpose of taking observations for the correction of the Massachusetts historical reckonings, now sadly out of order.

Mr. Upham opens with an allusion to the dignity which belongs to the formation of a body-politic; and he proceeds, thence, after referring to the Records of the Bay Colony, under its original Charter, to show the consequent importance of those Records, as the best existing exhibit of the actual formation of a body-politic and its successful establishment among the nations of the earth. He compares the Records of the Bay Colony, from that stand-point, with the Records of the Plymouth Colony; and, as a son of the Puritans, he gives to the aristocratic Puritans of the Bay the preference which some would have given to the more republican Pilgrims of Plymouth.

A careful analysis of the polity as well as the policy of the Puritan fathers follows; and every portion of this branch of the subject which has met our eye is marked with a moderation of pretensions and an accuracy of statement which are as unusual in that quarter, as they are welcome, if they are to be considered as truly the harbingers of a new era in the literary history of Massachusetts.

As an instance of the new order of things at Boston, which the Massachusetts Historical Society is said to have inaugurated in this Course of Lectures, Mr. Upham alluded elaborately to the action of the Massachusetts General Court, "at its very first meeting after the transfer of the 'Charter,' on the matter of suffrage in the Colony—"no man shall be admitted to the freedom "of this body-politic, but such as are members of "some of the Churches within the limits of the

"same"—and if William Frederic Poole was in the audience, as we have excellent reasons for believing he was, he must have felt the sting of the hot iron with which Mr. Upham thus publicly branded him, as a willing falsifier of the Records of Massachusetts, on this subject; and in the glowing remarks in which the Lecturer as openly asserted the truth concerning the suffrage in the Bay Colony, as Mr. Brodhead had done in his paper on Andros, two years before, at the cost of a public insult, offered to him by the upstart aspirant to leadership in the peculiar historical literature of peculiarly modern Boston, to whom we have referred, the latter must have heard, with peculiar disfavor, this verdict of his countryman—a verdict which was as crushing as it was well deserved. Verily, "whose tongue soe'er speaks false, not truly speaks; who speaks not truly, lies."

As a whole, this Lecture is one of the most acceptable contributions to American historical literature which we have met for many a day; and against such as this, and those of Messrs. Winthrop and Haven, not a dissenting voice would be raised, nor one of discontent. Let Massachusetts men look at them, and take courage.

#### B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

5.—*Historical Discourse on the Ruling Elders of the First Presbyterian Church, Harrisburg, Pa., delivered at the installation of Messrs. Alfred Armstrong, William S. Shaffer, Dr. James Fleming, and Walter F. Fahnestock, Jr., as Elders of the Church, Sunday, March 7, 1868.* By Rev. T. H. Robinson. Harrisburg, Pa.: 1868. Octavo, pp. 37.

A very neatly-printed pamphlet, in which is very agreeably presented a series of biographical sketches of those who, as its Ruling Elders, have controlled the affairs of this Church, since its organization as such, in 1792. Besides these personal matters, there is very little relating to the Church itself, and nothing concerning the neighborhood in which the Church is situated.

6.—*Memoir of Francis Peabody, President of the Essex Institute.* By Charles W. Upham. Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute Press. 1868. Octavo, pp. 80.

Mr. Upham began this eulogy with an allusion to "the influences which made" Mr. Peabody and the Essex Institute "what they have been," and brought him into the relation he sustained, "as their chosen leader and head;" and in doing so, he went back to the Puritan fathers, "as the primal and general cause to which results of this sort are to be traced."

We have no doubt our good friend, Mr. Upham honestly supposes the fathers of Salem made Salem what he supposes it is; but *which* of the fathers it was who produced these "results" he does not tell us. Was it Roger Williams? Was

it the First Church, which sustained Roger, even when others reviled him? If so, how does that tally with some other stories which we hear from the Bay, concerning the virtues and influences of certain other "fathers" of that Colony, who were exactly the opposite, in every respect, of this Baptist "father" of Salem and of the Church which so manfully stood by him?

Really, Mr. Upham should have been above these petty influences of petty men, who love to pander to the petty local prejudices of insignificant old women, male and female, who are to be found in every little country village; and he should have looked at the stern fact that Salem's honestly-secured commerce has made Salem *wealthy* and *influential*; and that Salem's wealth and influence have produced or procured Salem's intellectual strength and culture. Take away from the account the results of that commerce, and what would Salem have been that any other country town of Massachusetts is not, notwithstanding her "fathers?" These tales of the "Puritan fathers" and of their fancied virtues and apocryphal influences are obsolete ideas, over and over again exploded; and if our neighbors in Massachusetts have no other virtues than those which they inherited from these "fathers"—which, if we must believe their own stories, must be the case—there is no wonder they are no better nor more virtuous than those who had no such "Puritan fathers" to fall back on—of which, also, we have very good evidence.

Mr. Upham's picture of old Salem, his word-painting of Count Rumford, and his description of the successive steps which led to the formation of the Essex Institute, are excellent and appropriate; and his minute and judicious description of the life, and attainments, and public spirit, of Colonel Peabody, is worthy of all praise.

This eulogy forms part of the *Collections of the Essex Institute*, referred to in our last number; and its neatness reflects credit on the workmen who produced it.

7.—*Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Cornell University, for the academic year, 1868-9; with an announcement of the Terms, Courses of Study, &c.* Ithaca, N. Y.: 1869. Octavo, pp. 96.

We have gone over this pamphlet with the liveliest interest: Ithaca has many ties which bind us to her; and we turn back the current of our attention, and remember the Ezra Cornell, the George W. Schuyler, the Josiah B. Williams, and the William Andrus, whose names are prominent on the list of Trustees, as among those whom, when a boy, more than thirty years ago, we very well knew as prominent residents of Ithaca. There is one name, however, which we do not see on this list,—a name which should be there, since the good man who bears it has

earned that distinction by his services in behalf of the institution, even if his merits as a man are to be overlooked or the propriety of his connection with it, as an old-time resident and benefactor of the town. We need not name him: those whom we have named, above, will readily recognize him.

The Faculty seems to be very complete and very able; and, as a whole, it undoubtedly is so. But we fear that, in some cases, the cost of the *show* Professors has been greater than the result of their labors or influence; and we are not quite sure that the crisis which one of them has indicated as being possibly very near at hand, when certain carpet-bags must be picked up and carried away, might not work a decided advantage, in the long run, to the Cornell University.

We notice, also, that certain specified Chairs are vacant, to be filled at an early day,—among them those of Political Economy and American History—and we hope that these will not be filled with either fancy men or mere theorists, but by earnest, working students, who are not ashamed to work, and who will not consent to eat unearned bread—men who will not willfully give currency to a falsehood, no matter how fashionable it may be, nor hesitate to defend the Truth against all comers, under all circumstances, no matter how unfashionable or unpalatable.

The Courses of Study are evidently yet incomplete, and not to be judged as perfect Courses should be.

8.—*Historical Discourse delivered on occasion of the One Hundred and Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Congregational Church and the Fiftyth Anniversary of the Sunday School, in Westminister, Mass., September 9, 1868.* By A. Judson Rich, (the Pastor). With Appendix. Springfield, Mass., 1869. Octavo, pp. 99.

In 1728, the General Court of Massachusetts set apart some of the public lands in that Colony, for the use of the descendants of those who, years before, had been engaged in the Narragansett War; and one portion of that apportionment, in Worcester-county, was known as "Narragansett, "No. 2." In December, 1733, the first "Proprietors' meeting" was held, and the lands were then distributed; and in March, 1737, the first family occupied the territory. In 1739, the first Meeting-house was erected; and in 1742, a Church was organized and a Minister called. Disorder soon crept in, however; and not until 1765, did the settlement enjoy peace in its ecclesiastical relations. In 1759, it was incorporated as a "District" with the name of West Minister; and, in 1770, it became, in law, a Town.

In the volume before us, Mr. Rich notices, successively, the settlement of the town, the successive Pastors of the Church, the Deacons, the Revivals which the Church has enjoyed, its Prayer-meetings, the Village Academy, the Choir, the

Sunday-school, the Mission Cause, the "Patriotism" of the Church, the Anti-slavery sentiment, Temperance, Anti-masonry, Perfectionism, the Meeting-houses, Stoves in the Church, etc.; and an Appendix—in which are a report of the Anniversary Proceedings; Lists of the members of the Choirs of 1804, 1815, 1837, and 1867; the Church Records; the Church Covenant and Articles of Faith; Officers of the Church; present Members of the Church; and the names of the entire membership of the Church—closes the volume. He has presented the facts with considerable care, and he has evidently endeavored to present the history of the Town and the Church in as complete a form as possible, and with all the attractions of style of which he was capable. In both instances, we believe, he has succeeded; yet we must say that the style is not one which strikes our fancy nor is it such an one as becomes a work of this character.

We are not informed of the peculiar religious views of Mr. Rich, beyond the declaration of his opinions concerning Baptism and Communion and his evident antagonism to every thing which seems to savor of a Baptist Church—the result, it may be, of his evidently unsuccessful attempt to become a Baptist preacher, forming a new illustration of the old fable of the fox and the "sour" grapes. He evidently considers anything as Baptism,\* however; and that everybody, whether baptized or unbaptized, can properly partake of the Lord's Supper.† He evidently professes to be Orthodox in his religious faith and practise, yet he loudly condemns the Orthodox Pastors who have preceded him, in everything which distinguished them from those of an entirely opposite faith; and he evidently favors, in the broadest terms, and as earnestly approves, the "Perfectionism" of Oberlin. He is a Congregationalist, by profession; yet he more emphatically approves the great distinguishing features of the Methodists than those of his own Church; while those of the Universalists seem to merit no portion of his disapproval, and he evidently envies their liberality and hankers after an union with them. He also favors the world, in the midst of his History, with his views concerning the Puritans and the Pilgrims, whom he evidently mixes, blindly, in his conclusions; and he passes judgment, also, on the settlement of Pastors; on Pastoral sternness of manners; on the proper location for a vestry; and on which side of the pulpit the doors should be placed.

\* That he may not be misunderstood we quote his words;—"the form of administration of the rite of Baptism is a matter of little importance," p. 25. See also his ideas on Baptism of converts, pp. 31, 32.

† "Close communion,"—by which term he seems to know the exclusion of all, from the Lord's table, who have not been baptized—he considers as "unscriptural, uncharitable, and in no sense in harmony with the spirit and genius of the Gospel," etc. Vide p. 25.



It is to be regretted that Mr. Rich took occasion, on an anniversary such as this, to say anything which was calculated to wound the sensibilities, on matters of mere faith, of any of his audience; and it argues poorly for the three Colleges through which he has passed, that a style such as this was employed in a "historical discourse," into which he has interwoven so much local history which is at once both interesting and valuable.

Typographically, the pamphlet is a very handsome one; and reflects credit on the mechanical skill of Samuel Bowles & Co., of Springfield.

9.—*Commemorative Discourse. A Sermon on the Character and Labors of the late Rev. Jeremiah S. Lord, D. D., Pastor of the Reformed Church, Harlem, New York City. Preached in the Harlem Presbyterian Church, N. Y. C., April 18, 1869. By E. H. Gillett, New York: Board of Publication of Reformed Church of America. 1869. Octavo, pp. 13.*

The Pastor of the ancient Dutch Church at this ancient Dutch village, whose character and labors formed the subject of this Sermon, must have been one of rare excellence to have drawn from so careful a man as Doctor Gillett, such high praise as he has yielded to him in this Sermon; and those who know the preacher as well as we know him, will need no guarantee of either the fidelity of the likeness or the stern sincerity of the artist.

There is no doubt that Doctor Lord was an earnest, honest, effective preacher; a sincere Christian; and a large-hearted, upright man; and his neighbor and friend, in this Sermon, has erected a monument to his memory, which both his family and his neighbors and friends may look on with unalloyed satisfaction.

#### C.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATION.

10.—*New Jersey and the Rebellion: a history of the services of the troops and people of New Jersey in aid of the Union cause. By John Y. Foster. Published by authority of the State. Newark, N. J.: Martiu R. Dennis & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. viii, 872.*

We do not understand to what extent this is really an official work; but we suspect that it is a private enterprize to which the Legislature extended, only, to a limited extent, the use of the State's Records and the State's pecuniary assistance. We cannot treat it, however, as a Trade publication, but as an Official issue.

At any rate, the Author seems to have thoroughly covered his ground; and, what is more, he seems to have very thoroughly secured the confidence of those who are supposed to be best qualified to judge of the merits of his work—indeed, there is no seeming difference of opinion concerning it, among those officers with whom we have

corresponded: all speak well of it; none seem to have a word to offer against it.

We have had occasion to turn to different portions of the volume, and in every instance the result has been perfectly satisfactory. There seems to have been no attempt at fine writing; but a plain, unadorned, and apparently truthful narrative is presented throughout—a style of writing history which some others might adopt without disadvantage, either to the cause in which they serve or to their own reputations.

The volume is a very neat one; and is very well illustrated with a portrait and maps.

#### D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

11.—*A brief narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians of New England, 1670. By Rev. John Eliot. With Introductory Notes, by W. T. E. Marvin. Boston: Wiggins & Lunt. 1868. Small quarto and quarto, pp. 36.*

This is a careful re-print of one of the rarest of the tracts of John Eliot, with various additions, illustrative of the text and descriptive of its author and his writings, by Mr. Marvin of Boston.

Of these additions, the first is a "Prefatory Note," in which the Editor describes the work and speaks of its extreme rarity—only one copy of it having been found in the United States—and the plan which he adopted in printing it. A "Bibliographical Note" comes next, in which are described, in chronological order, the various tracts which were written and published on the subject of Christianizing the Indians of New England, with references to the several re-prints of them, by the Massachusetts Historical Society, Mr. Sabin, and the American Antiquarian Society. A list of Mr. Eliot's other works follows, in the same Note; and among the latter, while describing the *Dying Speeches and Counsels of such Indians as dyed in the Lord*, originally published without a date, Mr. Marvin very neatly corrects an error into which Doctor Dexter had evidently fallen, concerning the date of its publication.

The tract follows, printed from a manuscript copy of the original which is in the British Museum. The style of the original, in capitals, punctuation, etc., has been carefully followed; and the pages of the original have been noted, in brackets, in their proper places. The contents of the tract are interesting merely because they form a part of the history of the New England Indians; but we find nothing apart from that connection which is at all important.

The typography of the tract is excellent—the paper being tinted, laid, and the letter-press very superior. The edition numbered twenty copies on large paper, and a hundred and fifty on small paper.

12.—*Memorial*.—Genealogy, and Ecclesiastical History. To which is added an Appendix, with explanatory Notes, and a full Index. By Alfred Andrews. Chicago, Ill.: A. H. Andrews. 1867. Octavo, pp. 538.

Under this very obscure title, Mr. Andrews has published a very good book.

He commences with a glance at the general history of the old town of Farmington, in Connecticut. He then takes up that portion of the old town which was known as "The Great Swamp," and traces its history, from its origin to its change of name to Kensington; and thence, until the formation of a new parish with the name of "New Briton."

New Britain is the great subject of the author; and he treats that subject in its ecclesiastical rather than its secular character. In fact, very little is said of the town, in its civil capacity; while the ecclesiastical Society and the Church, and their members, and the families of those members, enjoy the most labored attention of the author.

The greater portion of the volume is a Genealogy of the various families who have been represented in the membership of the Church; and these are arranged, with here and there an exception, in the order in which their names stand on the Records of the Church. Of these there are thirty-four who "owned the Covenant;" one thousand, four hundred, and sixty-five others follow, of those who have subsequently become members; and chapters follow these Genealogies, devoted, respectively, to a statistical summary of the history of the Church and of individuals in the town; to the Sunday and Common Schools of New Britain; to the various Churches which are now existing in the town; to the Manufacturers and their progress; and to very complete Indices of the names referred to.

The venerable author of this volume is now nearly seventy-two years of age, a Deacon, and School Superintendent. He describes himself as "a plain man, more used to the plough than the pen;" and he seems to have been turned into the authorial channel by mere accident, and continued in it only "for the love of the thing." There is less reason, therefore, to expect perfection or even completeness, than, under more favorable circumstances, might be looked for in the work; and there is, in that cause, a legitimate excuse for any imperfection in the arrangement and any obscurity in the style. There is, however, very little in the volume, which can be bettered; and we cheerfully yield to the venerable author, the sincere praise which honestly belongs to him for having produced a volume of great local usefulness, at an enormous cost of patient labor. He evidently started to give, not a town history, but a history of the Church and its membership; and we shall be most happy to see any other volume, not the

work of a practised hand, in which such an undertaking has been more thoroughly and successfully accomplished.

The volume is a very neat one; and is ornamented with a portrait of Mr. Smalley, for a long time the Pastor of the Church.

13.—*The History of Vermont, from its discovery to its admission into the Union, in 1791*. By Hiland Hall. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1868. Octavo, pp. xli, 522.

We have received from its venerable and honored Author, a copy of this volume; and we are glad to present it to the notice of our readers.

We had, before, the Histories of Vermont by Ira Allen, Williams, Graham, Thompson, and B. H. Hall; but there was room for a compact, well-considered, honestly-written History of the State, from the Vermont stand-point, such as we have now before us; and we hope,—against hope, we fear,—that Vermont will appreciate it for its fidelity to her cause, and recompense the Author and the Printer for their labor and outlay.

Governor Hall opens his narrative with the remarkable admission—remarkable, because it concedes all that has ever been said against the political integrity of the founders of the State—that "the State of Vermont, as an independent Commonwealth, struggled into existence through a DOUBLE revolution. The early inhabitants of the State REVOLTED against the Province of New York, to which the territory had been annexed by the arbitrary will of the King; and they united with their brethren of the other Colonies, in their armed resistance to the demands of the mother country;" and he then proceeds "to inquire into and state the causes which produced the former revolution," [that against the local Government in New York] "and to take some notice of its progress, from its commencement to its final consummation in the acknowledgement of the independence of the State, BY NEW YORK, and its consequent admission as a member of the Federal Union."

As we said, the Author has admitted all that has been said, even by James Duane, concerning the action of the inhabitants of what is now Vermont—that they were legally subjects of the Colonial Government of New York; that the territory was under the legal jurisdiction of that Government; that those inhabitants, of what is now Vermont, "revolted," rose in INSURRECTION against the legitimate Government to which they were legally subject; and that, by "revolution" and "revolt," they managed to assume a form of organization which became real and substantial only as a "consequence" of

its formal recognition, as such, years afterwards, by, and on payment of, a sum of money to, New York—he might have said, also, *the State of New York*—to which, from the ninth of July, 1776, the whole concern had been, continually and indisputably, legally subject.

Having admitted all that we have ever claimed, the elaborate apology which Governor Hall has next proceeded to offer for that *insurrection* of the Vermontese, is not a matter which we need look at—we do not admire that class of literature which seeks to justify what is admitted to have been a *crime*; and we do not propose to argue in support of what is *acknowledged* by Governor Hall himself to have been a *law*, which was, or ought to have been, binding alike on all who were within the bounds of its authority. We say we cannot enter on such a discussion in this place, nor do we think it prudent, because if the Vermontese were excusable for thus openly violating the written law to which they owed obedience, and, through it, allegiance to the Sovereign by whose authority that law was enacted, it may be that other insurgents have been equally excusable,—even those in the Helderberg War, in which we “fought, bled, and died,” “for our country,” years ago—and that treason is not necessarily odious and traitors not always criminal. We pass, therefore, to the capture of Ticonderoga.

In the Chapter devoted to that subject, the narrative is, of course, the version of Ethan Allen; and we regret that the venerable Author has been pleased, without even an allusion to them, to pass over those statements and those authorities which direct attention to the other side. Such a course tends to conceal, from the unwary and uninformed, the fact that there is another side to the story; and, so far, it is unjust.

Governor Hall insists that the naked idea of the seizure of Ticonderoga originated with John Brown, which we do not deny; but we do deny, and Governor Hall affords no evidence to the contrary, that “the Committee of Green Mountain Boys” either thought or cared anything whatever about the matter, until, like many another mercenary, they were moved into the service by the three hundred pounds, in money, which was carried there from the Treasury of the Colony of Connecticut, by the Committee from Hartford, which had been organized at the instance of Samuel H. Parsons, one of its number, at the prompting of Benedict Arnold, while the latter was on his way to Boston, at the head of his Company. He does not tell us, also, that, after urging Parsons to organize the movement, Arnold actually finished his march to the Camp; carried his ideas into practical effect through the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts; and

reached Castleton in season to join in the operations of those Green Mountaineers, of whose constant readiness to enter on the work we have heard so much. Governor Hall admits all this; yet he strangely withholds from Arnold the credit to which, if the facts recited by him in this volume are correctly stated, that brave, and energetic, and able officer is justly and solely entitled. If it was not the money from Connecticut which moved the Vermontese, why did not they move before it arrived among them? If that money was accessible before the organization of the Committee which carried it to Vermont, why was not it sent previously? If that Committee was organized before Samuel H. Parsons returned to Hartford and moved in the matter, where is the record of its prior organization or that of any prior meeting or prior action? If Samuel H. Parsons received the suggestion from any other person than Arnold, why was the latter particularly named in that connection and no other person even alluded to? If Arnold did not originate the movement—mark you, we say *the movement* against, not the naked abstract idea of the desirableness of the possession of, the fortress and its contents,—who did originate it, and when? Finally, if Arnold was the originator of *the movement*, as well as a personal actor in the premises, why, for decency’s sake and truth’s, is not the honor given to him, even in Vermont? Why is it not told, in such a volume as this, that some people think differently, on this subject, from the ordinary run of Vermonters; and that some others have written on the subject, besides those to whom reference is made therein; and that *they* have presented *both* sides of the story, fairly and squarely?

Allen and his party having thus tasted money from the coast, they seem to have been anxious to keep the financial teat in their mouths; and within a month—the fort was taken on the tenth of May and this occurred on the second of June—Allen “addressed a long letter to the “Provincial Congress of New York in favor of “an immediate invasion of Canada,” *under his command*, and modestly asked to be put on the pay-roll of the Colony, promising to be “zealously ambitious to conduct for the best good “of my country and the honor of the Government.” Unfortunately for the peace of New York, the money was not supplied on his request; and Allen and his party looked elsewhere for it—just where, thank God, need be no longer unknown to those who will take the trouble to inquire into the matter. Even the Vermontese themselves evidently had no confidence in Allen; and, on the twenty-seventh of July, when the officers were to be chosen to command the *first* Regiment which was raised there for the Revolu-



tionary service, he was left off the list of officers, by a vote of forty-one to five, much to his disappointment and mortification, as Governor Hall himself tells us. (pp. 211, 212.)

A Chapter is also devoted to the Northern Campaign of 1777, in which the Author evidently justifies the abandonment of Ticonderoga, by General St. Clair; alludes, very briefly, to the action at Hubbardton—the only Battle ever fought in Vermont;—disregards the measures adopted by General Schuyler to retard the advance of Burgoyne, as completely as if no such man as Schuyler had ever existed; very briefly and very imperfectly notices the Battle of Bennington—that Battle concerning which so much new material was accessible to the Author which those who had preceded him in writing Histories of Vermont had not enjoyed;—passes over the actions at Saratoga, with even greater brevity and injustice to those to whom the honor of winning them belongs; and thus dismisses the matter.

In his twenty-eighth, thirty-second, and thirty-third Chapters, Governor Hall alludes to the treasonable correspondence of the leaders of the insurgents in Vermont with the public enemy—the British authorities in Canada—but he certainly fails, if he really attempts, to tell the whole of the story, or even the whole of that portion which is accessible to every close student of the subject.

In a series of very elaborate Appendices, Governor Hall gives a number of biographical sketches and various documents bearing on the narrative contained in the text.

As a whole, this volume is just what it pretends to be—a *History of Vermont*, from the Vermont stand-point. Its excellent Author has been long known as one of the sturdiest, best-informed, and most consistent of Vermont's champions, as he is also one of the most upright of her citizens. While we expected, therefore, to find in his volume everything which could possibly favor her cause, and did not expect so wholesome an abandonment of the great underlying theory on which Vermont has hitherto pretended to base her claim to a legitimate origin, as we have found in its opening passages, we looked anxiously for its appearance, and most heartily welcomed it, on its arrival. We now look for the next-comer from that quarter, who shall make a still further concession, in behalf of Vermont, to that Truth whose might, sooner or later, even Vermont will sullenly admit.

The volume is a very neat one; but the typographical errors in it are more numerous than we are accustomed to see in the issues from the Munsell Press.

14.—*Bibliographia Genealogica Americana: an Alphabetical Index to American Genealogies and Pedigrees contained in State, County, and Town Histories, printed Genealogies, and kindred works.* By Daniel S. Durrie, Librarian of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell. 1868. Octavo, pp. xii, 5—296.

The title-page of this volume contains as full a description of its contents as can be given. It is nothing more nor less than an alphabetically-arranged list of family-names, from ABBE to YOUNGS, with the titles and pages of the several works in which, respectively, their Genealogies may be found. This list embraces more than ten thousand distinct names, each with its distinct reference; and every historical student, from Dan to Beer-sheba, will bless the man who entertained the idea and possessed the patient perseverance to collect the materials necessary for the preparation of such a volume. In its perfected form, it is a labor-saving apparatus of the most useful kind; and there is no one who professes to read history for himself, and who seeks his authorities in the most reliable quarters, who will not welcome it as earnestly as we welcome it.

It is a very neatly printed work, from the Munsell Press.

15.—*A history of Massachusetts in the Civil War.* By William Schouler, late Adjutant-general of the Commonwealth. Boston: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. xvi, 670.

We have received a copy of this work from the distinguished Author of it; and we have glanced over its handsome pages with entire satisfaction.

The Author, in this work, has very wisely let "the Puritan fathers" take care of themselves; and if he ever heard of the *May-flower*, he has not troubled his readers with the intelligence. His work relates to "Massachusetts in the Civil War;" and, like a sensible man, he has confined himself to that particular subject.

The volume opens with a description of Massachusetts, as she was in 1860; and that is followed with a description of the Union, as it, too, was in 1860. The measures which preceded the opening of actual hostilities are also presented; and those which followed that sad event are successively described, without any unnecessary flourish of words, in a neat, business-like manner, and with a curt precision which is as unusual as it is commendable.

The greater portion of the work, however, is devoted to the part which Massachusetts took in the struggle; and in this portion, also, General Schouler has wisely kept before him the great purpose of his work, and has never permitted himself to be diverted from it, under any pretense whatever, even for the purpose of displaying his ability as a writer of merely ele-

gant sentences. Indeed, we do not often see a volume in which the author has been as thoroughly absorbed in his subject as in this instance; and, although, from its stern, business-like style, it will not be particularly attractive to those who delight in the current trash of the day, it will be held as one of the most useful authorities to the general student of the history of the War; while to the student of the local history of Massachusetts and of the military history of the United States it is indispensable.

It is a very handsome volume; and is to be followed, at an early day, we hope, by one or two others, on the same great subject.

16.—*Phinias Finn, the Irish member.* By Anthony Trollope. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868. Octavo, pp. 235.

*Kathleen.* By the author of *Raymond's Heroine*. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869. Octavo, pp. 183. Price 50 cents.

*That boy of Norcott's.* By Charles Lever. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869. Octavo, pp. 73. Price 25 cents

*Griffith Gaunt; or, Jealousy.* By Charles Reade. With illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869. Octavo, pp. 143. Price 25 cents.

The above will be recognized as among the most popular of the recently-issued works of fiction; and they are issued in very neat style, at the merely nominal prices named above. At such prices, no one need be without books; and no one with such books need want amusement.

17.—*The Danish Islands: are we bound in honor to pay for them?* By James Parton. Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 76.

This is evidently an *ex parte* statement, on the affirmative of the question; and it presents that side of the case with all the energy and boldness of which Mr. Parton is so well-known a master.

As far as it goes, the "Ayes" seem to have it; the "Nays," however, may have something to say on the subject. If so, let us hear them.

18.—*Biographical Memoir of William J. Duane.* Phila.: Claxton, Remsen, & Haffelfinger. 1868. Octavo, pp. 28.

William John Duane was, in his day, one of the most prominent citizens of Pennsylvania; and in the city where he lived, Philadelphia, few were more widely respected, even among those who differed from him in politics.

His father was a native New Yorker: he was a native of Tipperary-county, in Ireland; where he was born in 1780. In 1796, in company with his father's family, he came to New York; subsequently removed to Philadelphia; entered the office of *The True American*, as a compositor; removed to the office of Benjamin Franklin Bache, the publisher of *The Aurora*; opened a book-

store in Washington, D. C.; married Deborah Bache, a grand-daughter of Franklin; engaged in trade as a paper-manufacturer; was elected to the Legislature; became a leader of the Republican party; studied law and was admitted to the Bar; was called to the Board of School Directors; declined the office of Mayor, which was tendered to him; was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, by President Jackson, by whom, also, he was subsequently removed because of his unwillingness to remove the deposits from the Bank of the United States; was a Director of the Girard College; and died in September, 1865, aged eighty-five years.

This tract was written by his son, William Duane, Esq.; and it will be welcomed as a modest and evidently truthful account of the life, character, and services of this widely-known gentleman.

19.—*Pennsylvanish Deitsch. De Campaign Breefa fun Pit Schueffelebrenner un de Brevy, si altz, gepublished olly woch, im "Father Abraham."* Lancaster, Pa.: Rauch & Cochran. 1868. Octavo, pp. 46.

This is evidently a series of Campaign Letters, written in "Pennsylvania Dutch;" and we notice them in this place only for the purpose of calling attention to a comparatively unknown branch of American literature.

This "Pennsylvania Dutch" is a dialect in common use in some portions of that State. It is neither German nor English, but a compound of both—a mixture of English, and German, and words which belong to neither. Thus "Mind di 'business,'" is purely Pennsylvanian. It is composed of two English words and one, "di," Pennsylvanian;—the latter being a corruption of the German "dein," the equivalent of the English "your."

We understand that a newspaper is printed in this lingo; and we fancy that ethnologists of a thousand years hence, will have a pleasant time in tracing its history and that of the race who use it.

20.—*A Discourse on the life and character of Rev. William R. De Witt, D.D., late Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Harrisburg, Pa.* By his colleague, Rev. Thomas H. Robinson. Harrisburg, Pa.: Octavo, pp. 38.

Doctor De Witt was more widely known as the State Librarian of Pennsylvania, than as the Pastor of a Church; yet he was not more respected nor more influential in the former than in the latter office.

He was descended from one of the oldest Dutch families in this Dutch settlement; and was born in Dutchess-county, N.Y., in February, 1792. He was an uncle of the well-known lawyers, Cornelius J. and Edward De Witt, of New York; and, by marriage, he was a connection of the Rev. Doctor Storrs, of Brooklyn. In 1818, he was licensed to preach the Gospel; immediately afterwards,

he was invited to take the oversight of the Church at Harrisburg; and there he steadily remained until the close of his career on earth.

This *Discourse* is an exceedingly appropriate one, embracing not only a careful analysis of his character, as a preacher and a man, but a brief survey of his life, his writings, and his official services; and it must be welcomed by those unto whom he was known, in any of his relations.

21.—*The facts and historical events of the Toledo War of 1835, as connected with the First Session of the Court of Common Pleas of Lucas County, Ohio.* By W. V. Way. Toledo: Daily Commercial Press. 1869. Octavo, pp. 52.

In the earlier days of those States, it seems that Michigan and Ohio had a feud concerning the boundary line which marked the limits of the jurisdiction of both; and that misunderstanding led to the mustering of troops, on either side, for the protection of the wounded dignity of the respective belligerents. This tract describes that catastrophe; and we have been very much amused with the narrative of the gallantry which distinguished the armies, on either side.

As a record of an interesting incident in the early history of both Ohio and Michigan, this pamphlet is important; and it should not be overlooked by those who take an interest in those subjects.

22.—*The Shortest Route to California*, illustrated by a history of explorations of the Great Basin of Utah with its topographical and geological character and some account of the Indian Tribes. By Brevel Brig.-General J. H. Simpson, A. M., Colonel Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott & Co. Octavo, pp. 58.

General Simpson, in 1858-59, was Chief Topographical Engineer of the Army of Utah; and, while serving in that capacity, he explored and opened, under the auspices of the War Department, a wagon-route from the valley of Great Salt Lake, across the Great Basin of Utah, by which he shortened the distance between Great Salt Lake and San Francisco more than two hundred miles. As the features-topographical, geological, and ethnological—of the country explored by him have never been published, although his detailed Report was submitted to the Government, early in 1861, he has deemed it due to the public, to the army, and to himself, that some *general* account of the same should be presented in connection with a history of the explorations of the Great Basin, from the earliest records extant. The handsome volume before us is the result of this determination; and it is eminently worthy of the attention of every collector of American books.

The narrative begins with a description of the territory known as "The Great Basin;" and then refers to the successively published records of the explorations of the country, from 1776 until the present time—including those of Escalante, Font,

Garces, Bridger, Bonneville, Fremont, Beckwith, and Ingalls—discussing their respective merits, describing their peculiarities, and pointing out their errors. It next proceeds to describe the survey made by its author, in 1858—a work which led to the opening of a new and better line of transit, between Great Salt Lake City and San Francisco,—noticing, also, the chief characteristics of the country through which he passed.

Whether considered as a clearly-defined description of a region of country which has been greatly misunderstood or as a fearless correction of errors into which other explorers had fallen, we regard this volume as one of great importance in the local history of the West; while its beautiful typography and excellent map leave nothing to be desired on that account.

23.—*Fishing in American Waters.* By Genio C. Scott. With one hundred and seventy illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 484.

This is certainly one of the most charming of books on the subject on which it treats. Opening with a General Characterization of Fishes, their habits and senses, and their fecundity, voracity, and times and places of feeding; the author next considers, successively, the various species of fishes frequenting the coast and estuary, and the sport of catching them; the various species of fish frequenting fresh-waters, and the use of fly and bait in catching them; the commercial fisheries; and ancient and modern fish-culture; and he closes with a sketch of Ichthyology and some excellent advice to those who, whether in the woods or on the sea, are disposed to seek pleasure in fishing.

The engravings are very fine and the whole work is just such an one as every sportsman will heartily welcome.

24.—*The Malay Archipelago: the land of the Orang-utan and the Bird of Paradise. A narrative of travel, with studies of man and nature.* By Alfred Russel Wallace. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo pp. 638.

There is, probably, no portion of the world which is so imperfectly known as that group of islands, between Asia and Australia, which is known as "The Malay Archipelago." It extends some four thousand miles in length, from East to West, and some thirteen hundred in breadth, from North to South. It embraces three islands larger than Great Britain—one of them larger than all the British isles combined—three others about the size of Ireland; eighteen others, each as large as Jamaica; more than a hundred, each of which is as large as the Isle of Wight; and a very large number still smaller in extent. Situated under the equator, and bathed by the tepid waters of the great tropical oceans, this region enjoys a climate more uniformly hot and moist



than almost any other part of the globe; and teems with natural productions which are elsewhere unknown. The richest of fruits and the most precious of spices are here indigenous. It produces the gigantic flowers of the *Rafflesia*, the great green-winged *Ornithoptera*—princes among the butterfly tribes—the man-like Orang-utan, and the gorgeous Birds of Paradise.

Into this comparatively unknown country, the author seems to have cast himself in 1854; and there he seems to have remained during some eight years, studying, as he says, "man and nature." In this volume, he presents a synopsis of his observations, embracing descriptions of the countries, their inhabitants, and their natural history, without any attempt at marvellous adventures or hair-breadth escapes, to excite the curious and disgust the sober reader. In natural history, botany, ornithology, and ethnology, the author is remarkably minute; and his vocabularies of native tongues must be exceedingly welcome to scholars throughout the world.

The work is very neatly printed; and it is amply illustrated with very good wood-cuts and so-soish lithographic maps—the latter not good enough for so good a book.

25.—*My recollections of Lord Byron; and those of eye-witnesses of his Life.* New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 670.

This is "the long-promised work of the 'Countess Guiccioli';" and, as may be well expected, it is only an eulogy of the poet.

In every conceivable form, and from every conceivable standpoint, the author has presented Lord Byron to her readers; and after an extended Introductory Sketch, we have Chapters concerning his portraits, his religious opinions, his childhood and youth, his friendships, the qualities of his heart, his benevolence and kindness, the qualities and virtues of his soul, his constancy, his courage and fortitude, his modesty, his generosity, his faults, his irritability, his mobility, his misanthropy and sociability, his pride, his vanity, his marriage and its consequences, his gaiety and melancholy, etc.—certainly as various a description of the poet as can well be wished for.

We have read some portions of this work—those which we have felt most curiosity in perusing—and we are free to say that, notwithstanding the unqualified praise which is generally bestowed on the poet, apparently considering him to have been almost without fault or cause fit for censure, we were very much pleased with the style and spirit of the work. It is very full, very decided, very aggressive; and it certainly does not avoid a conflict with every traducer of Byron, if it does not seek one.

We commend the Countess and her book to the highest consideration, not only of the lovers of English literature, but of those strong-minded women of our day who consider it to be the duty of their sex to lead rather than be led, to defend rather than be defended, to admire rather than be admired.

26.—*Her Majesty's Tower.* By William Hepworth Dixon. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1862. Duodecimo, pp. 287.

In our March number, (page 220) we noticed an edition of this work from the press of our neighbors, the Messrs. Harper; and now we have before us, a copy of another edition which far surpasses the other in beauty of typography, from our respected friends, Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia.

27.—*Irish Odes and Other Poems.* By Ambrey De Vere. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1869. Octavo. pp. i—xxii, 13—309.

This very beautiful volume contains a collection of the poetical works of one of Ireland's favorite authors. We are not well acquainted with the merits of this class of literature; but we have, nevertheless, glanced over the pages of this volume with considerable pleasure.

It is printed with all the elegance of style which distinguishes all the issues of this society.

28.—*Chips from a German Workshop.* By Max Müller. M. A. In two volumes. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. (I.) xxxvi, 374; (II.)

Mr. Müller was desired by Baron Bunsen, his friend and benefactor, years since, to "let us have from time to time, some *chips* from his 'workshop,' while dressing the Sacred Hymns of the Brahmans for the press; and these volumes are the first offering to the public of that waste material.

The first volume of this series is composed of "Essays on the Science of Religion;" the second, of "Essays on Mythology, Traditions, and Customs." The entire work is crowded with the result of that earnest study and deep research which mark the German character and habits; and to the few, very few, whose tastes lead them into ethnological channels, these volumes will be exceedingly acceptable.

29.—*Sir George Calvert*, created Baron of Baltimore in the County of Longford, Ireland; and Projector of the Province of Maryland. By Edward D. Neill. Baltimore: Cushings & Bailey. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 24.

There is no more diligent student in our country's history than Mr. Neill; and we have here a carefully-prepared sketch of Lord Balti-

more and a transcript of a portion of the Charter of Maryland, evidently for the purpose of controverting the effect of a misrepresentation made on the subject by the London *Athenaeum*.

There is no beauty in the tract; and it seems to be a pity that such a work, small as it is, could not have secured a comparatively neat dress.

30.—*The Texas Almanac, for 1867, with Statistics, Descriptive and Biographical Sketches, etc., relating to Texas.* Sine loco, sine anno. [Galveston; W. Richardson & Co. 1866.] Duodecimo, pp. 360.

*The Texas Almanac, for 1868, with Federal and State Statistics; historical, descriptive, and biographical Sketches; etc., relating to Texas.* Sine loco, sine anno. [Galveston; W. Richardson & Co. 1867.] Duodecimo, pp. 312.

*The Texas Almanac, for 1869, and Emigrants' Guide to Texas.* Published by W. & D. Richardson & Co., Galveston, Texas. [1868.] Duodecimo, pp. 288.

What the *Corporation Manual* is to the City of New York, this work is to Texas—there seems to be nothing, on that subject, which is not noticed and described, whether in its topography, statistics, history, or public men. In fact, it is by far the most complete work concerning Texas, which we are acquainted with.

31.—*The Captured Scout of the Army of the James.* A sketch of the Life of Sergeant Henry H. Manning, of the Twenty-fourth Mass. Regiment. By Chaplain H. Clay Trumbull. Boston: Nichols and Noyes. 1869. 16mo. pp. 60.

This is a little gem of typography, devoted to the memory of an earnest and faithful young soldier, who died, last September, a victim of disease resulting from his exposure in the War.

It contains, also, incidental allusions to many events of the War, which will be found very useful to those who study or write on that subject.

A number of Book Notices which we had prepared for this number are necessarily laid over for the next.

## XVII.—CURRENT EVENTS.

HEROIC CONDUCT OF A MIDSHIPMAN. We publish with pleasure, the following official correspondence, which records the heroic act of one of our young naval officers, and its prompt and generous recognition by his superior officers:

### [ADMIRAL DAVIS'S REPORT.]

"U. S. FLAG-SHIP *GUERRIERE*, }  
"RIO DE JANEIRO, February 9, 1869. }

"SIR: I have the honor to transmit to the Department, a copy of a letter from Captain M. B. Woolsey, commanding this vessel, giving an account of the heroic conduct of Midshipman T. B. M. Mason, in saving the lives of

"two of his shipmates, enlisted men, under the most perilous circumstances.

"It affords me the highest pleasure to be able to say that Mr. Mason's behavior and character, in all other respects, are in perfect harmony with these noble actions.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"C. H. DAVIS, Rear-Admiral,

"Commanding South American Squadron.

"Hon. GIDEON WELLS, Secretary of the Navy,

"Washington, D. C."

### [ENCLOSURE.]

"U. S. FLAG-SHIP *GUERRIERE*,

"HARBOR OF RIO DE JANEIRO, February 9, 1869.

"SIR: I have the honor to bring to your notice the self-sacrificing and brave conduct of T. B. M. Mason, of this vessel, who promptly perilled his own life and thereby saved two of his shipmates, enlisted men, from drowning. The circumstances of the case are as follows: The two men, Patrick Joyce, ordinary seaman, and Michael Cochran, coal-heaver, were in the steam-launch, one of them being in single irons. They both jumped overboard and swam away from the boat. Mr. Mason was on the landing. Seeing that one of the men was exhausted and had gone down, he threw off his coat, jumped overboard after him, and saved him. He then got on board the launch, and some one saying that the other man was drowning, Mr. Mason again jumped overboard, swam after him, and saved him in the same manner. This occurred yesterday.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"M. B. WOOLSEY, Captain Com'd'g *Guerriere*

"Rear-admiral CHAS. H. DAVIS, Commanding South Atlantic Squadron."

### [REPLY BY THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.]

"NAVY DEPARTMENT,

"WASHINGTON, D. C., March 29, 1869.

"SIR: The Department has just learned from a despatch received from Rear-admiral CHAS. H. DAVIS, communicating a copy of a letter addressed to him by Captain M. B. Woolsey, commanding the *Guerriere*, of your having, by two distinct acts of valor, saved the lives of two of your shipmates, enlisted men, in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, on the 8th of February last.

"I desire to express to you the Department's high appreciation of your heroic conduct on the occasion mentioned, which cannot fail to reflect credit on you and commend you to the esteem of your brother officers and shipmates in the service.

"It is gratifying to the Department to learn, also, from the despatch of Rear-admiral Davis, that your behavior and character, in all

"other respects, are in perfect harmony with  
"these noble actions."

"Very respectfully,

"A. E. BOUTE, Secretary of the Navy.

"Midshipman T. B. M. Mason.

"U. S. Ship *Guerriere*, South Atlantic Squadron."

The name of this gallant young officer has been on our subscription-lists from the days of our predecessors; and we are proud to number him among the regular and constant readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. But, more than for this reason, we are proud of Midshipman Mason as a New Yorker—he is the only son of our esteemed friend, T. Bailey Myers, Esq., and the only grandson of another of our subscribers, Sidney Mason, Esq., also of the City of New York, whose name has been added to his own, as a surname, by Midshipman Mason, for the purpose of continuing the name of his grandfather's family, which otherwise would become extinct, on the death of the latter, for the want of male succession.

We are not disposed to believe that the periodical visits of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE have been without their influence in inspiring our gallant young friend to deeds of manly daring; notwithstanding his father's patriotic zeal has evidently descended to him, and the fine collection of works on America which that gentleman has collected, has, undoubtedly, been influential in the formation of the character of his son.

It is of such material as this that heroes are made; and we think we do not mistake when we say that a brilliant future is evidently before this young officer; and that, some day, his name will be proudly referred to by his country as one of the most widely-known and most honored of her servants.

**MORE HONORS.**—The following, which we cut from *The New York Daily Tribune*, for Wednesday, June 16th, just as we were making up this signature, indicates that another of our most intimate friends and most diligent contributors,—a New Yorker, too,—has been recognized in Europe, notwithstanding he was less highly honored at home, even in time of War, than "Dick Bus-teed" and "Dan Sickles."

"Our fellow-citizen, Brevet Major-general de Peyster, of Tivoli, has recently been honored  
"with the dedication of a valuable military work  
"by its author, General Cust, of the British Army.  
"General de Peyster wrote several military works  
"on the late Rebellion, which were favorably  
"noticed in our columns. Years ago, he received  
"medals and a complimentary letter from the  
"King of Sweden, for a military biography of a  
"Field-marshal of that nation. He also received  
"a complimentary communication from General  
"von Hardegg, Chief of Staff of the King of

"Wurtemberg and the author of a number of  
"military books, of one of which General de  
"Peyster made a translation. He has, besides,  
"translated one or more works on tactics, and  
"published a series of articles on American  
"Light Infantry. These latter were translated  
"and republished in a French military and sci-  
"entific magazine."

**CORRECTION.**—In a Circular "Extra," recently issued by us, we mentioned as a respected contributor to our pages, the Reverend B. F. DE COSTA, who, we had been led to believe, had become widely and honorably known as a smasher of Ethan Allen and of sundry other historical idols, and as the earnest, and honest, and intelligent setter-up of other theories, in American history, than some of those which, before, had generally prevailed throughout the country.

We felt an honest pride in what we had been led to suppose were the peculiar and well-earned honors of our Reverend Contributor; and we supposed we were honorably recognizing what we supposed to be his manly independence and sturdy vigor when we noticed him, in our "Extra," as "the historical Iconoclast." It seems, however, that we were mistaken. Mr. De Costa, if we now understand him correctly, has not earned the honorable distinction which, on what we conceived to be good authority—on the authority, even, of the gentleman himself, both verbally and in the pages of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE—we honestly supposed he had honestly earned, and as willingly awarded to him. He is *not* an Iconoclast, it seems, although we really took him to be one, beyond question: he has not succeeded, it seems, although we supposed he had, in dethroning any of the false gods of modern history—not even Daniel Parks or Ethan Allen:—he is not, it seems, "a determined enemy of idol-worship;" and in that, too, we were mistaken: he is not, it appears, although we really considered him as one of the most zealous of the tribe, "one who exposes or destroys impositions or shams of any kind:" he is not, in short, it now appears, what we took him to be, in very fact,—a genuine "historical Iconoclast."

We stand corrected. We acknowledge, on Mr. De Costa's own word, that we have been misinformed. We, therefore, beg our readers, or such of them as have seen our "Extra," to consider the word "Iconoclast" as not said; and they may, if they desire, substitute therefore, on *their own authority and for their own particular use*, some other word which better pleases themselves or him: for ourself, since it will probably please our Reverend friend, we shall refer to him in future issues of our "Extra," if any such shall be called for, hereafter, as "The historical" [blank.]



## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. V. SECOND SERIES.]

JUNE, 1869.

[No. 6.]

## I.—THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

## GEN. HUMPHREYS AT FREDERICKSBURG.

COMMUNICATED BY GENERAL J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

[THE Army of the Nation, the noble "Army of the Potomac," has never yet received the justice due to its soldiery, even at the hands of those who have set themselves up as its historians and its panegyrists. At the first Battle of Fredericksburg, its determined bravery as far transcended the fiery courage of the "Army of Northern Virginia," its four-years-long antagonist, as the difficulties that the former strove to overcome on the Rappahannock exceeded those which the latter undertook to conquer at Gettysburg. This antithesis is referred to because there is a very great parity in the circumstances, as far as regards the disposition of the ground and the deadly perils of the problem presented for the bloodiest solution. This the Rebels themselves alluded to, when at Gettysburg, after their repulse on the right-centre, on the evening of the second of July, 1863, when they declared "that the fight was Fredericksburg over again; only this time 'the Yanks' were on the heights and they were assailing 'them.' The fact was patent, only they did not mention, and the world forgot, that, although in both cases the confronting parties were on opposite ranges of heights, separated by a wide interval, exposed to direct and cross fires of artillery, and then, at closer quarters, swept by deadlier small arms, at Gettysburg, the Rebels did not unexpectedly come upon a wide and deep canal, (protecting their own left at Fredericksburg), after crossing under fire a broad and deep tidal river which had to be bridged in the teeth of sheltered sharpshooters and tiers of batteries ranged on commanding heights. Nor was the intervening distance which had to be traversed, at Gettysburg, anything like as wide or difficult, nor the ground as broken, nor the heights as steep, as at Fredericksburg. Neither was the attack trammelled as to the hour or method, by the furnishing of pontons withheld by a distant superior, until the enemy, on the alert, had had time to perfect his defensive arrangements.

The comparison of the two fields holds good still further. Even as the Rebels nearly broke the Union line in Pennsylvania, in July, 1863, even so the Union troops actually did perforate the Rebel line in Virginia, in December, 1862. This fact and its grazing a successful termination were acknowledged by Lee in a conversation had with Meade on the subject, which is worthy of examination and comparison.\*

This is corroborated by the testimony of an hamble actor in the great struggle, repeated to the writer by J. T. Zug, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, then First Lieutenant of Company H., Seventh Pennsylvania Reserves. It appears that the Orderly-sergeant of his Company, Jacob Heffelfinger, was wounded in Meade's charge and fell, shot through both legs, on the "military road," in the rear of the Rebel line, which road was constructed to facilitate the supply and reinforcing of the posts on Marye's Heights. When Lee rode along, the next morning, he found the crippled Pennsylvanian still lying where he fell, and asked "how he came there?" Lee seemed scarcely able to believe that the Union troops had advanced or penetrated so far, when

Heffelfinger replied that he "was wounded where he still (or then) lay." The Sergeant judged from what he could catch of the conversation which ensued between Lee and his Staff, that the Rebel General had not had any idea until then, how far the Union troops had fought their way, endangering the whole Rebel dispositions and Army. Had the Commander of the Left Grand Division supported Burnside, as Lee's Lieutenants always supported him, the successor of McClellan would have gained a glorious victory. It must not be forgotten, when considering this case, how Pope had experienced a similar treatment with equally unhappy results, disastrous to the Union cause. The subject is too painful to linger upon, and let us pass to the final point of the parallelism. Even as Lee suffered, or was compelled to suffer, the Union Army to retire in safety unmolested, (Providence covering and facilitating the withdrawal) across the Rappahannock; even so Meade permitted Lee to get off when he had the Arch Rebel in his power, after the repulse of Pickett at Gettysburg, and withdraw, ten days after, unmolested, across the Potomac, at Williamsport and Falling Waters.

When these events and the career of the too often sacrificed rank and file of the "Army of the Potomac" are critically or dispassionately considered by experts and historians, it will need a totally different course of reasoning from the actual facts, as they occurred, to cleanse the stars upon the shoulder-straps of too many of our prominent Generals from the blood-stains of thousands of the most gallant soldiers the world has ever seen, or the death sweat of other thousands, sacrificed in an equal degree by disease, and from the darker dyes of the disasters which rendered victories doubtful, successes and decided triumphs barren of the results which real Generals would have harvested, to the ruin of the Rebel cause, years before Grant drowned it out in blood.

The finest episode, however, of the first Battle of Fredericksburg, is the charge, towards night, by Brevet Major (Brigadier General) A. A. Humphreys, U. S. A., now Chief of Engineers, U. S. A. The following unpublished Report, received from his own hands, is a clear relation of what occurred, but does not do justice to his own personal gallantry nor set forth the fearful difficulties which rendered his intrepidity infructuous. To comprehend these difficulties, a visit to the field is indispensable. From the Phillip's House, Burnside's Head-quarters, on the northern shore, a long and exposed descent leads to the Rappahannock. The river at this point is two hundred yards broad, and deep enough for large and loaded steamers. It had to be crossed in the face of Artillery and Riflemen, who, from their lairs, struck down, at one discharge, twenty-seven out of forty Engineer troops, who were making the initiatory efforts to construct the first bridge. This detachment was commanded by Lieutenant, now Brevet-Colonel, F. R. Hassler, of West Virginia, an intimate friend of the writer. When the stream was crossed and the Rebels chased out of the town, no smooth meadowy field rose gently to the position to be carried. On the contrary, the interval was crossed by fences and sprinkled with buildings which afforded admirable covers; and just at the foot of the ascent, proper, to Marye's Heights, a sunken road between deep "Ha-ha" stonewalls, afforded as perfect a defensive work as any Engineer could have planned or any Engineer troops could have constructed. Moreover, the Rebels had strengthened these already strong defences so that their Infantry rose as it were out of the ground to deliver a concentric fire. The head of Humphreys' column seemed to propel itself into a perfect yawning gulf of flame. This fiery abyss must have appeared ten-fold more terrible, because, in the glooming of the deepening twilight and amid

\* Woodbury's *Burnside and the North Army Corps*, p. 231.

the thick mist arising from the bottom land, every discharge was as intensely brilliant as the trail of a meteor traversing the night. In the day-time, men may hear, but they cannot see, the death-stroke. On this occasion, the very earth seemed to belch forth lurid destruction, consuming like ground lightning or the sudden vomiting forth of a glowing lava flood, from the crater of a volcano. As the chief actor declared, "a sheet of flame ran along that stone wall accompanied by a long roll of thunder. It was the most magnificent sight I saw in the war. 'It seemed to enfold the 'head of the column in an embrace of fire.' " Notwithstanding, Humphreys persevered; and if the energy and valor of a single man could have breached that wall of fiery death, he would have carried his column through on and up to the Heights, beyond. Whether he could have maintained himself there, successfully, was a question dependent not upon himself, but upon his being properly reinforced and supported. As it was, despite his utmost endeavors, in which two horses were shot under him, he could not get his men across that stone-wall; and he was compelled to retire after seeing his troops slaughtered in vain. One incident of this fearful scene recalls one parallel of Mollwitz, where the Austrian Infantry, after fearful losses, continued to advance, reluctantly, moving forward, and man after man edging away, so that each Regiment gradually struck out resembling a swarm of bees clinging to a twig; presenting nothing in front to the enemy but Color-sergeants and Guards—as Carlisle says, "turning nothing to the enemy but bare poles." In our own case, this struggling out was from every shelter—especially a small building which afforded some cover to the leading files. That Humphreys escaped is one of those marvels which can only be explained by the doctrine of special Providence. His charge will yet be blazoned forth in History as one of the noblest efforts of Northern resolution, or, as he expressed it, of one of Kearny's exhibitions of valor, "magnificent."

J. W. DE P.]

[GENERAL HUMPHREYS' REPORT.]

On the thirteenth of December, 1862, my Division, (Third Division, Fifth Corps,) about 4,500 strong, being massed in the vicinity of the Phillips House, received orders at half past two o'clock in the afternoon, to cross the river and enter Fredericksburg, which being done, it occupied, by the orders of the Corps Commander, General Butterfield, in quick succession, three positions in that town. My troops were yet in the act of forming for the third time, on the crest of the hill fronting Marye-heights, some six or eight hundred yards distant, when I received an urgent request from Major-general Couch, in person, to support that part of his Corps on the left of the Telegraph-road; and almost at the same moment, a Staff Officer rode up and informed him that General Griffin was ordered to reinforce him. A few minutes later, I was directed to do so; and, without an instant's delay, the Second Brigade, commanded by Colonel Allabach, the nearest to the Telegraph-road was moved to the front; and orders were sent by me, at the same time, to General Tyler, commanding the First Brigade, to follow and form on its right. Subsequently, when forming the troops for the attack, Captain Randall, First United States Artillery, Chief of Artillery of my Division, whom I had ordered to keep the artillery in some sheltered place, reported to me on the field for further instructions. I directed him to hold the artillery within supporting distance, on the heights, so that in the event of any aid being required or disaster occurring,

he would be at hand, to support or cover us. This direction he carried out promptly, so far as the ground that was not already occupied by artillery, admitted.

The day was not clear, and there was much smoke overhanging the ground, so that I had not yet seen distinctly the position occupied by the enemy nor that by our own troops, and the necessity was so urgent, that I could not take time to examine it, without the aid of some one who had been on the ground. At my request, an officer of General Hancock's Staff, (Captain Hancock,) accompanied me, first to a ravine, crossing the Telegraph road, where the troops could form under partial cover, (some three hundred yards from the enemy,) then to the plain above, on which, some two hundred yards in advance, were the troops I was to support, partially sheltered by a slight rise or fold in the ground. One hundred and fifty yards beyond them was a heavy stone-wall, nearly a mile in length, which was strengthened by a trench. This stone-wall was at the foot of the Marye heights, the crest of which, running from one to four hundred yards in rear of the wall, was covered with batteries. The stone-wall was heavily lined with the enemy's Infantry. A wide deep ditch or canal,\* impassable for troops, ran through the ravine and was crossed by two roads only—the Telegraph-road and the plank-road. My troops were obliged to pass, in column, down the Telegraph-road, until the ditch was crossed. There was barely room for a Brigade to form in double lines, between the ditch and the edge of the ravine, next the enemy.

The Second Brigade was quickly formed here, under my direction, by Colonel Allabach; and then, led by him and myself, it moved rapidly and gallantly up to General Couch's troops, under the artillery and musketry-fire of the enemy.

The nature of the enemy's line of defence could not be clearly perceived by me, until I reached this point. The troops I was to support, as well as those on their left and right, were sheltering themselves by lying on the ground. This example Colonel Allabach's Brigade immediately followed, in spite of our efforts to prevent it, and opened a fire upon the enemy. A part only of our men were able to reach the front rank, owing to the numbers already occupying the ground.

The continued presence of the troops I was to support or relieve proved a serious obstacle to my success.

As soon as I ascertained fully the nature of the enemy's position, I was satisfied that our fire could have but little effect upon him, and that the only mode of attacking him successfully was

\* There were two canals—one North of the town, and between it and the Rappahannock; and one South of it. The latter was both broad and deep; and served as a perfect wet ditch, protecting the left of the Rebel position.



with the bayonet. This I resolved to do, although my command was composed of troops that entered the service in August.\* With great difficulty their firing was arrested, chiefly by the exertions of myself and Staff and Colonel Allabach, aided by Colonel Allen, Colonel Clarke, and Captain Tyler. Whilst this was being done, I sent a staff-officer to General Tyler, with instructions to bring his command to the left of the road, in the ravine, and prepare them to support or take the place of Allabach's Brigade, as the event might require.

The charge was then made, but the deadly fire of musketry and artillery broke it, after an advance of fifty yards. Colonel Allabach reformed the Brigade, a portion in the line from which the charge was made, the remainder in the ravine from which they had advanced.

The greater part of my Staff were now on foot, having had their horses killed or disabled, my own being in the latter condition, from two wounds. Mounting the horse of my special Orderly, Dimond, Sixth United States Cavalry, who always kept close beside me in action, I rode to General Tyler's Brigade to conduct it to the enemy; and while doing so received three successive Orders from General Butterfield to charge the enemy's line—the last Order being accompanied by the message that both General Burnside and General Hooker demanded that the crest should be taken before night. It was already growing dusky. General Tyler's Brigade was not yet entirely formed, and were impeded in doing so by a battery of six guns (that had been brought up since my advance with Allabach's Brigade,) whose limbers occupied a part of his ground, and whose fire would have rendered it impossible for him to advance. With great difficulty I brought this battery to cease firing. Then riding along the two lines, I directed them not to fire—that it was useless—that the bayonet alone was the weapon to fight with here. Anticipating too the serious obstacle they would meet with in the masses of men lying under the little shelter afforded by the natural embankment in front, before mentioned, who could not be got out of the way, I directed them to disregard these men entirely, and to pass over them. I ordered the officers to the front, and with a "hurrah," the Brigade, conducted by General Tyler and myself, advanced gallantly over the ground under the heaviest fire yet opened, which poured upon them from the moment they rose from the ravine.

As the Brigade reached the masses of men referred to, efforts were made by the latter to prevent our advance. The effect was what I apprehended: the line was somewhat disordered and

in part forced to form into a column, but still advanced rapidly. The fire of the enemy's musketry and artillery, furious as it was before, now became still hotter. The stone-wall was a sheet of flame that enveloped the head and flanks of the column.

Officers and men were falling rapidly; and the head of the column was at length brought to a stand, when close up to the wall.

Up to this time, not a shot had been fired by the column, but now some firing began: it lasted but a minute, when, spite of all our efforts, the column turned and began to retire slowly. I attempted to rally the Brigade behind the natural embankment, so often mentioned, but could not arrest the retiring mass. My efforts were the less effective, since I was again dismounted, my second horse having been killed under me. The only one of my Staff now mounted was Lieutenant Humphreys, whose horse had been three times wounded: all the rest had their horses either killed or disabled.

Directing General Tyler to reform his Brigade under cover of the ravine, I returned to the portion of Allabach's Brigade still holding, with the other troops, the line of natural embankment.

My force being too small to try another charge, I communicated the result of the contest to General Butterfield, and received directions in return to bring the remainder of my troops to the ravine. This was accordingly done, the One hundred and twenty-third and One hundred and fifty-fifth Regiments, commanded by Colonel Clark and Colonel Allen, retiring slowly and in good order, singing and hurrahing.\* Colonel Allabach brought off the other Regiments in equally good order.

Our loss in both Brigades was heavy, exceeding one thousand in killed and wounded, including in the number, officers, of high rank. The greater part of this loss occurred during the brief time they were charging, which scarcely occupied more than ten minutes for each Brigade.

Among the officers, mentioned by General Tyler and Colonel Allabach, who most distinguished themselves by their gallant bearing, were Colonel Gregory (slightly wounded,) Colonel Frick, Colonel Elder (dangerously wounded,) and Lieutenant-colonel O'Brien—commanding Regiments; Lieutenant-colonels Armstrong and Rowe; Majors Thompson and Anthony, and Major Tod, who had his leg shattered, and died that night. Colonel Allen and Colonel Clark, commanding Regiments, Captain Porter, Assistant-adjutant-general, dangerously wounded, and Captain Tyler, and Lieutenant Noon, Adjutant

\* The Battle was fought on Saturday, the thirteenth of December, 1862; consequently these troops had only been four months drilling, under arms.

\* Is there an instance of greater heroism recorded in ancient or modern authenticated history. With all my reading I remember none. J. W. de P.



of the One hundred and thirty-fifth Regiment, who was killed.

The cool courage of Colonel Allen, of the One hundred and fifty-fifth Regiment, of Colonel Clark, of the One hundred and twenty-third Regiment, and Captain Tyler, of the One hundred and twenty-third Regiment, in bringing up their men to the charge, and in conducting them from the field, fell particularly under my own observation.

I cannot express in too warm terms my indebtedness to the Officers of my Staff for the services they rendered me. The cool gallantry with which they aided in forming the troops, leading them to the charge, and rallying them when retiring; in conveying my Orders over the field, and in seconding all my efforts to accomplish the object of our presence there, entitled them to some mark of approbation from authority higher than mine. They were:

Captain Cars<sup>11</sup> McClellan, Assistant-adjutant-general.

Lieutenant Humphreys, Aide-de-camp;

Lieutenant Christiancey, Aide-de-camp;

Captain Herbert Thomas, of the One hundred and twenty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, Acting Inspector-general;

Captain Knowles, Commissary of Subsistence;

Captain A. Cavada, of the Twenty-third Pennsylvania Volunteers, Additional Aide-de-camp;

Captain Rehner, of the One hundred and twenty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, Additional Aide-de-camp;

Captain Thomas, when his horse was killed in the charge, joined his Company; and while leading it, was severely wounded.

Captain Knowles, Captain Rehner, and Lieutenant Humphreys, were slightly wounded.

One of the greatest obstacles to my success, was the mass of troops lying on our front line. They ought to have been withdrawn before mine advanced. The troops on their right and left would have prevented the enemy from advancing. Finding them lying there, the men of Allabach's Brigade, who had never before been in battle, instinctively followed their example. Besides, they disordered my lines, and were greatly in the way when I wished to bring the Brigade to a charge. When General Tyler's Brigade advanced, they not only impeded its progress, but converted it, as I have already stated, into a somewhat disorganized column, too large to be managed.

Very Respectfully,

Your ob't Serv't,

A. A. HUMPHREYS,

Brig. Gen'l Comd'g Div.

[CONCLUDING NOTE.]

More than two years ago, March, 1867, General Humphreys endeavored to have justice done to his Division. As

in so many other cases, generally received accounts of Burnside's Battle of Fredericksburg were anything but a strictly correct narrative of the Battle. The fact is, not one in a thousand have the energy to wade through the mass of testimony necessary to arrive at the truth of a Battle; and of the very few who do so, even less can recognize the truth, when before their eyes realizing the words of Scripture, "people, without understanding; which have eyes and see not."

General Humphreys had the written authority of General Grant to send his Report to the press for publication. He did send it to the *Army and Navy Journal*, whose name indicates that it should be the military organ of the United States. They did not publish it. The following is a copy of the letter which accompanied the report. It is too modest, too manly, and too pertinent, to be omitted in this connection:

"MR. EDITOR: I have read, recently, several historical accounts of the Battle of Fredericksburg which, so far as they relate to the part taken in the Battle by my Division, are very erroneous.

"The latest describes the Battle as terminating with a general attack on the right by all the troops there. That is not so. The day and the Battle closed with the attack of my Division, *solely*. Neither did my Division advance, throw out pickets, etc., as described by the historian of the Ninth Corps. What it did is stated in my official Report, which, it would appear has not been accessible.

"Very Respectfully,

"Your ob't Serv't,

"A. A. HUMPHREYS."

We take great pleasure in thus publishing it, where it may be most readily accessible to those students of the military history of the war, who shall desire to see it. EDITOR OF HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

## II.—CHARLES THOMSON'S OPINIONS ON FREEMASONRY.\*

COMMUNICATED BY HORATIO GATES JONES, ESQ.

[CHARLES THOMSON was the Secretary of the Continental Congress, and was one of the most prominent advocates of the cause of Liberty during the early period of the Revolution. His country residence was at Harriton, in Montgomery-county, Pennsylvania, near the Lower Merion Baptist Church, of which the late Rev. Horatio Gates Jones, D.D., was Pastor. Mr. Thomson was a Presbyterian, but always attended Dr. Jones's Church. When Mr. Thomson died, some of his papers fell into the hands of Dr. Jones, and among them the following upon the subject of Freemasonry.—H. G. J.]

Mr. Cha. Thomson presents his compliments to Dr. Crawford, and thanks him for the perusal of his treatise on Freemasonry.

The building seems to be handsomely set off on the outside and looks well; how it is on the inside, C. T. can say nothing. He might have entered, but he did not like the terms, and he is free to assign his reasons.

With regard to Religion and morality, being favoured with the privilege of drinking freely and plentifully of a stream flowing pure from the Fountain of Truth, he did not chuse to mix and muddy it with the water of Styx; and with regard to civil polity, place of nativity and allegiance due to the Sovereign of that Spot, his maxim is *Ubi libertas, ibi patria*; and for that

\* The original of the above is endorsed in Mr. Thomson's handwriting, as follows:—"Copy of a letter to Doct. Crawford in answer to his treatise on Freemasonry, and invitation to become a Member."—H. G. J.

reason he has declined all the invitations with which he has been honored by his friends of St. Patrick, St. George, & St. Andrew. But at the same time considering himself one of the great Family of Mankind, he cherishes benevolence for the whole family, and they have his warm good wishes for their welfare, prosperity, and happiness; a large portion of which wishes he sends to Dr Crawford, and craves his acceptance of them.

### III.—JOURNAL OF A JOURNEY THROUGH THE UNITED STATES, 1795-6.

BY THOMAS CHAPMAN, ESQ.\*

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, IN THE POSSESSION OF HIS GRANDSON, GEORGE TEMPLE CHAPMAN, ESQ., OF NEW YORK.

1795.—Left Elizabeth Town in the State of East Jersey on Tuesday the 29th of Sept<sup>r</sup> at 5 o'clock in the Afternoon when I took leave of my Wife and Children, and Travelled to Woodbridge, where I slept, but owing to a Cold caught in my Evenings ride or Sleeping with too slight a covering to the Bed, I awoke in the Night with a violent Pain in my Bowels Accompanied with a Purging. The Country from Eliz<sup>a</sup> Town to Woodbridge is thickly Inhabited, & the land wch is Levell appears to be tolerably good.

30th SEPTEMBER. Sett of to Brunswick, where I arrived at 10 o'clock A. M., and after Eating a hearty Breckfast of Tea, Eggs, and smoked Beef, pursued my Journey towards Princeton, wch is reckoned 18 Miles, but the Weather being Hott & Sultry, I stopt at the 6 Miles Ditch, Dined and rested untill 4 o'clock, P. M., when I proceeded on and reached Princeton at 7 o'clock in the Evening. This happening to be the Day of the Annual Commencement of the Students of Nassau Colleige, The Town was so full and the Inns so crouded with the Relations & Freinds of the Colligeans, that I found great difficulty in getting Accommodations for myself & Horse. The greatest part of the Country I travelled through this Day, the Land looks poor, the Soil light and Sandey, the Forust and Fruit Trees every where short and scrubby Top'd.

1st OCTOBER, FRIDAY. . On my Journey from

\* Mr. Chapman was an English gentleman of fortune who came to America, with the intention of making it his future home.

The object of the journey which is described in this Journal, was to look at the country, before selecting a place of residence; and his frequent notices of the quality of the lands through which he passed will be accounted for when the purpose of his journey shall be considered. Other papers, which he left have been placed in our hands; and we shall make selections from them, from time to time, for publication in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, accompanied, at an early day, with a biographical sketch of Mr. Chapman, from the pen of his grandson. EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Princeton (w'ch I left early in the Morning) to Trenton, I was over taken by a New England Man from Connecticut, who accompanied me all the way to Philadelphia. We breakfasted at Trenton, Dined at Bristow, and Slept at an Inn called the Washington, about 9½ Miles distant from Philadelphia. The soil from Princeton to Trenton is much better than any I saw the preceeding Day, but crossing the Delaware at the latter place, I found the Land still better & continues untill with in 5 or 6 miles of Philad<sup>a</sup>. where it assumes an appearance of what it is, Sandy & light.

2d OCTOBER, FRIDAY. Arrived at Philadelphia about 9 o'clock in the Morning, & took up my abode at the Indian Queen Tavern, in fourth Street, when I took leave of my Yankey Companion who went to Chester on Business.

8th OCTOBER, THURSDAY. Left Philadelphia at 4 o'clock in the Afternoon, and reached the Buck Tavern between 6 & 7 o'clock in the Evening, where I slept, & had good Accommodations. This Inn is 10½ miles from Philadelphia, kept by a Widow Woman M<sup>rs</sup> Miller. There were three Quaker Women set in the Parlour with me, but altho they did not Sup I prevailed on them to drink a Glass of Maderia with me.

9th OCTOBER, FRIDAY. At 6 A. M., I departed from the Buck, & breakfasted at the Warren, a Tavern kept by a civil Dutchman (about 12 miles distant from the Buck) from whence I proceeded to Downings Town, Dined at the Washington, 10 miles further, & from thence Travelled 16 miles further (in Company with a Lancaster Merchant of the name of Lochard, a Native of Ireland) and slept at an Inn kept by one Hamilton, a civil Man. Here my Horse got a Strain in his hind leg by the falling down of the Manger. My Expenses this Day, 22 Sh<sup>s</sup> Currency or 1½ Dollars.

10th OCTOBER, SATURDAY. Sett of at 1 A.M. with my Irish Companion, breakfasted at a single House 7 miles on the Road, & then went on to Lancaster, 13 Miles further, where we Arrived at 12 o'clock, and where I determin'd to stay untill the next morning on Acco<sup>d</sup> of my Horses Leg, wch I got the Hostler to bathe it with Soap and Spirit. from the Accounts I had read heard respecting the Country between Philadelphia, I found myself much disappointed, is the Land does not appear to be near so rich and good as represented. They are making a Capital Turnpike Road from Philadelphia Lancaster, wch was very much wanted, as the Old one is very bad, indeed, the Work people Employed on the Road (many of whom are Moravians with Long Beards like Jews) say it will be finished by the End of November. My Exps this Day was 15 Sh<sup>s</sup> or 2 Dollars.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 11th. Before I quit Lancaster, wch is the finist Inland Town I have seen



in America, I must say a word about the Landlord of the Swann Tavern, who is a very surly, illbred Dutchman. The Accommodations, notwithstanding Mr Slough's uncouthness, are in every respect very good. I was here joined by a Young Gentleman from Albany, with whom I quitted Lancaster at 10 A. M., and reach'd the Wrights Ferry House on the York Town Road at 12 o'clock. After making a very excellent Dinner with Mr Stakes the Landlord, and two or three of their Friends, and drinking some tolerable good Brandy and Water, We Crossed the Susquanna River which is about a Mile Wide at this Ferry. What a pity the Navigation of this Noble River is so much Obstructed by Rocks and Rapids. As we were more than half an Hour in Crossing, I had an Opportunity of feasting my Eyes and the Grand Woody prospects that present themselves on each side. The Land from Lancaster to Wrights Ferry is indifferent, but from the latter to York Town, 11 Miles from the Ferry, it resumed a more fertile appearance. We got to York Town about 6 o'clock in the Evening, & put up at the Bay Horse, kept by Col Steel, who is a well behaved, civil Man, & his Wife a good Motherly Obliging Woman. York Town is the County Town of York County, & tho not near so large as Lancaster, appears to be more thriving place, having a richer County round it. There is a Court House nearly in the Center of y<sup>e</sup> Town. 2 Judges, Peters & Patterson, were to sit to try two of the Insurgents in the late Commotions the Day we left the Town. My Expenses this Day was about 3 $\frac{1}{4}$  Dollars.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 12th. Left York Town at 7 o'clock, rode 11 miles to Breakfast at a single Tavern kept by John Ronpe at the sign of the Bay Horse. His Wife was very civil & gave us a good Breakfast, after which we went on 8 miles to the Black Bull at Oxford, a small Village of 8 or 10 House. Here we got a Lunch, fed our Horses, & Travelled 16 miles to Peter Maretze who keeps a small Tavern at the foot of the blue Mountains, here we slept and met with very civil Treatment from Maretze & his Wife. My Expenses this Day was 2 Dollars. About 14 miles from York we past Abbotts Town, a small Village of about 50 Houses in one Street, mostly Log Houses.

13th OCTOBER, TUESDAY. Left Maretze at 7 o'clock & went 9 miles to Breakfast at a single House, and the Western side of the blue Mountains, kept by an Irish man of the name of Bigham, from thence we proceeded to Chambersburg, a handsome, thriving Town 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Bighams, where we had a good Dinner at the Green Tea, and after Visiting a Capital Mill and looking at the Falls close by the Mill, we quitted and Travelled on 9 miles to Cambells, a very good House, where we slept all Night in good Beds. my Expenses this Day was about 2 Dollars. There

is a Brewery at Chambersburg, and a Court House, where the Court are kept for the County of Franklin.

14th OCTOBER, WEDNESDAY. We quitted Cambells at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past six in the Morning, and Travelled over the Cave Mountains to MacCollahs Town, a Village of about 20 Houses, where we breakfasted. The mountains which we past were more than three Miles over, very steep & very rugged and stoney. The Distance from Cambells to Mr Connel Town is 14 Miles, and from thence to Skinners, a Tavern on the Top of the Sydeland Mountains, is 12 More, where we slept, and a very tolerable House it is, considering the Wild Country in which it is Situated. The Whole of this Days Journey was up and Down Steep rocky Mountains, and very few Settlers any were except Inn keepers.

My Expenses this Day was about 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  Dollar.

15th OCTOBER, THURSDAY, Tooke our Departure from Skinners and Travelled 8 Miles to a Miserable Inn at the Crossing a Branch of the Juniatta River, where we Breakfast, and after staying untill a heavy Shower of Rain was over, proceeded to Hartleys, 8 miles further, & Dined. Mr & Mrs Hartley are from England; been about 12 Years in this Country, and she appears a very cleaver Woman. We quitted this Tavern and went on to Smalls Tavern in Bedford, 6 miles further, A Small neat Town of about 200 Houses, situated in Valley of good Land & Surrounded on all Sides by high Mountains. My Exp<sup>s</sup> this Day was 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  Dollar.

We Stopped all night at Mr Smalls, which is the best Tavern in Bedford, where we got very good Beds.

16th OCTOBER, FRIDAY. Left Smalls at 7 o'clock in the Morning, and parted with my fellow Traveller soon after we got out of Bedford. He went to Fort Cumberland and I proceeded to Tim Ryans Tavern at the Foot of the Alleganey Mountains, 12 miles from Bedford, where I Breakfasted. Ryan & his Wife are both Irish, and very Attentive to their Guets. After Feeding my Horse at a small Log House 8 Miles from Ryans, on the Top of the Alleganny Mountains, I rode on 12 miles to Styles Town, a Village containing about a Doz<sup>n</sup> Houses, where I slept at a Tavern kept by one Ogle. The Alleganney Mountains is about 16 Miles over, and a very rugged ruff road it is. Exp<sup>s</sup> 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  Dollar.

17th OCTOBER, SATURDAY. Quitted Ogles at 7 o'clock in the Morning, and crossed the Laurel Hills, and breakfasted at a small Log House 16 miles from Sty Town, after which I went on 8 Miles further to a small Log House Tavern kept by one Kelsal; here I stop'd All Night on Account the Rain, and as the House consisted of only one Room which served as Kitchen, Parlour, Bed Chamber, &c., what with Travellers and the



Family, there was no less than 15 Persons Slept in the Room, & altho there was only three Beds, I had the good Fortune to have one to my self. One Dollar Expence this Day.

18th OCTOBER, SUNDAY. Left Kelsals at 8 in the Morning & went 6 Miles further, to Reeds, a pretty good Tavern, where I breakfasted, and then proceeded to Greensburgh, 9 Miles further, where I Dined, Supp'd & Slept at Col Trueby's Tavern. This is the County Town of Westmoreland County, where they are Building a neat Court House of Brick, most of the private Houses, in number about 100, are Log Houses, and considering the Town is only of 9 Years standing, it bears a very respectable appearance. My Expenses this Day was about 1½ Dollar.

19th OCTOBER, MONDAY. I did not leave Greensburgh until 12 o'Clock as my Horse wanted four New Shoes put on, and therefore on Acco<sup>t</sup> of the Rain & bad Roads I only Traveled 15 Miles to a private House belong<sup>g</sup> to Mr Herring, where I slept all Night. My Expenses this Day, including one Dollar for Shoeing the Horse, was 2½ Dollars.

20th OCTOBER, TUESDAY. Left Hering at 8 and proceeded on to Pittsburg, wh I reached at 12 o'Clock, and took up my quarters at Mr Morrows, at the sign of the Green Tree. All the Road from the Laurel Hill to Pittsburg is Hilly and bad, but the Country is notwithstanding thickly settled. Pittsburg is a thriving Town containing at present about 200 Houses, 50 of wh are brick & Fram'd, & the remainder Log, but as there is 2 Brick Yards in the Vicinity of the Town, in the course of a few [years] all the Log Houses will be rebuilt and brick Substituted in the room of Wood. The Price of Bricks are 1 Guinea ½ thousand. Butchers Meat of all sorts are sold at 4<sup>d</sup> & 4½<sup>d</sup> ½ Pound, Whereas, in the Country at 10 & 15 Miles from Pittsburg, it is a Penny less, making at that rate about 2 pence Sterling. During my stay at Pittsburg I went in Company with Mr Morrow, the Landlord, & Mr Bosley from Baltimore, to the Town of Washington, in Washington County, about 25 miles from Pittsburg. Washington contains about 100 Houses, all wh, except the Court H<sup>o</sup>, a very neat Building, & 2 or three others, are Frame & Log Houses. The Town is pleasantly Situated upon an Eminence, has not been laid out above 10 Years, & promises in time to be a place of Consequence. there is a great deal of good Land on the Road from Pittsburg to Washington, and the only Objection to this Country is its being very hilly.

2d NOVEMBER, MONDAY. Left Pittsburg at Noon in a Kentucky Boat belonging to Major Craig, Deputy Quarter Master, who was kind enough to give me & my Horse a Passage in her to Cincinnati, where she carried Stores for the

Military Hospital at Fort Washington. We only reached Wollerys Cabbin, about 13 Miles below Pittsburg, on the Indian side of the Ohio. Woolery is Hanoverian, has got a Wife & 5 Daughters, and has lived at this place three Years, notwithstanding the Indians came frequently near his House. I was astonished to find so civilized a Family as Wooleries in so wild and uninhabited Country.

3d NOVEMBER, TUESDAY. We did not get above 3 Miles below Beaver Creek this Day, wh is 28 Miles below Pittsburg, being Obligated to come too on Acco<sup>t</sup> of a thick Fog & the dangerous navigation of this part of the River.

4th NOVEMBER, WEDNESDAY. We Pushed of our Boat at 7 o'Clock in the Morning, but was Obligated to Stop, on Acco<sup>t</sup> of the Hazy Weather, for two Hours, during wh time I went on Shore about 2½ Miles from George Town, where I bought a large wild Turkey, and two Quarts of Milk from Mr<sup>s</sup> Wright, an Irish Woman, who had the modesty to charge me 3 Sh<sup>s</sup> Sterling for The Turkey & Milk. This Woman with her Husband & six Children lives in a Log Cabbin not bigger than a good Hog Sty in England, nor half so comfortable in appearance, but on the Contrary, both Cabbin Furniture & Family shew the strongest marks of Beggery and Wretchedness, notwithstanding wh they appear contented and Happy, having Plenty of fine reach Land, if they would but take the Pains to cultivate it, with abundance of Sugar Trees and all kinds of Timber. After quitting this place we went on all Night, the Boat people keeping Watch, and on THURSDAY, the 5th of OCTOBER, at 4 P. M., reached Wheeling, 100 Miles below Pittsburg. Here we went on Shore, drank a Glass of tolerable Port Wine, for wh the Inn keeper charged us after the rate of 4<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> ½ Bottle Sterling, & 2<sup>s</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> ½ a Pound of Chocolate. Wheeling is a small Village of about 50 Log & Frame Houses, pleasantly Situated upon an Eminence, and Commanding an extensive prospect down the Ohio. There is a small Stockade Garrison where 150 Soldiers, under the Command of a Colonel was kept during the Indian War, but there are only now a dozen under Major Finly.

6th NOVEMBER, FRIDAY. Nothing material Occurred this Day, except Shooting 8 or 10 Wild Turkeys, killed by the Boats crew. these Birds abound in all the unfrequented Woods on both sides of the Ohio, and proved a very seasonable supply, as our provisions began to be scanty. The way we dressed them was by cutting them up in Pieces and boiling them with Potatoes, Bread, & Turnips, wh made excellent Soup. There are many Tracts of fine Land on both sides of the Ohio, between Wheeling and Marietta, where we Arrived on Saturday at 12 o'Clock. This Town is Situated on the great Muskingdom

River, near 200 Miles below Pittsburg, in a bend of the Ohio. It Contains about 200 Wooden Houses, and Commands a delightfull View up and down & Across the Ohio. Here is also a Stockade Garrison, where Soldiers are kept to Protect the Inhabitants from the Incurtions of the Indians, who were very troublesome during the War, and Stole a great number of Horses from the Settlers, wch is the only reason why this Town is not near so large as it otherwise would have been, as the Land all about and for a considerable distance, is Level and very Rich. We could get no supply of provisions here except a Bushel of red Potatoes, wch a poor starved looking Frenchman spared us for 18 pence Sterling, wch is very surprizing, & betrays an inexcusable Inodence in the Settlers, who chiefly live upon Venison & Wild Turkeys, and Bread made of Indian Corn.

8th NOVEMBER, SUNDAY. After quitting Maroitta at 1 P. M., Yesterday, we proceeded on & passed Bellpre, a fine Settlement of New Englanders, on the Indian Side of the Ohio, and directly Opposite to the little Kanaway River, but as we past this place at 8 °Clock in the Even<sup>g</sup>, I could see nothing of the Country further then that it appears flat & of course good Land. The Boat people say the first Settlers came here in the Year 1788, wch proved fatal to a Captain King, who was shot by an Indian on cutting down the first Tree. About 15 Mile below Bellpre is another Settlement on the Virginia side of the Ohio, of ten years standing, wch is all, I understand, rich Bottom Land. We had incessant hard rate the whole of this Day, and the greatest part of the Night, wch not a little interrupted our repose, the Water dropping from the roof of the Boat in every [part.] As we approached near the falls of Latarts, wch took [its name] from a Frenchman, who was drown'd there many Years agoe) and the Weather proving [bad,] We rowed the Boat to the Shore on the Virginia Side of the River.

9th NOVEMBER, MONDAY. Set off at 7 in the Morning, and past Latarts Falls about 1 P. M., wch was scarcely perceivable on Acco<sup>t</sup> of the River being high. During the whole Course of the Ohio from Pittsburg, there are numberless small Islands in the Ohio of 1, 2, & 3 Miles in Length, many of wch would be comfortable Estates to any Moderate Man, as the Soil on the greater part of them appears very Luxuriant; there has been settlers on some of them many Years, and on others the people are beginning to Settle. At 9 on Tuesday Morning, Past the great Kanaway, wch Fog prevented us from seeing, and in one Hour afterwards came too at Galliopolis, a Small miserable looking Village of upwards of 100 little wretched Log Cabbins, all Occupied by poor starved sickly looking Frenchmen. Here we stoped untill 2 P. M., whilst the

Baker made and backed us a Dozen Loaves of excellent Bread made from leaven. We could get but 1 Pound of indifferent Butter at Galliopolis, wch Cost us 13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> pound; they charged us 2<sup>d</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 7<sup>d</sup> Bushel for Potatoes, & 15 pence for a quart of Salt. This was a Military Station for 100 Soldiers during the Indian War, but the Number is reduced now to 5, under the Command of Captain Derihecour, a Frenchman. The whole Settlement could not produce one Candle, for altho the Noble Captain who is Commander in Chief promised us two, but alas on enquiry of his Domesticks, he found he was only master of two Inches instead of 2 whole Candles. The whole of the Inhabitants of this Town, the Governor not excepted, have Starvation and Sickness strongly pictured in their faces. Standing Pooles of dirty Water, and having no other to drink but what they take from the Ohio, is no doubt the Cause of their being never free from the Fever & Ague in the Spring and Autum<sup>n</sup>. We left this Wretched place at 2 P. M., and reached the Great Sandy at 4 A. M., on Wednesday, by wch it appeared that we had gone 57 miles in 14 Hours. At 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> P. M. Passed the Sciota, 48 miles from Great Sandy. The Land at the Mouth of this River & for a considerable way above and below is very flat, and must be overflowed in the Spring. Kentucky commences at great Sandy, but not Settled until we came to Limestone, which we past on Thursday Morning at 6 °Clock, but being then dark, I could not see the Town. We went on the whole of this Day, until 6 °Clock in the Evening, and then put the Boat towards the Indian Shore, where we stop<sup>d</sup> until midnight, when we set off and reached Cincinnati at 8 °Clock on Friday Morning, November the 13th.

14th NOVEMBER, SATURDAY. I rode about 7 miles into the Country on the Road to Fort Hamilton, and found the Land, as far as I went, unexceptionable in point of quality, and pretty well watered. The Town of Cincinnati will surprize every Traveller on his first Land<sup>s</sup>, espically when he is told that the spot on wch it is built on the Banks of the Ohio, right Opposite to Licking River, in Kentucky, was a perfect Wilderness in Aug<sup>t</sup>, 1789. It contains about 260 Houses, Log and frame built, divided in wide Streets intersecting each other at right Angles. Here is a Garrison sufficient large for the Accommodation of 500 Men, built upon the second bank of the River, wch is a pleasant & dry Situation but badly Waterd, as well as the lower parts of the Town, as they depend chiefly on the Water of the Ohio, & wch at certain Seasons (when the River is high) is thick and Muddy.

16th NOVEMBER, MONDAY. Rode over to Columbia, a Settlement 7 Miles up the Ohio from Cincinnati. A thriving Settlement with an extensive Tract of Bottom Land, exceedingly rich and



fertile, particularly that part called Turkey bottom, belonging to Major Stiles, a New England Man. There is one Field of 1300 Acres the property of this person, in Cultivation, wch I am told produces upon an Average from 70 to 80 Bushels per Acre every Year. Mr. Stiles I find Lets it out to different Sellers, who pay him one third of the produce in lieu of Rent.

Before I leave Cincinnati, it is incumbent on me to speak of the very Friendly and polite reception, I reced from General Wilkinson, (who commands at Fort Washington,) General Wilkinson, independant of his unimpeached Integrity, unexampled liberality and Hospitality, is [a] well informed Man, and perfectly well bred Gentleman; nor must I omit to pay a just tribute of Approbation to good sence, Affable deportment, and elegant manuers of the Generals amiable Wife, who surpasses any Lady I have met with in the course of my Travels through the United States.

20th NOVEMBER, FRIDAY. Quitted Cincinnati at 1 P. M., and Crossed the Ohio to Newport (in the State of Kentucky) a small Village of short Existence, cont<sup>s</sup> about 20 Log & Frame Houses. I proceeded in Company with Mr Taylor, an Att<sup>r</sup> at Law, towards Washington, in Mason County, where we Arrived On Sunday, the 22<sup>d</sup>, about Noon, the distance being 64 miles. We slept two Nights upon the Road, in one Bed, in Log Cabins, where we recd civil usage altho the fare was Homely.

23d NOVEMBER, MONDAY. Having an Introductory Letter to Colonel Oer, one of the Congress Members for this State, I went this Day to his Plantation Situated on the Ohio, 3 miles below Limestone. Here I found a plain and friendly reception from Colonel Oer and his Lady, both of whom I admire very much. He gave me Lers. to his friends in Lexington, exclusive of a great deal of valuable Information respecting Land and Titles.

24th NOVEMBER, TUESDAY. Returned from Colonel Orr's to Washington, whither the Colonel Accompanied me. Washington is a new Town of 6 Years standing. It Contains about 50 Houses, some of wch are built of Lime Stone, and being the County Town of Mason, The Inhabitants of the County are Building a very Compact neat Court House, of Limestone coverd with Shingles, where there are to be Offices where the Public Records are to be kept. The Land about Washington is good but Hilly, and badly waterd. I set of at 3 in Afternoon, and rode to Mays Lick, where I staid all night, at Tavern kept by one Drake a Jersey Man.

25th, WEDNESDAY. Left Drake's early this Morn<sup>g</sup>, and breakfasted at a single Tavern, 10 miles on the Road to Bourbon, & 2 from blue Licks, where great quantities of Salt are made

from the Salt Springs on Licking River, which crossed and saw the process of making Salt from this; it is 20 Miles to Bourbon, wch I reached at 5 o'Clock, in the Evening at Slept at Eve's Tavern, a very dirty uncomfortable House. the Soil for 5 Miles before I crossed Licking River & 9 Afterwards, is poor hilly & Stoney; but towards Bourbon, it is of the first & second quality. Bourbon is a New Town of few Years Standing, and Contains about 60 House of Stone, Brick & Frame Work, not one of wch are finished.

26th NOVEMBER, THURSDAY. Left Bourbon at 11 o'Clock, & reached Lexington, a distance of 20 Miles at 3 in the Afternoon, where I tooke up my abode at M<sup>c</sup> Nairs Tavern, a civil, well behaved Irishman.

27th NOVEMBER, FRIDAY. Went and dined with M<sup>r</sup> [and] M<sup>rs</sup> Toutmin, lately from England, who are an Amiable couple, and live in a Log Cabbin about 1 mile from Lexington.

28th NOVEMBER, SATURDAY. I reced this Day the most melancholy and afflicting News of the Death of my dearly beloved Son William, at Charleston. This to me very distressing Event took place on Wednesday, the 7<sup>th</sup> of October, at 4 o'Clock in the Morning, and his remains was Interred in the Afternoon of the same Day, in St Michaels Church Yard, and has robbed me of a most Affectionate, generous and Dutiful Son, whose loss I truly and sincerely Lament. The sweet little flower was just 16 Years, 4 Months & 6 Days Old when he Died, being born in Bengal in the East Indies, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of June, 1779. I wrote an Account of this Melancholy Event, to my Wife at Elizabeth Town, New Yersey, and to my Eldest Son at New York, in Letters of this Days date, who I am very sure will be as much Afflicted with the painfull Tydings, as I am. I cannot help here paying a just Tribute of sincere Acknowledgement to the polite and consoling Attentions I reced from M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Toulmin, who used every kind method to alleviate & divert my Afflicted Mind—The former very Obligingly pressed me to go & spend the following day with them, wch I did, and found myself great<sup>ly</sup> releived by their friendly endeavors to amuse & turn my thoughts from the sorrowfull Object which then Occupied my Mind. My Boy, my ever dear Boy is gone, irrevocably gone, and may God Almighty have Mercy upon & receive his Soul into the Regions of Immortal Bliss. I wrote this day, a Lere to M<sup>r</sup> James Morison of Charleston, from whom I reced this mournfull News and despat<sup>d</sup> it by [ ] who set of through the Wilderness, and requested him to put it into the Post Office, at Wiuchester in Virginia. At the same time wrote to M<sup>r</sup>. White at New York, to get a suit of Mourning for my Son Tommy at the same City.

1st DECEMBER, TUESDAY. Set of this Day at Noon, in Company with Majer Belli & another



Gentleman to Frankfort, where we Arrived the same Evening, being 24 miles, the Land all this Road is Levell, and of the first quality, except the last 3 or 4 miles, when we came into the Neighbourhood of the Kentucky River, where it is Hilly & of an inferior quality. Frankfort is the Seat of Government, Situated in a Level of about 60 Acres of Ground, on a Bend of the Kentucky River. It was very croud<sup>d</sup> at this time, on Account of the Legislature sitting, & there being but few Houses for the Accommodation of Strangers. I put up at Mr Wissengar's Tavern, the best in the Town, and a very good one it is, is the reason that the Gov<sup>t</sup> & most of the Members of the Legislature put up there. The State House at Frankfort is as respectable a Building as any in the Old States, it is built of Limestone, and is 90 feet by 54, Containing, exclusive of the Chambers for the Senate & Assembly, many other Rooms for the different Offices of Government. On Wednesday Evening, I went out and slept at Judge Innes's, who has got a Plantation about 5 Miles from Frankfort, where I had staid all Night and was highly entertained by the Polite and Affable behaviour of the Judge and his Lady. Mr Innes is a Federal Judge, with a Salary of 1000 Dollars p<sup>a</sup> Annum, but only sits on matters that relate to the General Govern<sup>t</sup> of the United States, having nothing to do in Affairs wch concern the State of Kentucky alone. On Thursday, Dec<sup>r</sup> the 3<sup>d</sup>, returned to Frankfort, & sett of at 2 in the Afternoon towards Harrodsburgh, in Mercer County, 30 Miles from Frankfort, but stopt all Night at a Small Log Tavern, 17 Miles on the Road, wch I left on Friday Morning, and Breakfasted at Harrodsburg. This is the County Town of Mercer County, contains from 50 to 60 Houses of Stone and Wood, and has a Court House for the Seat of Justice. from this Town I proceeded, by the Assist<sup>t</sup> of a Guide to shew me the Road, to Colonel Nicholas's Plantation, 7 Miles Distant from Harrodsburg, where I Dined & Slept. Colonel Nicholas's Plantation is in a higher State of Improvement than any other in the State of Kentucky. Exclusive of a good Framed Commodious House, a famous Spring Dairey, where Milk can be kept cool in the hottest Day in Summer, there is a large Barn, Stable, and out Offices, and a large Grist Mill, supplied with Water from the same Spring wch passes through the Spring House. There is also a bathing House connected with the Dairey, and an Apple Orchard of 400 Young thriving Trees. I say exclusive of all this, there is 370 Acres of clear'd Land, and 830 of Wood Land, all of the first rate kind; and for wch Colonel Nicholas asks 5,000 £, Virginia Currency. There is one remarkable circumstance wch I cannot Omit, respecting this Spring Dairey and that is, that if a joint of Meat is immediately (after the Animal is Killed) Immersed under the Water of

this Spring, it will keep good a fortnight in the most Sultry Weather; and at the expiration of that time, be as sweet and tender as it w<sup>o</sup>d be if kept so long in the Winter. The greatest Objection I find to Colonel Nicholas's Farm is, its being partially Waterd, a greater part of the best Land being without Springs or Ponds. After spending the remainder of this Day and Night under the Hospitable roof of Col. Nicholas, I set off on Saturday Morning, December the 5<sup>th</sup>, to Governor Shelby's Plantation, about 6 Miles to the Southward; and in my way, Accompanied by a Mr Stewart, visited the Knob Licks, perhaps one of the greatest Curiosities hitherto discover'd in Kentucky. There are several Eminences or Hills, with<sup>t</sup> a Tree or blade of Grass upon them, wch are constantly visited by Cattle that are Pastured in the adjoining Woods, who go to Lick the Earth with their Tongues. After keeping a little of this Earth in my mouth a few Minutes, it left a strong Nitrons & Sulphurons Taste, and Occasioned a Nausia, wch I always experience after taking Rochelle Salts. It w<sup>o</sup>d I conceive be well worth while to have this Earth analysed by some imminent Chymist. On my Arrival at Gov<sup>t</sup> Shelby's Plantation, wch is a fine Level Tract of first Rate Land, I was informed by Mr<sup>s</sup> Shelby, that the Gov<sup>t</sup> was gone to Danville, about 5 Miles distance, and as I was desirous of seeing this Town, one of the Oldest in the State, I proceeded thither and found Mr Shelby. After Dining & taking a view of the Town, wch is larger than Harrodsburg, but in a Statu quo State, I returned in Company with the Gov<sup>t</sup> to Col. Nicholas's. from the little I saw of Mr Shelby, he seems to be a very plain honest intelligent Man; and on inquiry since, find I was not deceived, as he bears that Character throughout Kentucky. The Gov<sup>t</sup> slept at Colo Nicholas's, and departed the next Morning for the Seat of Government; and I remained at the Col<sup>t</sup> untill Monday, Dec<sup>r</sup> the 7<sup>th</sup>, when I left it and went back through Harrodsburg, to Col<sup>t</sup> George Thompson's Plantation, four Miles further. I found this Gentleman a very lively & Hospitable, with<sup>t</sup> Ceremony. He is Widower with only one Child, a Boy about 14 Years, whom the Col<sup>t</sup> thinks possesses a great share of natural Abilities, altho I confess I had not penetration enough to perceive in the Youth any extraordinary Mental endowments. The Col<sup>t</sup>'s Plantation contains about 2000 Acres of uncommon rich Land, 200 of wch are clear'd and in Cultivation; but his House & other Buildings are of an inferior kind & upon a small Scale.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER the 8<sup>th</sup>. Departed from Col Thompsons at 11 A. M., who was so Obliging as to send one of his Negro Men to shew me the Road from his House, down to the Kentucky River, about three Miles, where I fell in with

(and crossed the River,) a Mr Grant, a Jersey man, & a Neighbour of Col: Nicholas's. with this Gentleman I Travell'd 22 Miles back to Lexington, wch was very fortunate, as I sho<sup>d</sup> have had great difficulty in finding the Road though the Woods, where there is so many intersecting Roads. During my Travels in this & the other parts of the Western Country, I never failed to experience a peculiar and lively satisfaction whenever I came to a Plantation, after Journeying 5, 6, 10, 15 & 20 Miles, amongst thick Woods, where nothing was to be seen but Trees, except now & then two or three Wild Deer, & frequent flocks of Wild Turkeys.

Rested this Day in Lexington; & the next THURSDAY, December the 10<sup>th</sup>, Rode with Mr Levy to see a Farm 7 Miles from Lexington, Containing 300 Acres of Land, 100 of wch was cleared, but as I neither liked the Buildings or the Situation of the Plantation, We went and Dined with Cap<sup>n</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Allen, 1 mile further, from whence I returned to my Old Lodgings, at the sign of the Bufflloe at Lexington, kept by Mr MacNair, a much civiler Landlord than are commonly to be met with in this part of the World.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 17<sup>th</sup>. Tooke a ride with y R<sup>d</sup> Mr Toulmin, of 12 Miles from Lexington, to see Mr Short's Plantation, consisting of 2000 Acres of Rich Land, well Water'd. There is only 340 Acres clear'd, but he is got a excellent Distillery, Horse Mill, besides a Water Mill wch Mr Short is erecting. The House is framed & small; but the out Offices, Barn, Spring House, &c., very good for the Infant State of Kentucky. as I did not feel myself disposed to become a Purchasor, I did not ask Mr Short what expected for the whole, but have been told his Terms are 15 Dollars  $\text{P}$  Acre. Mr Taulmin & I staid all Night, and returned the next Morning to Lexington, Where I began to prepare for my return; nor must I quit the most noted Town of Kentucky, without attempting I short Discription of it. Lexington contains about 200 Houses, 40 of which are brick, nearly the same number Stone, and the remainder framed & Houghed Logs. The two Principal Streets run East & West, one of wch runs along the side of Hill, and the other along the side of an Opposite Eminence, and these are Crossed by Short Streets in a Contrary direction, passing a small Stream of Water that runs along the bottom, between the two main Streets. Here is a tolerable Court House, a good Market House, & an execrable Jail. being in a Centrical Situation of the thickest Inhabited Parts of Kentucky, Lexington stands the foremost in Point of Trade. Here is upwards 40 Shops or Stores, filled with Imported Goods of all kinds, & for wch the Poor Natives are Obligated to pay upon an average 100  $\text{P}$  Cent, upon the Philadelphia and Baltimore Prices. It is also a great through Affair, & this circum-

stance tends very much to the Advantage of the Tavern keepers, who have their Houses full every Night. Indeed I never saw a Town of the size of Lexington, where there is more the appearance of Traffic & Business carrying on. All sorts of Butchers Meat is bought at 2  $\text{P}$  Pound Virginia Currency. Poultry of kinds cheap & Plenty butter is one Shilling  $\text{P}$  Pound, & Cheese Enrope or Country made, not to be had. Fine Floors sells for 4 & 5 Dollars  $\text{P}$  Barrel of 196 lb Weight, and Indian Corn & Oats, 2 Shillings  $\text{P}$  Bushel. Apples that are Imported from Pittsburg, 5 Dolls.  $\text{P}$  Barrel & 15 pence  $\text{P}$  Dozen Retail.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 20. Left Lexington at 2 in the Afternoon on my return through the Wilderness, and slept at a small Tavern, kept by one Johnstone, and Irishman, about 10 miles from Lexington, from whence I started the next morn<sup>g</sup> and reached Danville at 4 in the Afternoon on Monday.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22. Departed from Danville at 10 A. M., in Company with Doer Kennan, Cap<sup>n</sup> Harris and Mr Fullerton, and Dined on our Road to the Crab Orchard at a Stanton, a small Town Cont<sup>g</sup> about 20 House, and afterwards proceeded to the House of one Pembleton a poor Farmer who lives 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the Crab Orchard, where we Spread our Blankets and Slept upon the Floor. The Land we saw dur<sup>g</sup> this Days Journey of 22 Miles, was of an excellent quality, a few Places here & there excepted.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 23. Left Pembleton's & passed the Crab Orchard at 8 o'Clock in the Morn<sup>g</sup>, and in about one Hour afterwards entered the Wilderness, but the Rain coming on we only reached the Log Cabbin of one Smiths, where our Horses were Obligated to be tied up to a Rail before the Door, and their remained untill the next day at 1 o'Clock, when we departed for Rock Castle 9 miles distant, and after Crossing a River of that name, Encamped under a Rock 2 miles distant from the River, wch afforded us and our Horses an Excellent shelter during the Night, & we thought ourselves very lucky, as the Rain continued incessantly all the Night. from the report of several Guns, we concluded the Indians were not far from us, & therefore not only on Acco<sup>d</sup> of our own safety but that of our Horses, we made up a large Fire, and kept Watch with our Pistols Load- ed the whole Night.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 25<sup>th</sup>. Christmas Day, quitted our Rocky Habitation early in the Morning, & proceeded on to Logan's Station, about 19 Miles, where we slept all Night upon Bear Skins spread on the Floor before the Fire. At this place is a kind of Stockade Garrison, 17 dirty Savage looking Kentucky Militia Men, are kept under the Command of Cap<sup>n</sup> Logan, for the Protection of Travelers in this part of the Wilderness.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26<sup>th</sup>. Left Logan's



Station, where we could get no Provider of any Sort for our Horses at 10 A. M.; and after Swimming our Horses over a Creek, and taking ourselves & Baggage over upon a Tree that laid across the Creek, we proceeded on our Journey for 5 Miles, when we was stopt by the overflowing of the Water from another Creek; but instead of returning back to the Station where we could procure nothing for our Horses, we Encamped about 1½ Mile from the Road, set to Work to Erect a Shade to Sleep under, wch was done by Branches of Trees and our Blankets, after, we collected near a Cord of Wood, made a rousing fire, and went to cut Cain for our Horses. This was an entire new Scene to me, but after spreading Cane under the Shade to lay upon, we got our Suppers, drank some Whisky to keep up our Spirits, made Pillars of our Saddles & Portmantaus, & laid us down to rest in our great Coats; during our stay here, Cap<sup>a</sup> Harris went and discovered a Crossing place on the Creek, wch we availed ourselves of next Morn<sup>g</sup>, by Stripping & Swimming our Horses over, & carrying the Baggage, Saddles &c., on a Log that laid a Cross the Creek, this Ceremony we were Obligated to repeat 3 times before we reached Cap<sup>a</sup> Collins's Station, 15 miles from our Encampment. The Road exclusive of the Creeks, this Days Journey was hilly, rocky, and in some places so muddy that the Horses were frequently up to their Belly's. Collins's Station was Erected for the same purpose as Logan's, but smaller; here we staid all Night, and Slept upon a dirty Floor on our Blankets.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 28th. Left Collins's Station, and proceed 9 Miles to Middleton's Old Station, where M<sup>rs</sup> Goodwin, a very clean nice Woman, gave us a Comfortable breakfast, after we went on 3 Miles further, and Stopt at a Mr Mason's Camp all Night.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29th. Departed from Mason's in the Morn<sup>g</sup>, passed the great Cane brake, a most infamous muddy Road, breakfasted at Daniels on the Bank of Cumberland River, which we Afterwards Crossed, and went on to Davis's Tavern at the foot of Cumberland Mountain.

WEDNESDAY, 30th DECEMBER. Left Davis's early in the Morning, Crossed the Cumberland Mountain, which is about 2 Miles over, breakfasted at one Chadels 5 Miles from Davis's, after wch we proceeded up Powels Valley 25 miles, untill we arrived at Lee's Court House, and took up our abode at M<sup>r</sup> Young's Tavern, where we slept all Night.

THURSDAY, 31st DECEMBER. Stopp'd this Day on Account of the Heavy Rain at M<sup>r</sup> Young's, and a dirty filthy House it is.

FRIDAY, 1st JANUARY, 1796. Left Young's in the morning, and proceeded 2 miles to a Log Cabbin belong<sup>g</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> Patrick, on the Banks of Powels River, where we was Obligated to stay all

Night, as we did not think it safe to Swim our Horses over the River, owing to its great height and the rapidity of the Current.

SATURDAY, 2nd JANUARY. Early in the Morning we set to work to swim our Horses over Powels River, & get our Saddles, Baggage, &c., across in a Canoe, after wch we mounted & proceeded over several Mountains for 12 miles, when we reached Clinch River, wch we crossed in a Flat, and breakfasted at a Wreached Tavern on the Opposite side, after which we Travelled over Clinch Mountain, the highest and steepest I ever crossed; and then journey'd up a Valley, called Carters Valley, about 8 miles, and stay'd all night at a Plantation belong<sup>g</sup> to Mr. Lence, a very decent civil Farmer, where we and our Horses fared very well.

SUNDAY, 3rd JANUARY. Left Mr. Lenan's Early in the Morn<sup>g</sup>, and proceeded 14 miles, where we crossed the North Fork of Holston, where there is an Iron Forge, & a remarkable fine natural Mill dam in the River, after wch we proceeded 3 miles to where there is a Capital Furnace, here we stopt two Hours and Breakfasted at Cap<sup>a</sup> Mac Cornses, a vile Tavern about 200 Yards from the Furnace. We went to see a very curious Clinder Bellows, worked by a Water Wheel at this Iron Furnace. After breakfast, and after taking leave of Cap<sup>a</sup> Harris, one of our fellow Travelers, whose horse fell lame & could not proceed, we Journey'd on 14 miles further, untill we reached M<sup>r</sup> Roberts's Tavern, where we stay'd all Night.

MONDAY, JANUARY 4th. Departed from Roberts's at 7 o'Clock in the Morn<sup>g</sup>, and proceed'd 14 miles on our Road to M<sup>r</sup> Fulkinson's, where we got an excellent Breakfast of Illyson Tea, Eggs, Butter, and the first Wheat Bread we had tasted since we left Danville, after we rode on 11 miles further to M<sup>r</sup> Craigies, the most noted Tavern on this rode, and where we found ourselves exceedingly comfortable the remainder of the Day, besides getting each of us a good Bed and clean Sheets, things we had not seen since leaving Kentucky.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 5th. Quitted M<sup>r</sup> Craigies early in the Morning, and Travelled 38 miles this Day, to the House of M<sup>r</sup> Atkins, an English man, where we were exceedingly well Accommodated. Onemile from Craigies we passed through the Town of Abington, it Contains about 50 Wood House in one Street, and is the County Town of Washington County. The Land in this Days Journey is Hilly, but the Soil in general good. Our Suppers & Breakfast and Horses at Atkins cost 20 Sh<sup>g</sup> Virginia Currency.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 6th. On rising in the Morn<sup>g</sup> we found a deep Snow. We nevertheless sett off and Journey'd 19 Miles to Wyth, the County Town of the County Wyth, cont<sup>g</sup> about 25 Houses Built of Wood. It Snow'd the whole Day, and a more disagreeable Day for Travelling I never experienced. We put up at Johnston's Tavern, a



Civil Man, and altho we fared very well, our poor Horses were cruelly neglected.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 7th. Left Johnston's at 8 o'clock in the Morn<sup>g</sup>, and Travelled through an indifferent Hilly Country 21 Miles, to the House of one Carter where we slept all Night. This man's Plantation consists of 700 Acres of Hilly Land, 100 of which is cleared, with a Log House indiff<sup>r</sup> Barn and other Houses, & He offered it to me for 1400 Dollars.

FRIDAY JANUARY 8th. Quitted Carters early, and went 12 Miles to Breakfast at Mr Jerts, who keeps a miserable Tavern on the Banks of Neau River alias the great Kanhaway, wch Emptys itself into the Ohio as I have already Noticed. We Crossed this River in a Flat and proceeded 16 Miles, when we assended the Allyganny Mountains, and 6 Miles further on the Eastern side, put up at Mr<sup>s</sup> Kents, a very decent Widow Woman, where we Slept and had good Accommodations. All the Country we passed through this Day, was Mountainous and miserably Poor. before we Assended the Allyganny, we passed a small Town of a Doz<sup>n</sup> House, called Montgomery after the County.

SATURDAY JANUARY 9th. After Breakfast We left Mr<sup>s</sup> Carters and Travelled 26 Miles to the forking of the Richmond and Winchester Roads where We took leave of Doct<sup>r</sup> Hinnon a fellow Traveller who proceeded on the former Road with an Intention of Viewing some Lands in Bedford County and of going to Linchburg Mr Fullerton and myself regretted the loss of the Doctor Company who was a good natured pleasant and very entertaining Companion & journeyd 9 Miles further where we remained all Night at a Tavern kept by one Kish a Dutchman, here our fare was homely & and Beds indifferent. The Brackenage Family who are all now in Kentucky formerly lived at this House and Kish told us he gave 1100 Pounds for it & 750 Acres of Land Hilly but of tolerable good quality. During this Days Journey we passed many excellent Plantations some of wch had extensive Bottoms of Rich Land upon the Roanoak Creek wch we crossed 10 or 12 Times in the forenoon.

SUNDAY JANUARY 10th. A great Snow falling in the Night and Continuing the whole of this Day, we determined on shifting our quarters and going to the Town of Bodetotab, the Capital of the County of that Name 7 Miles distant from Kish's where we Arrived at one Clock & put up at an excellent Tavern kept by Mr Kinlay the Son of an English man born at Liverpool, here we staid untill Tuesday Morn<sup>g</sup>. Bodetourt is a pleasant Town contain<sup>s</sup> about 100 Houses some of wch have the appearance of Commodious Dwellings. Here is a Court House and Jail an Episcopal Church & a Meeting

House for Methodists. Mr Kinly keeps a most excellent House indeed I never felt myself more agreeably situated at any Inn in England than I was at this House. He charges 5<sup>s</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> St<sup>r</sup>  $\frac{7}{8}$  Bottle for Maderia Wine 3. 6 for port and 2<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> for London Bottled Porter Provisions are cheap at this placed Butchers Meat being at 3 half pence  $\frac{7}{8}$  Pound.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 12. Left Mr Kinlays after Breakfast, and proceeded 12 miles, where we crossed James River, from thence we Travel<sup>d</sup> 12 miles further to a dirty filthy Tavern kept by one Cap<sup>n</sup> Berkley, and as we Arrived about 3 o'clock in the Afternoon, we went to see the greatest natural Curiosity in America, & perhaps in the whole World. It is distant 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  mile from Berkleys, and Consists of a compleat natural Bridge of one Arch of Solid Rock which joins two high Mountains, one each side of Cedar Creek, the Breadth of the Creek from one side of the Rock to the other is 45 feet, the extreme hight of the Bridge from the Surface of the Water to the top of the Bridge is 210 feet, and to the under part of the Center of the Arch, 50 feet, wch is the thickness of the Arch, and the Breadth of the Bridge where the Waggon<sup>s</sup> cross over is 105 feet. I walked through the Bridge under the Arch, and was astonished at the Stupendious Object wch the great light of the Arch presented to my View, this and the Romantick Prospect wch the sides of the Mountain Afford to a Spectator looking through the Arch, conspire to fill the Mind with wonder and Surprize. Mr Jefferson, in his *Notes on Virginia*, describes this great natural Curiosity in the following words:

*[In the manuscript, a space was left in which to insert Mr. Jefferson's description of the Bridge, but Mr. Chapman had neglected to copy it. As the Notes on Virginia are readily accessible to every reader, we do not occupy our space by reproducing that portion of them. EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]*

WEDNESDAY, 13th JANUARY. Departed from Berkleys at 7 o'clock in the Morn<sup>g</sup> and proceed<sup>s</sup> 13 miles to a little Town in Rockbridge County, called Lexington, Cont<sup>s</sup> about 60 Houses, most of wch are wood, where we Breakfast<sup>d</sup> at the sign of the Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington, kept by Humphrey Ellis, a civil Irishman, after wch we crossed the North fork of James River, at 1 mile distance from Lexington; went 9 miles further to what is denominated the red House (from its being Painted red) where I stop'd all Night at Mr M<sup>r</sup> Collesters (who keeps a good House) and Mr Fullerton. Proceeded 3 miles further to Parson Youngs, an acquaintance of his. All the Country we rode through Yesterday and to Day was Hilly, the Land in general indifferent, badly Timber'd but well Waterd, as is all that part of this State.

that we passed through since we quitted the South western Territory.

THURSDAY, 14th JANUARY. Left M<sup>r</sup> Collisters in the Morning and proceeded 13 miles to Steels Tavern, where I stop'd two Hours, Brekfasted and then pursued my Journey 12 miles further to Staunton, the Capital of Augusta County, a very fine Town consisting of 150 Houses, a great many of wch are large Commodious Mansions Built of Brick, Stone, and Wood. Here I put up at Heiscalls Tavern, which is a spacious, well contrived House with every sort of excellent accommodations for Travellers, in Addition to wch Heiscall himself is an attentive man, and has got a compleat set of active cleaver Domesticks. Staunton is probably one of the best Water'd Towns in the United States, every Householder having a spring on his Premisses, besides there is Water enough from Springs in the Vicinity of the Town to keep two Grist Mills constantly at Work. The Land about the Town is hilly & broken, not very good, and badly Timberd.

FRIDAY, 15th JANUARY. M<sup>r</sup> Fullerton having joined me again Yesterday Even<sup>g</sup>, We set of in the morn<sup>g</sup> and had Swim our Horses over River & take ourselves & Baggage over in a Canoe about 6 miles from Staunton, and after proceeding 5 miles we came to another River called

Where we were fortunate enough to get a flatt, wch tooke ourselves & Horses over, after wch we pursued our Journey 8 miles to small Tavern kept by Abraham Smith, where we Dined & fed our Horses with 6 quarts of Oats, all for the very moderate Sum of one English Shilling. Its true our Dinner consisted only of Bread, Butter, & Milk. After this we went 6 miles to Harrisonburg, the Chief Town of Rockingham County, Consisting of about 70 Houses, but did not stop, it being too early, and understand<sup>g</sup> there was a good House 6 miles further, kept by one Kroetcher, a Dutelman, we proceeded thither & stay'd all Night.

SATURDAY, 16th JANUARY. Started at 7 °Clock after taking part of a Bowl of Milk & Whisky with the Dutelman, and went 9 miles to the Shannandoah River, but finding neither Cannou or other Boat, we was Obliged to ride 3 miles down the River, where we got a small flat that conveyed us & our Horses over this River, from whence we Travelled 6 miles to M<sup>r</sup> Urnes, a Dutch man, where we Dined & fed our Horses, but as we had 17 miles further to go before we reached Woodstock, we only stayed half an Hour, & then mounted our Horses & Journey'd on to Woodstock, where we arrived between 5 & 6 °Clock in the Even<sup>g</sup>, after a fatiguing Journey for us and our poor Horses (in consequence of the Deep Snow thaw & the badness of the Roads) of 34 Miles. We put [up] at Major Hiescalls at the Sign of the Green Tree, Brother to Hiescall at

Staunton. Here we staid all Night and next Day, on Acco<sup>t</sup> of a great fall of Rain, Sleet, and afterwards Snow, this, however, we did not regret, as if possible this man keeps a better House than his Brother, besides our Horses wanted rest. Woodstock Contains near 100 Houses, in one long wide Street, is the County Town of Shannandoah. Here is a large Court House for the Seat of Justice, and a Jail for Prisoners, but of small Dimensions & seemingly very Insecure.

MONDAY, 18th JANUARY. We took leave of Major Heiscall early in the Morn<sup>g</sup> and rode 12 miles to Strausburg, a small Town on the Public Road, where we Brekfasted at a Tavern kept by Hoffman, a Dutelh man, & then proceeded 10 Miles further to New Town where we fed our Horses, at McGinness's Tavern. This is a small neat Town in Fredrick County, surrounded by fine Even Land. Indeed, after crossing Cedar Creek wch 12 Miles from Woodstock, the Country resumed a very fertile aspect and continued so all the Way to Winchester (a distance of 15 Miles) where we arrived at 5 °Clock in the Even<sup>g</sup> & took up our residence at the sign of the red Lion, kept by Capt<sup>n</sup> Lauek, the next Morn<sup>g</sup> my fellow Traveller, M<sup>r</sup> Fullerton, took leave & went Home to his own Residence, near Green castle & I staid at Winchester the whole Day, this gave me an Opportunity of seeing the Town and of Dining with M<sup>r</sup> Bellmaine, a Clergeyman Originaly from Scotland and an intimate Freind of M<sup>r</sup> Toulmin's. Winchester is large Flourishing Inland Town Cont<sup>s</sup> about 1500 Inhabitants, from the best Information I could procure, and being the County Town of Fredrick, the Public Build<sup>g</sup>s Consists of a large Stone built Court House, Jail, and 6 Churches or Meeting Houses for Presbyterians & Baptists. Provisions are moderate here. Butchers Meat of all Discriptions being sold at 3<sup>d</sup> & 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub><sup>d</sup> Virginia Curreney, that is 2 & 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Sterling.

TUESDAY, 19th of JANUARY. I left Winchester early this Morning, but a heavy fall of Snow commencing immediately after my departure, I Stoped 6 Miles on the Road and Brekfasted at M<sup>r</sup> Carters, after which I rode 6 Miles further to Battle Town, a small Village, where I Dined & proposed Staying all Night, but the Snow abating I got 6 miles further, crossed the Shannando in a flat and took my Lodgings at the Ferry House kept by M<sup>r</sup> Stribland, a very genteel young Man, who informed me His Brother wished to dispose of his Plantation on the opposite side of the River, consisting of 1200 Acres. This Estate laying on the Road Arrested my Attention before I knew it was for Sale, there being a fine Orchard close to the Road and a great deal of good level clear'd Land, probably

between 3 & 400 Acres, with a tolerable good Dwelling House, framed. The ground being deeply cover'd with Snow, prevented me from returning to View the Estate, but left a memorandum with Mr Stribland at the Ferry House to speak to his Brother and let me know the Purchase Price & other Particulars. on further Enquiry I find this to be a Valuable Plantation.

WEDNESDAY, 20th JANUARY. Started from Stribland's at 8 o'clock in the morn<sup>g</sup>, Crossed the Blue Ridge as it is called, wch commences 2 miles from the Ferry, when I enter'd into Old Virginia, but the Roads being bad & not hard enough to bear my Horse, I only road 22 miles this Day to Leesburg, the County Town of Loudon County, containing about 100 Houses in one Street, & put up at the Federal Tavern, kept by the Children of the Widow Roper, who I find Died on Monday last. This poor Woman has left 4 Children, the Oldest being a Boy of 18 and the next a Girl of 16 years old. They appear very Steady and Attentive, but took Young I fear to conduct a Tavern properly.

THURSDAY, 21st JANUARY. Having froze hard during the night, I set off early next Morning and rode along a rough Road 22 miles, to Breakfast at Cap<sup>n</sup> Whiley's Tavern, wch is the only decent House a Traveller will find all the Way from Leesburgh, to George Town, a distance of near 40 miles, when I arrived at 5 o'clock in the Even<sup>g</sup>, and put up at the Green Tree Tavern, Mr Symes's. After getting 5 or 6 miles from Leesburgh, the Country appears poor in Timber & Soil, all the way to the Potomack. George Town stands on the Banks of this River, on the Maryland side, & is said to contain near 500 Houses, some of wch are very large, handsome Brick Edifices. This Town is Built upon hilly broken Ground, and Commands an extensive Prospect down the Potomac and over all the Ground where the Federal City is laid out & Buildings.

FRIDAY, 22d JANUARY. After paying Mr Syme an extravagant [charge] of 9 Sh<sup>s</sup> 6 St<sup>s</sup> for my Supper, and the Horses Hay & Oats, I set off to the Federal City, & the Presidents House was the first Object that Attracted my Notice. The Workmen have neatly compleated the second Story. I was informed the Dimensions of this Elegant Building is 175 feet by 155. It is a plain Structure of Freestone, with out any other Ornaments than the Pediments &c<sup>a</sup> above the Windows, & the Window Cases curiously carved. The Principal Front has a Semicircular projection in the center of one third of its Dimensions where the grand entrance is to be, there is a Square of ten Acres of Ground round the House for Garden, Walks, &c<sup>a</sup>. from the Presidents House to the Emince where the Capitol is Building, is about a mile, and as the Street leading from

one to the other is 160 feet wide, they will appear to each grand Objects. There is so little done to the Capitol as yet, that to a person who has not seen the Plan, he can form a very imperfect what this Building will. It covers about one Acre of Ground, in one Wing is large Oval Room for the Senate, and in the other another for the lower House, exclusive of wch there is a large Circular Room for hold conferences in, there is to be also a variety of other Rooms for every Official Department under the Federal Government. There is 4 Acres of Ground allotted to the Capitol for a Pleasure Garden, and with the Capitol upon an eminence, will Command a View over the whole City and of the Potomack River. The grand Hotel wch stands on the Street half way between the Capitol & Presidents House, is a large Handsome Brick Building, except the space that three Windows Occupies in the Center, wch is of Freestone. There is not above 50 private Houses in this City in any great forwardness, but I understand vast progress will be made next year.

SATURDAY, 23d JANUARY. Left the federal City this morning and proceeded 30 miles to Mr Surriers Tavern, where I slept all night and got into Baltimore the next Day to Breakfast, where I staid the remainder of the Day. It is a miserable poor Country all the way from the Federal City to Baltimore. I was surprized to see the Alterations in Baltimore since I saw it in the Year 1792, for it appears to be one third larger.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 26th. Departed from Baltimore at 8, and rode 36 miles this Day, to Haver de grace where I slept all the Night. This is a little Town on the River Susquannah, on the Maryland side, con<sup>t</sup> about 50 Houses; and the Inhabitants of the Town have Petitioned Congress this Session to make in a Port of Entry. I found good Accommodations at Cap<sup>n</sup> Barney's Tavern, and Mr Barney is without exception the finest Woman I have seen since my departure from Philadelphia.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 27th. Looking out of the Chamber Window, I beheld the ground cover'd with Snow, but as the Stage Passengers were about to cross the Susquannah, After Breakfasting with them, I went over the River with my Horse in the same Boat with them, but we was half an hour in performing the task, the Boat being Obstructed by the Ice. finding a good Tavern on the Opposite side & no signs of the Snow's abating, I staid there all this Day, and was joined in the Even<sup>g</sup> by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Taylor & Kenrick, two English Gentleman, who set off next Day to Baltimore.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 28th. Took leave of the above two Gentle<sup>n</sup> early in the morn<sup>g</sup>, and



rode 16 miles to Breakfast at Elktown, a smart Village situated on the Head of Elk River, from whence I proceeded on 20 miles further to Wilmington, a large Handsome Town, Situated on the Banks of the Delaware, in the Delaware State, about 30 miles below Philadelphia, and put up an excellent Tavern, kept by Patrick Oflin, an Irishman. The Roads on Acco<sup>t</sup> of the Snow was intolerably bad being the greatest part of the way though a low flat poor Country.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 29th. Left Wilmington about eight in the morn<sup>g</sup>. Breakfasted at Chester Dined at Derby and reached Philadelphia at 6 o'clock in the Evening where I took up my Abode at Mr. Dunwoodies at the Sign of the spread Eagle in Market Street.

Remained at Philadelphia untill Saturday the 6th of Feby when I left that City after Breakfast and rode 20 Miles to Bristol where I dined, then continued my course towards Trenton where I slept at the City Tavern kept by Mr. Broadhurst.

SUNDAY, FEBY 7th. In the Morning I mounted my Horse and rode to Princeton and Breakfasted at Mr. Cranes at the White Hall. In a Conversation with the Landlord on the subject of Farms he acquainted me with one to be Sold 9 Miles from Princeton I was induced (by his offered civility to Accompany me to go and View it. It belongs to Mr. Tracter a Dutchman who asks 2750 £ Pen. Curreney for it but altho the Dwelling House Barns &c<sup>a</sup>. Out houses are unexceptionable and in excellent repair, the Land is of an Inferior quality. I determind at once not to meddle with it. There is 441 Acres 100 of wch is Wood Land. The Country from Princeton to this Farm is very bare of Wood there not being suff<sup>t</sup> to repair the Fences & supply Fuel for the Inhabitants. After Eating our Dinners and chatting a little with Mr. Tracter we returnd to Princeton where I slept.

MONDAY, FEBY 8th. I left Prince Town early in the Morning breakfasted at Brunswick at Mr. Drakes, & then proceeded on to Elizabeth Town where I arrived at 4 o'clock in the Afternoon to the mutual Joy of my Family and self after an absence of 18 Weeks and six Days, In wch time I rode upwards of 1600 miles, on one Horse and Trav<sup>d</sup> about 600 miles by Water, and what is very remarkable my Horse was neither Sick, Sore or Lame, when I came Home, nor never once flinched or out during the whole Journey.

#### IV.—MEMENTOS OF WESTERN SETTLEMENT.

*NARRATIVE OF EVENTS IN THE HISTORY AND SETTLEMENT OF WESTERN NEW YORK, IN THE PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF THOMAS MORRIS, ESQ.*

COMMUNICATED BY HENRY O'RIELLY.

[TO HENRY B. DAWSON, ESQ.

Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

DEAR SIR: In compliance with your request, I will take great pleasure in occasionally furnishing you with some matters concerning the progress of Improvement westward—at least as far as the subject is reached by the Collections of Papers given by me to The New York Historical Society, and in those yet in my possession.

The field of research to which those Collections chiefly allude, is beginning at last to awaken public attention somewhat commensurate with its importance, as a starting-point, if nothing more, in a History of Progress such as the world has never before witnessed; and I rejoice that you have concurred with me in believing that your Magazine may hereafter be advantageously devoted, more than heretofore, to supplying the growing demand for information concerning the early movements in the march of Empire, Westward.

That portion of the Collections which relates to the acquisition of Right to the Land—whether by conquest, by settlement of conflicting claims between States, by the extinction of Indian titles, or by the wholesale transactions of speculators, who temporarily owned and controlled vast portions of the acquired territory, especially in the State of New York—is included in about twenty volumes of manuscripts, the character of which may be measurably understood from a perusal of the title-page—the copying of which title-page into your Magazine may be useful to some inquirers, especially as the Collections, of which this is one branch, like a great amount of other matters added by other persons within the last nine or ten years, are not mentioned in the Catalogues of the Society, no Catalogue having been published during that period.

With your leave, that general title-page of the first branch of the Collections, which I have termed "Memories of Western Settlement," will be copied here, for the purpose of avoiding repetition, inasmuch as, otherwise, it would be needful to recapitulate most of the points mentioned in it:—

[Copy of title-page.]

"MEMENTOS OF WESTERN SETTLEMENT.

- " Documents and Memoranda concerning the
- " Negotiations between the White and Red Races,
- " which resulted in
- " The extinction of the Indian Title, and the consequent
- " Downfall of the Iroquois Tribes, or 'Six Nations,'
- " preliminary to the
- " Settlement of Central and Western New York and
- " other Westerly Regions:
- " Including matters connected with the belligerent
- " course of those 'Nations,' during and subsequent
- " to the American Revolutionary War,
- " And illustrating the organization and management
- " of their Confederacy—
- " As elicited in the negotiations of the Federal and
- " certain State Governments, and of the Grantees
- " under those State Governments, with the afore-
- " said Indians,
- " From the conclusion of the Revolutionary War down
- " to the last 'Treaty' with the Seneca Nation:—
- " Embracing particulars of Sullivan's Campaign dur-
- " ing the Revolutionary War in Western New York,
- " And of the arrangements by which the Territories
- " of the Oneidas, Cayugas and Onondagas were
- " acquired, set apart as a 'Military Tract,' and
- " allotted among the Revolutionary Soldiers of
- " the State of New York, whose names and allot-
- " ments are specified in these Documents.
- " Likewise, the arrangements by which were settled.

- "the conflicting claims for Sovereignty between the States of Massachusetts and New York, concerning the regions now known as Central and Western New York,
- "And the negotiations by which the Pre-emption Rights, purchased from Massachusetts by Phelps and Gorham and Robert Morris, and the Rights of the Holland Land Company, were established and cancelled in the course of
- "THE SETTLEMENT OF THE LANDS OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN NEW YORK—
- "Subjects briefly alluded to in the volume about *Settlement in the West, or Sketches of Rochester and Western New York*, published by Henry O'Reilly in 1838;
- "Also, in the book about *Sullivan's Campaign, or the Revolutionary Warfare in Western New York*, prepared by him in 1840—
- "And in his correspondence with the Hon. Daniel S. Dickenson, concerning the movement (while Mr. Dickenson was in the United States Senate, in 1845-6,) which resulted in the authorization of a History of the Relations between the White and Red Races, etc.:
- "And more fully mentioned in the Histories of the 'Phelps and Gorham Tract' and of the 'Holland Purchase,' by Orsamus Turner, for which H. O'R. contributed materials—and also in the Memoir concerning the vast tracts purchased and sold by Robert Morris, 'the Financier of the Revolution,' (a narrative of events intermediate of the 'Phelps and Gorham purchase' and the 'Holland Purchase,' illustrated by original documents and correspondence,) read and submitted to the New York Historical Society by Henry O'Reilly, in 1852—all which, and other relevant matters, are included among these volumes of WESTERN MEMENTOS."

Thus much, by way of Introduction, that inquirers may know where to turn for particulars on any of the subjects that may be embraced in these articles for your Magazine.

As it is well to let the actors in the great national drama speak for themselves about the events with which they were most directly concerned, I herewith furnish for your pages, a Narrative of the Personal Experience of Thomas Morris, son and agent of Robert Morris, "the Financier of the Revolution." That Narrative was prepared at my request, in 1844, when I contemplated the issuing of an enlarged edition of a book, published by me a few years previously, about Rochester and Western New York. Not using the matter then, I read it before a meeting of the New York Historical Society, in 1852, at the request of that body, and furnished a copy for its archives. I send you the original, in the hand-writing of the venerable author, including his letter to me, which may properly be used as a preface, explanatory of the circumstances which induced and influenced him in making this statement of his personal recollections of and agency in some of the most important transactions in the history of the State and Nation.

The connection of Robert Morris with the lands first settled after the Revolution, involves many of the most interesting recollections connected with our early national history. The origin of that connection is briefly stated in the Narrative elicited from his son Thomas. Before reading this Narrative, it is well to consider the peculiar and critical condition of the country under the new Government emerging into existence at the date of the events mentioned by him. The formal close of the Revolutionary War, by the Treaty of 1783, was a mere Truce rather than a Peace, as indicated by the course of the British Government, in retaining possession of the forts in our western country and in encouraging Indian hostilities against our frontier settlements, in the evident expectation of renewed hostilities with and triumph over their revolted "Colonies." The rickety old Confederacy rendered the experiment of self-government so unsatisfactory, even to the American People, as evinced by the formation of the present Union under the Constitution of 1787, that it is not wonderful the British and other Governments anticipated disruption and anarchy, through which the royal yoke might be restored with even more than its original strength. The adoption

of the Constitution, for securing "a more perfect Union," emboldened our people to move for settlement in "the West," but failed to convince our old British adversaries that their hopes of renewed dominion were wholly frustrated. The Colonists who set out, in 1788, for western New York and for the Ohio, quickly realized that "Peace was not yet," the Treaty of 1783 to the contrary notwithstanding. The British held the forts at Oswego, Niagara, and Detroit, with others at the Maumee and elsewhere, within our territory. The Indians, supplied with rum, powder, provisions, and fire-arms, repaid their red-coated allies by inflicting barbarities that kept our frontiers in constant alarm. The armies sent under Harmar and St. Clair, to repress these hostilities, were successively defeated, with appalling results. The appointment of General Wayne, with plenary powers for organizing another expedition, at last happily realized the wishes of President Washington, in 1794, by subduing, at least temporarily, the red-faced occupants; but was yet powerless in causing the evacuation of our territory by their red-coated allies; and it was not till 1796, as intelligent readers are aware, that, pursuant to Jay's Treaty of the previous year, the British relinquished the forts they had so long retained—since 1783—in defiance of the people of the United States.

It is to the events of the dark and critical period following 1787, (when Phelps and Gorham commenced the settlement of Western New York, on the large tract between Seneca Lake and Genesee River, wherein, in 1791, their interests were bought by Robert Morris, as he, about the same time, also bought, direct from Massachusetts, the still larger tract between the Genesee and the Niagara frontier,) that the Narrative of Thomas Morris briefly alludes. The "purchase," from Massachusetts, of the lands between the Genesee and Niagara, however, was merely pre-emptive, giving Morris only the exclusive right to purchase from the Indians, as Phelps and Gorham, original purchasers from Massachusetts, had previously—in 1787—bought the Indian right between Seneca Lake and the Genesee; and, as an indication of the way in which the British-Indian hostilities operated to delay the settlement of the country, a letter of Robert Morris to President Washington may be read with interest—a letter, by the bye, which reflects honor upon the writer, as well as light upon the condition of affairs in the early days of our national existence. It is here published, for the first time, having been copied from the original draft, in the handwriting of Mr. Morris, which is deposited with other papers in the collections given by me to the Historical Society, as before stated.

"PHILADELPHIA, AUGUST 25th, 1796.

"SIR: In the year 1791, I purchased of the State of Massachusetts, a tract of Country lying within the boundaries of the State of New York, which had been ceded by the latter to the former State, under the sanction and with the concurrence of the Congress of the United States. This tract of land is bounded to the East by the Genesee river,† to the North by Lake Ontario, to the West partly by Lake Erie and partly by the boundary line of the Pennsylvania triangle,‡ and to the South by the North boundary line of the State of Pennsylvania. A printed brief of Title I take the liberty to transmit herewith. To perfect this Title, it is necessary to purchase of the Seneca Nation of Indians their *Native right*; which I should have done soon after the purchase was made of the State of Massachusetts, but that I felt myself restrained from doing so, by motives of public consideration. The War between the Western Indian Nations and the United States did

\* An account of the controversy between Massachusetts and New York, about the lands of the Six Nations, is given in O'Reilly's *Sketches of Rochester and Western New York*.

† The Seneca title, between Seneca Lake and Genesee River, had been previously extinguished by Phelps and Gorham, as elsewhere stated.

‡ See article on the North-western Boundary (or Triangle) of Pennsylvania, in same work. For an abstract of the titles of Phelps and Gorham, Robert Morris, Sir William Pulteney, the Holland Land Company, and other proprietors of lands in Western New York, see same work.



"not extend to the Six Nations, of which the Seneca Nation is one; and as I apprehended that, if this Nation should sell its right during the existence of that War, they might the more readily be induced to join the enemies of our Country, I was determined not to make the purchase whilst that War lasted.

"When peace was made with the Indian Nations, I turned my thoughts towards the purchase, which is to me an object very interesting; but upon it being represented that a little longer patience, until the western posts should be delivered up by the British Government, might still be public utility, I concluded to wait for that event also, which is now happily accomplished, and there seems no obstacle remaining to restrain me from making the purchase, especially as I have reason to believe the Indians are desirous to make the sale.

"The delays which have already taken place and that arose solely from the considerations above mentioned, have been extremely detrimental to my private affairs; but, still being desirous to comply with formalities prescribed by certain Laws of the United States, although those Laws probably do not reach my case, I now make application to the President of the United States, and request that he will nominate and appoint a Commissioner to be present and preside at a Treaty, which he will be pleased to authorize to be held with the Seneca Nation, for the purpose of enabling me to make a purchase, in conformity with the formalities required by Law, of the Tract of Country for which I have already paid a very large sum of money. My right to the pre-emption is unequivocal, and the Land is become so necessary to the growing Population and surrounding Settlements, that it is with difficulty that the white People can be restrained from squatting or settling down upon these Lands, which if they should do, it may probably bring on contentions with the Six Nations. This will be prevented by a timely, fair, and honorable purchase.

"This proposed Treaty ought to be held immediately before the Hunting Season, or another year will be lost, as the Indians cannot be collected during that Season. The loss of another year, under the payments thus made for these Lands, would be ruinous to my affairs; and as I have paid so great deference to public considerations whilst they did exist, I expect and hope that my request will be readily granted, now, when there can be no cause for delay, especially if the Indians are willing to sell, which will be tested by the offer to buy.

"With the most perfect esteem and respect,

"I am, Sir, your most obed't

"and most humble Serv't.

"R. M.

"GEO. WASHINGTON, ESQ.

"President of the United States."

But to return to Thomas Morris. The vast estate possessed by his father induced him to settle, in 1791, as Agent for his father, at Canandaigua, the most prominent early village in Western New York. The fact that his father quickly sold all that immense estate, through his agent in Europe, chiefly to the parties known ever afterwards as the "Holland Land Company," did not acquit Thomas from service in connection with the lands; for it was a part of the bargain with the Dutch and other purchasers, that his father should extinguish the Indian claims upon the lands; and it is in this connection that the labors of the son became identified with the history of the country, in one of the most important particulars of the early movements for extending civilization westward.

Thomas Morris deserves mention for his own personal worth, as well as for his connection with these public transactions. He was a well-esteemed lawyer, and was honored by election as the first Representative in Congress, from all the region West of Seneca lake—his District being then on the outermost frontier of civilization. As a part owner with his father in the "Allen tract," which has a curious history that may be hereafter mentioned, his name is perpetuated in "Mount Morris," one of the finest towns of the Genesee Valley. Like most other enterprising men

of that time, he traded largely in lands; and, sharing in his father's reverses, he left Ontario county for the city of New York, in 1804, practicing law part of the time and, afterwards, occupying a position in the Custom-house, where he continued till his death, in 1848, about four years after he wrote the following Narrative of his personal recollections.

With these brief notes, the reader may be better able to understand the degree of authority justly belonging to the statements of the venerable narrator, and the importance of the events embraced within his Recollections.

[LETTER FROM THOMAS MORRIS, EXPLANATORY OF HIS MOTIVES FOR GIVING HIS RECOLLECTIONS IN THIS SHAPE.]

"NEW YORK, October 17, 1844.

"HENRY O'RIELLY, ESQ:

"DEAR SIR—I have to apologize to you for having so long delayed attending to the request made by you about two years ago.

"That request was, that I should furnish you with such information as I might possess, and enable you to have access to such documents or papers under my control, as would throw light on the early settlement of the western part of this State.

"For at least twelve months after this application was made, every moment of time that could be spared from my Custom-house duties, was occupied with private concerns, of great importance to me; and, after those occupations had ceased, your application had entirely escaped my recollection.

"Having been lately at Canandaigua, on a visit to my friend, Mr. Greig, he seemed to think that, even at this late period, my reminiscences might be acceptable to you. I promised him that, on my return home, I would examine among the mass of papers, relating to a variety of subjects, in my possession; and, if I found any among them which I thought would be of use to you, that I would furnish you with them. I also promised to task my recollection, and to add to those papers such explanations and observations as might better enable you to understand those documents.

"You may perhaps think it rather egotistical in me to have put this information in the form of a personal narrative, and to have connected with it my first entrance into the 'Genesee Country' and some of my adventures there.

"I am aware of the apparent impropriety of this course; but, upon reflection, I found it difficult to adopt any other. If, therefore, you should think it worth your while to embody in your history of Western New York, any information derived from the narrative, you can give the fact, when corroborated by the documents which accompany it, and the substance of my statements when they depend solely on my recollections. I am myself confident of the accuracy of those recollections; but, as more than half a century has passed away since the occurrence of events to which some of them relate, and all of them refer to events approaching to that period, it is not improbable that, in some instances, I may have been mistaken. I would advise you, therefore, to test such of them as are unsupported by documentary proof, by resorting to sources where you may be able to obtain other information.

"You will find, in my Narrative, much that will probably be both uninteresting and useless to you; but I thought it best to give you the whole of my recollections, that you might call out of them such, if any, as you may deem serviceable to you.

"I will only add, that if you should desire any explanation of any particulars to which my Narrative relates, I will readily furnish it.

"If you should have occasion to apply to me by letter, be pleased to direct to me at the Custom-house, New York. If the application be personal, I shall be glad to see you, at any time when you may be in this city, at my house, No. 21 East 16th Street, either before ten o'clock in the morning or after five in the afternoon.

"I am, Respectfully, your ob't serv't  
"THOMAS MORRIS."

[MR. MORRIS'S NARRATIVE.]

The Country called the Genesee Country, was originally claimed both by the States of New



York and Massachusetts. Commissioners having been appointed, in 1786, by both these States, to settle their claims, as well to the jurisdiction as to the right of soil, on the sixteenth of December, in that year, the latter was ceded to Massachusetts and the former to New York.

In 1787 or '88, Messrs. Gorham and Phelps purchased from the State of Massachusetts, the pre-emptive right to the territory that had been thus ceded to her.—(See paper, marked SCHEDULE, No. 4.)\*

I am possessed of no evidence showing the amount of consideration-money paid, or contracted to be paid, for this territory; but my recollection is, that it was seventy thousand pounds.

Subsequent to this purchase, Messrs. Gorham and Phelps prevailed on the Legislature of Massachusetts to take back the four millions of acres, West of the Genesee-river, and to reduce the amount of their purchase-money to thirty-one thousand pounds. (See Account, marked GORHAM AND PHELPS'S ACCOUNT SALES OF GENESEE LANDS.†)

On the eighth of July, 1788, Messrs. Gorham and Phelps extinguished the native right to these lands. (See SCHEDULE, No. 4.) The amount paid to the Indians, including presents, for the lands thus sold by them, appears, from the accompanying *Account Current*, to have been a principal of four thousand, three hundred, and nine pounds and an annuity of five hundred dollars.‡

On the eighteenth of November, 1790, my father, the late Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, bought of Messrs. Gorham and Phelps, twelve hundred thousand acres of the lands to which the native title had been extinguished. I have no Document showing the amount paid for this purchase; but my recollection is, that it was seventy thousand pounds.

In the year 1791, my father sold, through his Agent, William Temple Franklin, a grandson of Doctor Franklin, to Sir William Pulteney and Governor Hornby, the lands he had bought from

Messrs. Gorham and Phelps. (See INSTRUCTIONS TO A. HOOPS.)\* I have no Document showing the amount of consideration-money paid by these gentlemen; but my recollection is, that it was seventy thousand pounds, sterling. The property purchased was conveyed to Captain Charles Williamson, who was appointed by the purchasers, their Agent and Attorney to manage the same.

You will perceive, from my father's letters and his Instructions to Colonel Samuel Ogden,† that, when he sent that gentleman to Boston, as his Agent, in January, 1791, to purchase from the Government of Massachusetts, the four millions of acres which they had received back from Messrs. Gorham and Phelps, he contemplated that those gentlemen would be concerned with him to the extent of one half, and that they had the option of becoming so; but they having declined being concerned, on the terms asked by the State, my father became the sole purchaser. Whether the title derived from the State was, in the first instance, vested in Mr. Ogden and by him transferred to my father, or whether the conveyance was direct from the State to my father, I do not know. The Records in the Secretary of State's office, where all these Deeds are recorded, will show how this is. The number of acres contained in this purchase was computed to be four millions of acres; and, though I have no papers showing the amount paid for them, my recollection is, that it was one hundred thousand pounds, Massachusetts money.

Some of the speeches and papers accompanying this statement show that, in the year 1790, a Treaty was held by Colonel Pickering with the Six Nations, at Tioga.‡

It appears, from a speech of Cornplanter's to General Washington and the President's answer to it, that in the month of December of the same year, a conference had been had between some of the Seneca Chiefs in Philadelphia and General Washington. At this conference, as you will observe from Cornplanter's speech, he complained of having been imposed upon by Mr. Oliver Phelps, whom he charged with not having paid to the Senecas the full amount that he had agreed to give for the lands purchased from them.§ From

\* "Schedule No. 4," referred to in the text, is a manuscript copy of the Deed to Phelps & Gorham, by "the Sachems, Chiefs, and Warriors of the Five Nations of Indians," of the lands between the Seneca Lake and the Genesee-river, (*American State Papers—Indian Affairs*, i, 216), and makes no allusion to the purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, referred to in the text.

† The details of the Phelps & Gorham Purchase may be found in O'Reilly's *Sketches of Rochester*, 141-144; Turner's *Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase*, 325-327; etc. H. B. D.

‡ "Gorham & Phelps's Account Sales of Genesee Lands," in manuscript, is in the O'Reilly Collection of Manuscripts in the New York Historical Society, but it does not contain anything on the subject referred to in the text.

§ Particulars concerning the relinquishment of a portion of the Phelps & Gorham Purchase may be found in O'Reilly's *Sketches of Rochester*, 142, 143. H. B. D.

¶ Vide Gorham & Phelps Account Sales of Genesee Lands, entitled, *Purchase & Expenses of Genesee Lands in account with Sales*, in the O'Reilly Collection, New York Historical Society. H. B. D.

\* Vide SUPPLEMENT I.

† For particulars concerning "The Pulteney Estate," reference is made to O'Reilly's *Sketches of Rochester*, 150-155; Turner's *Pioneer History*, 327, 329-331, etc. H. B. D.

‡ Vide SUPPLEMENT II.

§ The papers referred to are, probably, extracts, in manuscript, "of the proceedings of Col. Timothy Pickering, at 'the Council-fire held at Tioga, Nov. 21st, 1790,' including a 'Speech of Red Jacket.'"

¶ Colonel Stone, in his *Life and Times of Red Jacket*, (pp. 35-44) discourses concerning this conference; from which and from all other contemporary evidence, it will be seen that it was nothing else than a "talk;" and that a Treaty was not made nor discussed there. H. B. D.

§ Vide speech of Cornplanter, Half-town, and Great-tree, and General Washington's reply, in *American State Papers—Indian Affairs*, i, 140-143. H. B. D.

this charge, you will also perceive that Mr. Deane, who was the Interpreter at the Treaty when that purchase was made, in his Deposition, entirely exonerates Mr. Phelps.\* In the same Speech, Mr. John Livingston is charged with having practised a deception on them, in procuring a "Lease" of their country.

In giving an account of this latter transaction, I must observe that I am not possessed of any Document whatever in relation to it; and that the Lease in question and the proceedings of the Legislature annulling it, and the energetic manner in which Governor George Clinton dispossessed those who had settled on a part of the "Military Tract," under Titles derived from Mr. Livingston, had all taken place a short time before I became an inhabitant of this State. My statement, therefore, is derived from the representations that were current and undisputed, shortly after these events took place, and from what I have frequently heard the late Judge Benson, then a distinguished member of our State Legislature, and who took an active part in annulling Mr. Livingston's "Lease," say on this subject.

Prior to the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States, the Constitution of this State forbade a purchase from Indians, of Lands within the jurisdiction of this State, without the sanction of the Legislature.

Mr. John Livingston, of Oak Hill, Columbia-county, in order to evade this provision in the Constitution, procured from the Six Nations a "Lease" for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, and for a consideration of twenty thousand, and an annual payment of two thousand, dollars, of all the country comprising the "Military Tract," and extending from the Pennsylvania Line to Lakes Ontario and Erie, and including even Presquise, in Ohio.†

The Legislature having met shortly after the obtaining of this enormous Grant, they passed a Law annulling it, declaring it to be an evasion of the Constitution, and that such a "Lease" was in fact a "purchase."‡

As many persons had taken possession and settled under Livingston's Title, on parts of this land, situated in the present Counties of Cayuga and Onondaga, and had evinced a disposition to hold the same by force and in defiance of the Laws of the State, Governor George Clinton ordered William Colbraith, then Sheriff of the County of Herkimer, in which those lands were

then situated, to dispossess those intruders and to burn their dwellings. To enable the Sheriff more effectually to execute these orders, the Governor ordered out a military force. These people were expelled from their possessions, their houses burnt, and one of their ringleaders, by the name of Seely, was brought to New York, in irons, for trial on a charge of High Treason.\*

This object having been effected, the State, some time thereafter, made a purchase from the Indians, of the country called the "Military Tract," and extending to the borders of the lands that had been ceded to Massachusetts. This is what General Washington alluded to in his Speech, in 1790, when he said that, upon inquiry from the Governor of New York, John Livingston had no legal right to treat with the Indians; and that his acts were null and void.

I am not certain, but my impression is, that

\* The following, from *The New York Journal and Patriotic Register*, No. 2607, Wednesday, November 2, 1791, describes some of the operations referred to:

"ALBANY, October 24. By order of the executive, the high sheriff of Herkimer County, raised a posse of about sixty armed men, from the vicinity of Whites town, who proceeded to the Cayuga reservation, where they dispossessed all the intruders, and burnt their dwellings, the two ferry houses on the Cayuga lake excepted."

The next number of the same paper, (No. 2608, Saturday November 5,) thus referred to the subject:

"ALBANY, October 20. Complaints, we are told, were some time since made to the commissioners of Indian affairs of this state, by the Indians residing therein, that a number of white people had, without their permission, obtruded on the lands, which by treaty had been reserved for the sole use of the said Indians; and that in consequence, orders were transmitted to Col. W. Colbreath, high sheriff of the County of Herkimer, to take with him such a number of men as should be adequate to the purpose, and go and dispossess and drive off the said obtruders; which orders we were yesterday informed had been fully carried into execution, by Col. Colbreath; that the people made no resistance; but on being permitted to take off their moveable property quietly gave up their possessions; after which their houses, thirteen in number, and other building, &c., were entirely destroyed."

The Governor communicated the facts, in his Annual Message, to the Legislature of the State, (*Journal of the Senate*, January 5, 1792) and both Houses, in their respective Replies, fully sustained the Governor's action in the premises. (*Journal of the Senate*, Thursday, January 12, and *Journal of the Assembly*, Tuesday, January 10, 1792.)

As Sheriff Colbreath was one of the Lessees of the lands referred to, under the Livingston Leases, it is hardly probable that the intruders thus removed had claimed title under the same Leases; besides, neither the Governor, in his Message, nor the newspapers of the day connect them with those Leases. We rather suspect, therefore, that Mr. Morris has mistaken the relations between the two parties referred to.

Concerning the arrest of "Seely," the following, from *The Daily Advertiser*, No. 2094, New York, Friday, November 4, 1791, explains the matter:

"In virtue of a bench-warrant, issued for that purpose, by his honor, Mr. Justice Hobart, John Richardson, who had taken a lease of some of the Indian pre-emption-lands, situate in this state, contrary to an express article in our constitution, was apprehended, and a few days since brought to this city; and on examination before his honor the Chief Justice, admitted to bail (himself in the sum of £200, and two sufficient freeholders in £150, each) to take his trial in the county of Tioga, whenever a circuit court shall be held there." H. R. D.

\* Vide SUPPLEMENT III.

† These Leases—for there were two—may be found in the *Journal of the Assembly of New York*, Saturday, February 16, 1788.—Original Edition—pp. 74-78. H. B. D.

‡ The proceedings in this case, which were in the form of a Joint Resolution, may be seen in the *Journal of the Assembly*, Saturday, February 16, 1788.—Original edition—pp. 73-78, and in the *Journal of the Senate*, Saturday, February 16, and Monday, February 18, and Wednesday, February 20, 1788.—Original Edition—pages, 34-37. H. B. D.



Messrs. Gorham and Phelps, prior to their purchase from the Indians, either apprehending that Livingston's transactions with them might increase his difficulties in obtaining the native title or otherwise interfere with his purchase, gave to Mr. Livingston and his associates, the Townships known as the Lessee Townships, being, I believe, four in number, thereby quieting their claim.

Foiled in their attempt, by the energy displayed by the Legislature and the Governor, the next effort of Mr. Livingston and his associates was to form a *New State* out of the country, West of Seneca Lake and extending from the Pennsylvania Line to Lakes Ontario and Erie. Their object, in their endeavors to effect this project, was to get rid of that part of the Constitution of New York which had annulled their "Lease" to the lands West of the Genesee-river. Accordingly, a meeting had been called by these people, to assemble at the town of Geneva, on the tenth of November, 1793, to take the necessary steps to carry their scheme into effect.\* To crush, in the bud, this disorganizing attempt, the Resolutions, a copy of which you will find in a letter of mine to my father, dated the tenth of November, 1793, were passed. They produced the desired effect; and Livingston's scheme was abandoned.†

In 1791, a Treaty was held by Colonel Pickering with the Six Nations, for the purpose, as the Indians term it, of "brightening the chain of friendship" and preventing their making common cause with the hostile Tribes with whom the United States were then at War. The place fixed on for the holding this Treaty was, in the first instance, the Painted Post; but was it afterwards changed to New Town, about sixteen miles East of the Post.

You will perceive, from my father's letter to Colonel Gordon, commanding a British Regiment then garrisoning Fort Niagara, and from another letter to Colonel Pickering, that a younger brother of mine and myself left Philadelphia, in the month of June, 1791, to attend this Treaty.‡ Our route was first to Wilkesbarre, and thence along the West branch of the Susquehanna, by what was then called "Sullivan's path"—being that which had been taken by that General and his Army, when invading the Indian country, during the Revolutionary War.

The Newtown Treaty lasted several weeks. I attended it the whole time; and lament that I have not more of the Indian Speeches made on that occasion; and particularly those of Red Jacket.\*

The principal speakers during that Treaty, were Red Jacket and the Farmer's Brother. Red Jacket was, I suppose, at that time, about thirty or thirty-five years of age, of middle height, well-formed, with an intelligent countenance and a fine eye; and was a fine-looking man. He was the most graceful public speaker I have ever known. His manner was, at the same time, both dignified and easy. He was fluent, and, at times, witty and sarcastic. He was quick and ready at reply. He pitted himself against Colonel Pickering, whom he sometimes foiled in argument. The Colonel would occasionally become irritated, and lose his temper. Then Red Jacket would be delighted, and show great dexterity in taking advantage of any unguarded assertion of the Colonel's. He felt a conscious pride in the conviction that Nature had done more for him than for the Colonel.

A year or two after this Treaty, when Colonel Pickering, from Postmaster-general, became Secretary at War, I informed Red Jacket of his promotion. "Ah!" said he, "we began our public career about the same time. He knew how 'to read and write,'" [meaning he was educated] "I did not, and he has got ahead of me; but 'if I had known how to read and write, I would 'have been ahead of him.'"

Whatever influence Red Jacket possessed among the Indians was derived from his talents. They had no confidence in his integrity; and a greater drunkard than himself was not to be found among the Six Nations. He was also, at this time, reputed to be a coward; and it was said of him, that, on some occasion during the Revolutionary War, when he had stimulated his Tribe to attack the enemy and had engaged to co-operate with them, he contrived not only to keep out of harm's way, but, during their absence, was employed in the less dangerous but more profitable employment of killing some of their cows to supply his own family with meat; in consequence of which, he became known by the nickname of "Cow-killer."

On one occasion, when Brant, Cornplanter and Red Jacket had been dining with me at Canandaigua, I observed, sometime after dinner, when the bottle had circulated pretty freely, much merriment between Brant and Cornplanter and evident mortification in the looks of Red Jacket. I did not at the time know the cause of this, but Brant subsequently explained to me that he and Corn-

\* The project of erecting a new State, in Western New York, as the Vermontese had erected one in Eastern New York, originated in the same causes—the desire of plundering the State, in open violation of its laws, of the public lands which legally belonged to the People.

† The letter of Thomas Morris, dated "CANANDAIGUA, Nov. 10th. 1793," addressed to his father, (*O'Reilly Manuscripts*—New York Historical Society) and the article on the proposed new State, in O'Reilly's Sketches of Western New-York, describe the movement more fully than any other accounts which we have seen. H. B. D.

‡ Vide SUPPLEMENT, No. IV.

§ The letters referred to are among the *O'Reilly Manuscripts*—New York Historical Society. H. B. D.

\* The conference referred to, as we have said, was a mere "Talk" and not a "Treaty." H. B. D.



planter had been amusing themselves at Red Jacket's expense, by telling a story about "some other "Indian," to whom they imputed the very conduct practised by Red Jacket, when he killed his neighbors' cows. I am told, however, that during the last War with Great Britain, he redeemed his reputation for bravery; and that, on several occasions, he evinced decided courage.

It may not be amiss to mention here an anecdote that was told, and which was generally believed to be correct, as to the means resorted to by Red Jacket to become a Sachem. The Sachemship is derived from birth, and the descent is in the female line, because, they say, the offspring of the mother is always known to be legitimate. The War Chiefs only are selected from bravery and merit.

Red Jacket, though of obscure birth, was determined to become a Sachem. To effect his purpose, he announced to the Indians that the Great Spirit had made known to him, in a dream, that their Nation would never prosper until they made of him a Sachem. For some time, very little attention was paid to this pretended revelation; but the dreamer artfully availed himself of every calamity that befel the Nation—such as an unusual sickly season, the small-pox spreading among them, &c.—and attributed all the misfortunes of the Nation to their not complying with the will of the Great Spirit. He is said to have persevered in this course until he was made a Sachem.\*

The Farmer's Brother was a tall, powerful man, much older than Red Jacket, perfectly honest, and possessing, and deserving to possess, the confidence of the Nation. He was dignified and fluent in his public speaking; and, although not gifted with the brilliancy of Red Jacket, he possessed good common sense, and was esteemed, both by the white people and the Indians.

It may not be improper here to describe a religious, or rather a superstitious, ceremony, which I had been invited to, and did join in, during this Treaty. It being full moon, the ceremony was in honor of that luminary. There were present, probably, fifteen hundred Indians. We were all seated on the ground, forming a large circle, excepting at that part of it where a fire was burning; and not far from which was a pillar or post, representing the stake to which prisoners are tied when tortured, after having been taken in battle. A very old Cayuga Chief, much distinguished for his bravery, and called the "Fish Carrier," rose and addressed the moon in a speech of about a half an hour in length, occasionally throwing in the fire a handfull of tobacco as an offering. After this speech, we all stretched

ourselves full length on the ground, the head of one touching the feet of another, and at one end of the circle, commenced the utterance of a guttural sound, which was repeated, one after the other, by every person present. Then followed the War Dance, performed by young Warriors, naked to the waist-band, with bodies painted with streaks of red, down their backs, representing streams of blood. Occasionally, one of the dancers would strike the post representing the tortured prisoner, and into whose body he was supposed to thrust the end of a burning stick of wood. He would then brag of the number of scalps he had taken from those of his Tribe or Nation.

After the rum drauk during this ceremony had begun to produce its effect, an Oneida Warrior struck the post, and imprudently began to boast of the number of Indian scalps he had taken during the War of the Revolution, when the Oneidas, alone, had sided with the Americans, and the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas and Chippawas with the British. This boast excited the anger of the others; knives were drawn; and there would have been bloody work, had not old Fish Carrier, who was venerated both on account of his age and his bravery, interposed. He arose, and, addressing himself to the young Warriors, told them that when any of them had attained his age, and had taken as many scalps as he had, it would be time for them to boast of what they had done; but until then, it better became them to be silent. He then struck the post, and kicked it over, and caused the fire to be put out; and they dispersed peaceably.

It was at this ceremony that I received the Indian name by which I was always thereafter called by them. That name was Otesiaunce, which was translated to be "Always Ready." Red Jacket told me that it had been his name when a young man; but, that when he became a Sachem, he was called, Sagiawata.

At this Treaty also, I became intimate with Peter Otsiguette, who, when a boy, was taken to France by the Marquis de La Fayette. He remained with the Marquis seven years. He received, while with him, a very finished education. Having received the early part of my own education in France, and being well acquainted with the French language, I would frequently retire with Peter into the woods, and hear him recite some of the finest pieces of French poetry, from the Tragedies of Corneille and Racine. Peter was an Oneida Indian. He had not been many months restored to his Nation; and yet he would drink raw rum out of a brass kettle; take as much delight in yelling and whooping, as any Indian; and in fact became as vile a drunkard as the worst of them.

Having left Newtown at the termination of the Treaty, my brother and myself proceeded to

\* The reader is referred to Colonel Stone's *Life and Times of Red Jacket*, for further particulars concerning that noted individual. H. B. D.

Catharine's-town, at the head of the Seneca Lake,\* where there were two or three log cabins. From there we continued our journey to Geneva, where there was a log tavern kept by a man by the name of Jenuings, and where also resided, in log houses, one or two Indian traders and a few drunken white loafers.†

From Geneva we proceeded to Canandaigua, where the settlement, though small was of a very different character from that of Geneva. There were at that time in Canandaigua, only a few log houses, but they were inhabited by persons of worth, of intelligence, and of industrious and sober habits. Very few of those persons are now alive, and I believe that they consist only of the children of the late Captain Israel Chapin, Judge Atwater, Mrs. Sanburn and Mr. Barlow.

Among those now deceased, but then alive, were General Israel Chapin and wife, his son, Captain Israel Chapin and his wife, Nathaniel Gorham, Colonel Othniel Taylor, Mr. Sanburn, John Clark, Jasper Parrish, Judah Colt, Major Mellish; and there may have been three or four others whose names I do not remember. Mr. Oliver Phelps, though occasionally there on business, was not a resident of the place, his domicile being at Suffield, in Connecticut. The respectability, sobriety, and industry of the first inhabitants of this place, have had a happy influence on its prosperity ever since.‡

After a considerable halt at Canandaigua, we proceeded on our journey to Niagara, through the Town of Bloomfield, where the late General Amos Hall and a few other settlers had located themselves; and from thence to the borders of the Genesee-river, where a man by the name of Berry kept a tavern. Judge Timothy Hosmer, then first Judge of the County, resided at a short distance; and James and William Wadsworth lived at Genesee, then called Big-tree, at a distance of eight or nine miles from Berry's.

There was at that time, and for several years thereafter, only an Indian path leading to Niagara, and not a habitation of any kind from the Genesee-river to the Fort at that place.

We met, at Niagara, with a very kind reception from Colonel Gordon, who sent two of his officers to accompany us to the Falls, and who also gave us a letter to the commanding officer at Fort Erie, directing him to cross us and our horses to the opposite shore, in the boats belonging to his garrison.

On our return to Canandaigua, we continued our journey to Whitesborough, through the "Military Tract," and from thence, through Albany, to New York and Philadelphia.

The excursion that has been spoken of was undertaken by me partly from a desire to witness an Indian Treaty and see the Falls of Niagara, and partly with a desire to see a country in which my father had at that time so extensive an interest; and with a determination to settle in it, in the event of my liking it. I was pleased with it, and made up my mind to establish myself in Canandaigua, as soon as I should have attained the age of twenty-one and have obtained my admission at the Bar—having studied Law in New York.

Accordingly, in the early part of March, 1792, I left New York for Canandaigua. I was induced to fix on that as the place of my residence, from the character and respectability of the families already established there. In the course of that year, I commenced the building of a frame house, filled in with brick, and which was finished in the early part of the year 1793. That house still subsists; and even in that handsome town, where there are so many beautiful buildings, it is not considered as an eye-sore. When it was erected, it and one built by Mr. Oliver Phelps, about the same time, were the only two frame houses West of Whitesborough.

Shortly after my having reaching Canandaigua, Captain Williamson,\* who during the War of the Revolution, commanded a Company in the British Army, and who was captured on his passage to America and paroled in Boston, as a prisoner-of-war, came out as the Agent of the late Sir William Pulteney and Governor Hornby. In Captain Williamson were combined activity, energy, liberality, and indeed every quality requisite to advance the prosperous settlement of the wilderness in which his agency was situated. To his energy and the liberal expenditure of the large funds at his command, that country owed, in a great measure, its rapid settlement. He laid out the town of Bath, at the head of the Conhockton-river, and took up his residence with his family there.†

Unfortunately for Captain Williamson, Sir William Pulteney had contracted in London, with a German by the name of Bertzee,‡ to bring with him, from Germany, a number of families, and to settle with them on his Genesee lands. It was

\* The town still bears the same name—"Catharine." The villages in it are Watkins and Havana. H. B. D.

† For early descriptions of Geneva, see that by Mr. Maude, in O'Reilly's *Sketches*, 1, 154; *Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, 1, 1, 285; Munro's *Genesee Country*, 12; Williamson's *Description of the Settlement of the Genesee Country*—Second edition—15-17. H. B. D.

‡ For early descriptions of Canandaigua, see that by Mr. Maude, in O'Reilly's *Sketches*, 154, 155; *Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, 1, 1, 285; Munro's *Genesee Country*, 12. H. B. D.

\* Vide Turner's *History of the Pioneer Settlement*, 249-279. H. B. D.

† Vide notice of Bath, by Mr. Maude, in O'Reilly's *Sketches*, 152, 153; Munro's *Genesee Country*, 12, 13; Williamson's *Description of the Settlement of the Genesee Country*—Second edition—11-15. H. B. D.

‡ It is probable that Mr. Morris refers to the "itinerant" picture merchant from Germany, by the name of Berezy, whom Mr. Turner refers to, in his *History of the Pioneer Settlement*, pp. 254-257. H. B. D.



contemplated by Sir William, that the men brought over would be farmers, instead of which, they were vagabonds of the worst description, collected together out of the streets of Hamburg and other cities, and totally unused to any rural occupation. Their number might have been seventy or eighty; and they became not only a source of great expense, but also of great annoyance to Mr. Williamson.

They arrived, as you will perceive from two of my letters to my father, in 1793. One of these letters is dated in February, and the other on the tenth of November in that year.\* This last letter encloses the Resolutions passed in relation to John Livingston and his associates; and it is only in the Postscript to it, that you will find any allusion to these Germans.

Mr. Williamson had caused a road to be laid out from the West branch of the Susquehanna to Bath; and, on the arrival of these Germans, he thought that they might be profitably employed, on their way to the Genesee, in cutting out this road. They were totally unused to the chopping with axes, and insisted on cutting down trees with cross-cut saws—two of them sawing at the same time on the same tree. While thus employed, several accidents happened by trees, when sawed through, falling and badly wounding, and in some instances killing, the men thus employed.

They were so awkward, and made such slow progress with the road, that Captain Williamson soon found it necessary to detach them from it. He accordingly sent them to Williamsburg,† near the Genesee-river; and, having previously purchased for the use of these men, a large field of wheat, on the Flats, adjoining that river, they were directed to harvest it. But this, and all other labor, they refused to perform—insisting on being fed and maintained in idleness.

They became so troublesome and unmanageable, that Mr. Johnston, Captain Williamson's Agent at Williamsburg, who had them in charge, sent to Canandaigua, to beg me to come to his assistance. As I then spoke a little German, and was supposed to have some influence in the country, I went out and expostulated with Bertzee; but to no effect.

The day after my arrival, they expected Captain Williamson, and had determined to hang him on a tree they had selected for that purpose. Mr. Williamson did not arrive as they had expected; and, disappointed at his non-appearance, they assembled round Mr. Johnston's house, and threatened violence. I appeared among them to

dissuade them from this course of proceeding: they rushed upon me, but I soon escaped from them without injury.

In the mean time, Bertzee became alarmed, and explained to them the impropriety of their attack on me. As they had committed an assault, however, it was thought best that these lawless men should be taught that they were amenable to the Laws. Accordingly, they, or many of their number, were apprehended and brought to Canandaigua, where, not being able to give security, they were confined in jail. They were tried, convicted, and small fines were imposed on them. To enable them to pay those fines, they were obliged to consent to their being separated and hired out to farmers in different parts of the country; and finally, with their leader, Bertzee, they removed to Upper Canada, where I believe he made some contract with the Government for them.\*

Prior to my having settled at Canandaigua, Jemima Wilkinson and her followers had established themselves on a tract of land, purchased by them, and called the Friends' Settlement. Her disciples were a very orderly, sober, industrious, and some of them a well educated and intelligent, set of people; and many of them possessed of handsome properties. She called herself, the "Universal Friend," and would not permit herself to be designated by any other appellation. She pretended to have had revelations from Heaven, in which she had been directed to devote her labors to the conversion of sinners. Her disciples placed the most unbounded confidence in her, and yielded, in all things, the most implicit obedience to her mandates. She would punish those among them who were guilty of the slightest deviation from her orders. In some instances, she would order the offending culprit to wear a cow-bell round his neck, for weeks or months, according to the nature of the offense; and in no instance was she known to have been disobeyed. For some offence committed by one of her people, she banished him to Nova Scotia, for three years, where he went, and from whence he returned only after the expiration of his sentence. When any of her people killed a calf or a sheep, or purchased an article of dress, the "Friend" was asked what portion of it she would have; and the answer would sometimes be, that the Lord hath need of the one-half, and sometimes that the Lord hath need of the whole. Her house, her grounds, and her farms, were kept in the neatest order, by her followers, who labored for her without compensation. She was attended by two young

\* *O'Reilly Manuscripts*—New York Historical Society Library. II. B. D.

† Mr. Turner describes "Williamsburg" as, "what has since been known as 'The Hermitage,' the present farm and residence of the Hon. Charles H. Carroll." (*History of Pioneer Settlements*, 256.) II. B. D.

\* Vide Turner's *History of Pioneer Settlement*, 254-257, where a detailed account of this expedition and the riot resulting from it may be found.

By reference to Mr. Morris's letter to his father, "CANADA, Feb'y the 4th, 1793," (*O'Reilly Manuscripts*) it will be seen there were two sides to this story, also. H.B.D.



women always neatly dressed. Those who acted in that capacity and enjoyed the most of her favor and confidence, at the time I was there, were named Sarah Richards and Rachel Milnin. Jemima prohibited her followers from marrying; and even those who had joined her after having been united in wedlock, were made to separate and live apart from each other. This was attributed to her desire to inherit the property of those who died. Having discovered that bequests to "the Universal Friend" would be invalid, and not recognizing the name of Jemima Wilkinson, she caused devises to be made by the dying to Sarah Richards, in the first instance. Sarah Richards however died; and her heirs at law claimed the property thus bequeathed. Litigation ensued; and, after the controversy had gone from Court to Court, it was finally decided in Jemima's favor, it appearing that Sarah Richards had held the property in trust for her. After the death of Sarah Richards, devises were made in favor of Rachel Milnin; but Rachel took it into her head to marry, and her husband, in behalf of his wife, claimed the property thus devised to her.

Among Jemima's followers, was an artful, cunning, and intelligent man, by the name of Elijah Parker. She dubbed him a Prophet, and called him the Prophet Elijah. He would, before prophesying, wear around the lower part of his waist, a bandage or girdle, tied very tight; and when it had caused the upper part of his stomach to swell, he would pretend to be filled with prophetic visions, which he would impart to the community. But, after some time, Jemima and her Prophet quarrelled, and he then denounced her as an impostor—declared that she had imposed on his credulity, and that he had never been a Prophet. After having divested himself of his prophetic character, he became a Justice of the Peace, and in that capacity issued out a Warrant against Jemima, charging her with blasphemy. She was accordingly brought to Canandaigua, by virtue of this Warrant; and, at a Circuit Court held there, in 1796, by the late Governor Lewis, then a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State, a Bill of Indictment, prepared by Judge Howell of Canandaigua, then District Attorney, was laid before the Grand Jury. Judge Lewis having told the Grand Jury, that, by the Laws and Constitution of this State, blasphemy was not an indictable offence, no Bill was found. Judge Howell has informed me that a similar question having been brought before a full Bench of the Supreme Court, Judge Lewis's opinion was overruled by all the other Judges; and that blasphemy was decided to be an indictable offence. These litigations, however, had considerably lessened the number of her followers; but she, as I am informed, retained until her death, her influence over a considerable portion of them.

Prior to these occurrences, Jemima had been attacked with a violent disease, and she expected to die. Under this conviction, she caused her disciples to be assembled in her sick chamber, when she told them that her Heavenly Father, finding that the wickedness of the world was so great that there was no prospect of her succeeding in reclaiming it, had determined that she should soon quit it, and rejoin him in Heaven. Having unexpectedly recovered, she again assembled them, when she announced to them, that her Heavenly Father had again commanded her to remain on earth, and make one more trial.

When I first saw Jemima, she was a fine-looking woman, of a good height, and, though not corpulent, inclined to *en bon point*. Her hair was jet black, short, and curled on her shoulders. She had fine eyes, and good teeth and complexion. Her dress consisted of a silk purple robe, open in front. Her under dress was of the finest white cambric, or muslin. Round her throat she wore a large cravat, bordered with fine lace. She was very ignorant, but possessed an uncommon memory. Though she could neither read nor write, it was said that she knew the Bible by heart, from its having been read to her. The sermon I heard her preach was bad in point of language, and almost unintelligible. Aware of her deficiencies, in this respect, she caused one of her followers to tell me, that in her discourses, she did not aim at expressing herself in fine language—preferring to adapt her style to the capacity of the most illiterate of her hearers.\*

Governor Simcoe had, from his first assuming the Government of Upper Canada, evinced the greatest jealousy of the progress of the settlement of our Western Country. He was even said to have threatened to send Captain Williamson to England in irons, if he ever ventured to come into Canada.†

\* Vide Hudson's *History of Jemima Wilkinson, a preacher of the eighteenth century*, 12mo. Geneva, 1821; *Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, I. i, 285; *Documentary History of New York*—Quarto edition—II, 648.

† We rather incline to the opinion that Mr. Morris has colored this part of his narrative too highly.

In a private letter written by himself to his father from Canandaigua, on the fourth of February, 1793, he said: "I am sorry to see by the sketches of the Congressional debates furnished by the papers, that the Members seem to place little or no reliance on an Indian peace, and their doubts seem to arise from some Confidential Message received from the President. In this part of the World from the Declarations of the Six Nations & the desire the British seem to have to assist us we have entertained no Apprehensions of the continuance of the War. I am also sorry to see that the British are still held up by our Members of Congress as being inimical to our Interests. I am sure they have given Us no proofs of it as yet, on the contrary since the Arrival of Govr. Simcoe he has given the most unequivocal proofs of his desire to see us prosper in peace supposing that mutual good Intelligence between his Settlements and our States will be of advantage to his Colony. It is much to be feared that they will at last become sordid by being so frequently represented as "hostile" [to] "us."—(*O'Reilly Manuscripts*—New York

In 1794, Captain Williamson had commenced a settlement at Sodus Bay.

In the month of August of that year, Lieutenant Sheaffe of the British Army, (now Major-general Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe, who during the last War, commanded at the Battle of Queenston after the death of Colonel Brock,) was sent by Governor Simcoe, with a Protest, to be delivered to Captain Williamson, protesting against the further prosecution of the settlement at Sodus, and all other American settlements beyond the old French line, during the inexecution of the Treaty that terminated the Revolutionary War. Finding there only an agent of Mr. Williamson's (a Mr. Moffatt, who is yet living,) Lieutenant Sheaffe informed him of the nature of his mission, and requested him to make it known to Captain Williamson, and to inform him that he would return in ten days, when he hoped to meet Captain Williamson there.

Mr. Moffatt came to me at Canandaigua, to acquaint me with what had taken place and induce me to accompany him to Bath, to confer with Captain Williamson, in relation to this very extraordinary Protest. I accordingly went to Bath; and it was agreed between Captain Williamson and myself, that we would both meet Lieutenant Sheaffe at Sodus, at the time he had appointed to be there.

Accordingly, on the day named by Lieutenant Sheaffe, we were at Sodus; and shortly after our arrival there, we perceived on the Lake a boat, rowed by about a dozen British soldiers, who after landing their officer, were directed by him to pull off some distance in the Bay and remain there until he made a signal to return for him.

Captain Williamson, in consequence of the threats imputed to Governor Simcoe in relation to himself, did not think proper to expose himself unnecessarily to any act of violence, if any such should have been meditated against him. He therefore requested me to receive Lieutenant Sheaffe on the beach, and to accompany him to the log cabin where Captain Williamson was, with a brace of loaded pistols on his table. The ordering his men to remain at a distance from the shore showed that the precaution that had been taken, though proper at the time, was unnecessary; and that no resort to force was intended.

#### Historical Society.)

Nor was this the only instance of Mr. Morris's defence of the British. On the thirteenth of May, 1796, he wrote his father urging the expediency of inviting the Indians to meet at Buffalo, instead of Geneseo, because *the assistance which the British could afford, in the former place, would be very beneficial in the formation of a Treaty*—a proposition which was not accepted, it is true; but it is not the less interesting, as evidence in the case of alleged British un-friendliness.

There is other evidence that the stories of British un-friendliness in the West and of British intrigue with the Indians against the United States, are greatly exaggerated, not mainly untrue. H. B. D.

The meeting between the Lieutenant and Mr. Williamson was friendly. They had known each other before, and, while in the same service, had marched through some part of England together. The Lieutenant handed to Captain Williamson the Protest, and was desired by the Captain to inform Governor Simcoe, that he would pay no attention to it, but prosecute his settlement the same as if no such paper had been delivered to him—that if any attempt should be made, forcibly to prevent him from doing so, the attempt would be repelled by force.

Lieutenant Sheaffe having, during the interview between them, made some allusion to Captain Williamson having once held a Commission in the British Army, he replied that while in the service of the Crown, he had faithfully performed his duty: that having since renounced his allegiance to that Crown and become a citizen of the United States, his adopted country, having both the ability and the inclination, would protect him in his rights and the possession of his property. I asked Lieutenant Sheaffe if he would be so good as to explain what was meant by "the old French line;" where it ran; and what portion of our country we were forbidden in Governor Simcoe's Protest to occupy? He replied that he was merely the bearer of the paper that, by the orders of his superior officer, he had handed to Captain Williamson; that no explanation had been given to him of its purport, nor was he authorized to give any.

After about a half an hour, I again accompanied him to the beach, where he had landed; and on a signal having been made by him, his boat returned for him, and he departed.

This is what my father, in his letter of the tenth of September, 1794, alludes to, and terms "a Treaty," and for which he hopes that Simcoe will get a "rap over the knuckles from his master."\*

So many years have elapsed since the complaints made by both the British and our own Government were adjusted by negotiation, that you may be at a loss to know what Governor Simcoe meant, when he spoke of the inexecution of the Treaty that terminated our Revolutionary struggle. The complaint on the part of Great Britain, was, that those parts of the Treaty which required that those States in which British subjects were prevented by law from recovering debts due to them prior to the Revolution, had not been repealed, as by the Treaty they ought to have been; and also that British property had been confiscated since the period limited in the Treaty for such confiscations, and no compensation had been made to the injured parties. On our part

\* The letter of Robert Morris, referred to in the text, is in *The O'Reilly Manuscripts*; but that of Thomas Morris, dated "the 25th of August," to which it was an answer, has not been found. H. B. D.



the complaint was, that, after the cessation of hostilities, negroes and other property were carried away by the British Army, contrary to stipulations entered into by the Preliminary Treaty of Peace. The British retained possession of the posts on our borders and within our bounds, until an amicable settlement of these difficulties, which settlement, I think, took place in 1796.

In September, 1794, another Treaty was held by Colonel Pickering with the Six Nations, at Canandaigua.\* The object of this Treaty, like the former ones held with them, was to preserve their friendship and to prevent their joining the hostile Indians, or, in Indian language, to "brighten the chain of friendship." I have none of the speeches made at that Treaty; but as Mr. Greig informs me that you have had in your possession all the papers of the late Captain Chapin, you have probably received from them all the information that you desire, relative to what was done at that Treaty.

One circumstance I do recollect in relation to it. The Treaty was holding, when news were brought by runners, sent by the hostile Indians to the Six Nations, giving an account of their defeat by General Wayne, at the Battle of the Miami. This account was closed with these words, "and our brethern, the British, looked on and gave us not the least assistance." The belief at the time was, and the words I have quoted seem to confirm it, that when the Indians agreed to give battle to Wayne, they were encouraged so to do by the British, and were promised shelter in the British fort, commanded by Major Campbell, in the event of defeat. Certain it is, that when routed, they rushed towards the British fort, the gates of which were shut against them, as our men would have pursued them into it. Major Campbell appeared on the ramparts; the matches of his Artillerists were lit; and he hailed our troops and warned them not to approach his fort, or he would fire on them. Unmindful of his threats, the Indians were mowed down under his very guns, by Wayne's Cavalry. He did not fire, for, had he discharged a single gun, "mad Anthony," as Wayne was called, would have taken his Fort.

I have been thus particular in dwelling on this subject, in consequence of the influence it had on our settlements. For some months prior to the Treaty of Canandaigua, the Indians would come among us painted for War. Their department

was fierce and arrogant; and their behavior was such as to create a belief that they would not be unwilling to take up the hatchet against us.\* From certain expressions attributed to Governor Simcoe, and in connection with his conduct at Sodus Bay, it was believed that the British had taught the Indians to expect that General Wayne would be defeated; in which event, they might easily have persuaded the Six Nations to make common cause with the hostile Indians; and our settlements would have been depopulated.

Such were the apprehensions entertained at that time of an Indian War on our borders, that, in several instances, farmers were panic-struck and, with the dread of the scalping-knife before them, had "pulled up stakes" and, with their families, were on their way to the East. Arrived at Canandaigua, they found that I was painting my house and making improvements about it. Believing that I possessed better information on the subject than they did, their fears became quieted, and they retraced their steps back to their habitations. After the defeat of the hostile Indians, those of the Six Nations became completely cowed; and, from that time, all apprehension of a War with them vanished.

You will perceive, by the Conveyances and Agreements accompanying this statement, that, in the years 1792-93, my father had made sales in Holland to the gentlemen composing the "Holland Land Company," of the greater part of his interest in the Genesee Country, or rather that part of it lying West of the Genesee-river.† You will observe that these Conveyances and Agreements are in the names of Herman Le Roy, William Bayard, Mathew Clarkson, Garrett Boon, and John Linklaen. These gentlemen held the lands in trust for the Hollanders, as they, being aliens, were not at that time, by the Laws of this State, permitted to hold landed property in it. A subsequent Law has removed that disability, as far as it relates to the parties concerned in the "Holland Purchase."

By the terms of these Agreements, my father was bound to extinguish the native Title at his own expense; and thirty-five thousand pounds sterling of the purchase-money was retained by the purchasers, until that extinguishment was obtained. My father's reasons for not attempting to make a purchase of the Indian Title at an earlier period, appear in two of his letters, dated in 1796, and to which I refer you.‡ One of these letters was suppressed, because, after having been written, it was discovered that, after our fort at Niagara had been surrendered by the British to

\* There were, in fact, two distinct Treaties—one, made at Canandaigua, on the eleventh of November, 1794, with "the Six Nations of Indians;" and one, made at Oneida, on the second of December following, with "a body of the Oneida and Tascarora, and Stockbridge Indians"—both of which may be found in *The American State Papers—Indian Affairs*, i. 544-546.

Colonel Stone (*Life and Times of Red Jacket*, 112-143) also enters very fully and satisfactorily into the formation of the first of these Treaties. H. B. D.

\* Vide Stone's *Red Jacket*, 128.

† This sale to the Holland Land Company is particularly referred to in Turner's *History of the Holland Purchase* and in his *History of Pioneer Settlements*, in O'Reilly's *Sketches*, etc. H. B. D.

‡ Vide SUPPLEMENT, No. V.



our troops, the officer then in command of that fort had sent to the War Department an Indian Speech, by which it was made to appear that the Indians were reluctant to treat with him. The other letter, and which was sent to the President, was dated the twenty fifth of August.\* You will observe, from these letters and those written by him the following year, my father's extreme solicitude to make a purchase of the native Title. This solicitude was more from a desire to comply with his engagements with the Hollanders, than from any private advantage that would accrue to him, having at that time parted with his interest in the lands.

Massachusetts, when she sold her pre-emptive Title to these lands, reserved to herself the right to appoint a Commissioner, to be present at any Treaty that might be held with the Indians for the extinguishment of the native Title; and she accordingly did appoint, at an early period, General Shepard, to attend the same. By the Laws of the United States, no Treaty could be held with Indians, without being superintended by a Commissioner appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate of the United States; and to procure that appointment, a difficulty arose, that had not been anticipated. This difficulty arose from the Indian Speech sent by Captain Bruff (the officer whom I have before alluded to as having assumed the command of Fort Niagara,) to the War Department. It appears that this Captain Bruff had held a conference with the Senecas, and had presented them with a flag. In their answer to Captain Bruff's Speech, which you will find in the paper marked "Indian,"† they called my father, as you will perceive, the "Big-eater, with the big belly," and beg that he may not be permitted to come and devour their lands.

When, then, my father made his application, in 1797, to General Washington, to nominate a Commissioner, the General at once consented to do so; but said that his duty would require that Captain Bruff's letter and the accompanying Indian Speeches, should be sent with the nomination to the Senate, and that, such was the desire at that time to conciliate the Six Nations, he did not believe the Senate would confirm any nomination contrary to their wishes. A Commissioner was however appointed, but with an understanding that he was not to act in this business until the Indians themselves requested a Treaty.

The task of procuring from them this request devolved on me, and it was not an easy one to accomplish. The Indians were apprehensive that

their asking for a Treaty would be considered as a commitment, and be claimed as a pledge that they were desirous to part with their lands. To persuade them to make this request, I went to Buffalo, having performed the journey on foot [from Canandaigua.] For an account of that journey and its results, I refer you to a letter written by me, to my father, dated the twenty-seventh of May, 1797, which I have found among my father's papers, and also to the Speeches of Farmer's Brother and Red Jacket, of the twenty-third of September, 1796. These are the Speeches my father alluded to in 1796, and which prevented his making in that year an application for the appointment of a Commissioner, as by his suppressed letter in that year, it appears he had contemplated doing.\*

The Commissioner who in the first instance was appointed to superintend this Treaty, was a member of Congress from New Jersey, named Isaac Smith. Having been subsequently appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, and finding that his attendance at a Treaty would interfere with his judicial duties, he resigned his situation as a Commissioner, and Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, who had been a distinguished member of Congress, from Connecticut, was appointed in his place. Those who attended the Treaty, besides the two Commissioners, were Captain Chapin, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs, the Interpreters, and, occasionally, Captain Williamson, with Mr. James Rees of Geneva, who acted as Secretary, Mr. William Bayard of New York, as Agent of the "Holland Land Company," and two young gentlemen from Holland, by the name Van Stap-horst, who were nearly related to the gentlemen of the same name who were the principal members of that Company.

I had hired, for the accommodation of these gentlemen, the house of Mr. William Wadsworth, his brother James being at that time in Europe. I had also caused a large Council-house to be prepared, covered by the boughs and branches of trees, to shelter us from the rays of the sun, with a more elevated bench for the Commissioners and other benches for the spectators. Here the business of the Treaty was conducted between the Indians and myself; and here also the Indians held their private Councils. It is their custom to agree among themselves, in private Council, on the measures to be adopted, the arguments to be used in support of them, and also to fix on the speakers to discuss them, before they meet the white people, in a more public Council.

You will observe from my father's Speech, No.

\* Vide pages 369, 370, *ante*.

† A letter of Captain Bruff, dated "NIAGARA, September 25, 1796," accompanied with copies of his "talk" with the Indians and their reply, are among *The O'Reilly Manuscripts*, in the New York Historical Society's library. H. B. D.

\* This letter, dated "CANANDAIGUA, 29th May, 1797," is in *The O'Reilly Manuscripts*, in the New York Historical Society's Library. H. B. D.

3,\* that, as he could not personally attend the Treaty, he had authorized Captain Williamson and myself to act in his behalf. Captain Williamson's business requiring that he should be the greatest part of his time at Bath, and that he could only occasionally be at Geneseo, where the Treaty was held, declined acting; and consequently, the management of the whole concern devolved on me.

By the rough memorandums of the doings at this Treaty, which you will find rolled up together, you will perceive, that we reached Geneseo, on the twenty-sixth of August, 1797.† I must refer you to the same paper for a knowledge of what had taken place between that day and the thirtieth of the same month, when you will find, from the same document, that I addressed to them the Speech No. 4.‡ You will discover from the same memorandum, and for the cause there stated, that nothing more was done until the second of September. On that day, I again addressed them, as you will find from the paper marked No. 5.§

You will observe that, in answer to Red Jacket's Speech, wherein he had magnified the consequence and importance which their lands gave to the Senecas among the other Nations of Indians, that I endeavored to convince him that he was mistaken; and as a proof that he was so, I mentioned the treatment that some of their Chiefs (Red Jacket having been one of them,) had received when on a mission of Peace to the hostile Indians. My allusion was to the following circumstance: in 1793, Colonel Pickering and Colonel Beverley Randolph were sent by the President of the United States to the country of the hostile Indians to endeavor to open a negotiation with them for a Peace. They came to Canandaigua, and from that place proceeded to Buffalo. There they prevailed on some of the Seneca Chiefs to accompany them, supposing that their mediation might promote the object of their mission. On their arrival among the hostile Indians, the latter expressed the greatest contempt for the Senecas, and refused to hold any communication with them. Although the mission was unsuccessful, our Commissioners were treated with courtesy.

In Red Jacket's reply to this part of my Speech

he admitted the fact of the disrespectful reception they had met with, but imputed it to their going in bad company. "Had they gone alone," he said, "and on their own business, their reception would have been such as Senecas had a right to expect. But that, when they interfered in the disputes of the United States and accompanied their Commissioners, they forfeited all claims to such a reception," adding, "that the event to which I had alluded, would warn them hereafter to confine themselves to their own affairs; and if they went among other Indian Nations, not go in bad company." I regret that, among my papers, there are no copies of this and several other Indian Speeches.

After ten or twelve days had elapsed, Colonel Wadsworth became unwell, and very impatient of further delay, and insisted on the business being brought to a close. At this time, I became informed that some white men, who spoke a little Indian, and whose offers to be employed by me I had rejected, had persuaded the Indians that, by rejecting my offers, I could be brought to any terms which they might propose; and that they intended, on the next day, to offer me *one Township* on the Pennsylvania line, at one dollar per acre!

I endeavored to convince Colonel Wadsworth that further delay would be indispensable to counteract the impressions that had been made on the Indians. He contended that a prompt and indignant refusal of their offer would bring them to my terms. Mr. Bayard had received the same impression from Colonel Wadsworth; and the latter having declared that he would go home unless I made the experiment, and Mr. Bayard having agreed to assume towards his principals, (who alone were interested in the result) the responsibility in the event of its failure, I most reluctantly consented to make it.

Accordingly, at the next meeting, Red Jacket rose and informed me that the Senecas had come to the determination to sell only one Township, or six square miles, to be located on the Pennsylvania line, and that for this tract, they would require a payment of one dollar per acre; that, after purchasing it, I would make a Town of it, and sell it for six dollars per acre; and that the difference between the purchase-money and that received from sales, would more than repay all the expenses of the Treaty.

I immediately arose, and told them that their proposal did not deserve a moment's consideration; that it was inadmissible; and that, if they had no more reasonable offer to make, the sooner our conferences terminated the better, so that we might all go home.

Red Jacket immediately sprang up and said— "We have now reached the point to which I wanted to bring you. You told us, when we first

\* Among the papers in *The O'Reilly Manuscripts*, are the Instructions of Robert Morris to his Attorneys, Thomas Morris and Charles Williamson, for the conduct of the Treaty, and, apparently, all the original papers connected with the Treaty of the Big Tree—Geneseo. H. B. D.

† These "rough memorandums of the doings at this Treaty," at the Big Tree, occupying forty-eight pages, are among *The O'Reilly Manuscripts*, in the New York Society's Library. H. B. D.

‡ "No. 4," forms one of the papers referred to in the last Note, as "rough memorandums." It covers upwards of five pages of foolscap. H. B. D.

§ "No. 5," of the papers, is a Speech of Corn-planter; but there is a Speech, unnumbered and next in order, which is probably the paper referred to in the text. H. B. D.



"met, that we were free, either to sell or retain our lands; and that our refusal to sell would not disturb the friendship that has existed between us. I now tell you that we will not part with them. Here is my hand" stretching it out to me; and after I had taken it, he added, "I now cover up this Council-fire."

After this, the whooping and yelling of the Indians was such that a person less accustomed to them, would have imagined that they intended to tomahawk us all. One of their drunken Warriors, in a most violent and abusive speech, asked me how I dared to come among them to cheat them out of their lands.

This result was galling beyond measure to Mr. Bayard, on account of the disappointment it would occasion to his principals. He bitterly lamented that he had urged me to take this step. I then told him that I thought it possible to bring on the business anew; that I would make the attempt, provided both he and Colonel Wadsworth would engage not to interfere with me, by advice or otherwise. This he readily promised, both on his own and the Colonel's behalf. He begged me to make the effort, although, as he said, he could not anticipate a favorable result from it.

The following day, Farmer's Brother called on me, and expressed a hope that the failure of the Treaty, would not diminish the friendship that had so long subsisted between his Nation and myself. I told him that I had no right to complain of their not selling their lands; but, that I had a right to complain of their behavior towards me, at our last meeting; that they had permitted one of their drunken Warriors to insult me; and that the rest of them joined in the yelling and whooping in such a manner as to show their approbation of this insult; that I had not deserved such treatment from them; that, for several years, I had never refused them either food or as much liquor as was good for them, when they came to Canandaigua; that my father, when any of their Chiefs were in Philadelphia, had been kind to them; and that, during this Treaty, they had all been well fed and supplied with liquor. He replied that all this was true; that he was sorry that we should part with any cause for dissatisfaction on my mind. He also regretted that the Council-fire had been covered up, as there would be no opportunity for us to meet again and smooth over and heal these difficulties.

I told him, that he was mistaken—that the Council-fire was not extinguished; and I complained of it as another grievance, that Red Jacket had declared the Council-fire to be covered up, when, according to their own usages, he who lit the Council-fire had alone the right to cover it up; that the council-fire had been kindled by me; and as I had not covered it up, it was still burning.

After a few moments reflection, he said that

was true; that it had not occurred to him before; and that he was glad it was so, as we might meet now and smooth over all our difficulties and causes for discontent.

It was accordingly agreed upon between us, that we should again meet in Council; but I told him that it must be postponed for a few days, during which I should be occupied in examining the Accounts and paying for the provisions which had been consumed by them, collecting the cattle not slaughtered, &c.

The Indians are very tenacious of a strict adherence to those usages and customs. According to their usages, their Sachems have a right to transact all the business of the Nation, whether it relates to their lands or any other of their concerns. But when it relates to their lands, and they are dissatisfied with the management of the Sachems, the *women and Warriors* have a right to divest them of this power, and take it into their own hands—the maxim among them being, that the lands belong to the Warriors, because they form the strength of the Nation, and to the *women*, as the mothers of the Warriors. There are, therefore, in every town, head or chief women, who, when in Council, select some Warrior to speak for them.

Apprehensive that it would be difficult to induce the Sachems to retrace their steps and accede to any arrangement widely different from the proposal they had made, I determined to try whether a negotiation with the *women and Warriors* would not be attended with a better result. I therefore caused all the chief women, with some of the Warriors, to meet me. I then addressed them, and informed them of the offers that had been made to their Sachems. I told them that the money that would proceed from the sale of their lands, would relieve the women from all the hardships that they then endured; that now they had to till the earth and provide by their labor, food for themselves and their children; that, when those children were without clothing and shivering with cold, they alone witnessed their sufferings; that their Sachems could always supply their own wants; that they fed on the game they killed, and procure clothing for themselves, by exchanging the skins of the animals they had killed for such clothing; that therefore the Sachems were indifferent about exchanging for their lands, money enough every year to lessen the labor of the women and enable them to procure for themselves and their children the food and clothing so necessary for their comfort. I finished by telling them that I had brought a number of presents from Philadelphia, which I had intended to have given to them *only* in the event of a sale of their lands; but, as I had no cause of complaint against the women, I could cause their portion of those presents to be distributed among them.



For some days, the chief women and Warriors might be seen scattered about in little knots; after which, I received a message, informing me that the women and Warriors would meet me in Council, and negotiate with me.

You will find among the Speeches, in the memorandums before alluded to, one made by a War-chief called Little Beard. This was the Chief who made a prisoner of Lieutenant Boyd, an officer in General Sullivan's Army, at the time of the invasion of the Genesee Country, when Boyd was captured. Boyd was carried across the Genesee-river to Beard's Town, of which Little Beard was the Chief, and was there tortured by him.\* I must refer you to the Speeches of Little Billy, a War-chief, to that of a Cayuga Chief, to Colonel Wadsworth's explanation, and, finally, to Cornplanter's Speech, for the discussions while treating with the women and Warriors,—from whom the purchase was eventually made.

Here it may be proper to notice a difficulty which occurred during the negotiations that have been described.

The instructions of the President of the United States were, that the purchase-money to be paid to the Indians should be invested in the stock of the Bank of the United States, in the name of the President and his successors in office, as their Trustee. As no Indian can count over one hundred, the first difficulty was to make them understand, how much one hundred thousand dollars was. The second was, to account to them for the irregularity of their annual payments. To obviate the first, it became necessary to compute the number of kegs of a given size that one hundred thousand dollars would fill, and the number of horses that would be required to draw that sum in specie. As to a Bank, and the uncertainty of the dividends on its stock, they could not be made to comprehend any thing about it. Their only conjecture in relation to it was, that the Bank was a large place in Philadelphia, where a large sum of money was planted, and that some years it would produce a more abundant crop than in others; and long after the sale of their lands, on my return to Canandaigua from New York or Philadelphia, they would inquire of me what kind of crop they might expect in that year.

After the terms of the Treaty had been agreed upon, the next difficulty, and it was not a small one, was to restrict them as to the extent of their Reservations. I had agreed to give them one hundred thousand dollars for the whole of their lands, and to make no deduction from that sum, if they would content themselves with moderate Reservations; but insisting on a proportionate reduction from that sum, if their Reservations were

large. The first discussions were as to the mode of fixing those Reservations. The Indians wanted them to be by natural boundaries, such as the course of streams, &c. To this I objected, knowing their perfect acquaintance and our ignorance of the quantity of land that such courses would embrace. For the sake of certainty, I insisted on, and with great difficulty got them to consent to, square miles. These being marked out, on a map of their country, they could form an opinion of the quantity of land left to them. When we first met to allot to each of their villages, its proportionate part of the two hundred thousand acres retained by them, the utmost jealousy appeared to exist among the different Chiefs, as to the portion that should be annexed to the place of his residence.

The importance of a Chief and his influence with his Nation are, in a great measure proportionate to the number of his followers; and that number is either increased or diminished by extent of the land annexed to the Chief's residence. Hence the struggle on the part of every Sachem and chief Warrior, both to increase his own bounds and to lessen those of a rival Chief. This contest was more violent between Red Jacket and Cornplanter than any of the others—the first wanting the principal Reservation to be at Buffalo-creek, and the second at his residence, at the Alleghany. I found it impossible to come to any arrangement on this subject, when more than a couple of the same tribe were together; and I therefore required that each of them should alternately send to me one or two Chiefs, with whom the arrangements were finally made.

You will perceive, among the Memorandums that were kept during the Treaty, the very large deductions they were desirous of making from the country which they had agreed to sell—Red Jacket claiming, for Buffalo alone, near one fourth of it. In this they would have persisted, had it not been for the apprehension of a proportionate reduction of the money to be paid to them.

After all these matters had been adjusted to the satisfaction of all parties, a young Indian, about twenty-four years of age, called Young King, who before had not attended the Treaty, made his appearance. He was, by the female line, a lineal descendant of Old Smoke, whose memory is revered as the greatest man that ever had ruled over the Six Nations. During his life, his power was unbounded. Young King was a heavy, dull, unambitious, but honest man. He seldom meddled with the business of the Nation; but when he did so, the influence which he derived from his birth was great. On the arrival of Young King, all further business was suspended, until that which had been done was explained to him. After this explanation had been made, he expressed his disapprobation at the

\* Vide O'Rielly's book about *Revolutionary Warfare in Western New York*, for details of Sullivan's Expedition—in New York Historical Library. H. O'R.

course that had been pursued. Farmer's Brother and other Chiefs then informed me that the Treaty could not be completed contrary to the wishes of Young King; that, however unreasonable it might appear to be that one man should defeat the will of a whole Nation, it was a power which he derived from his birth, and which he could not be deprived of. Young King, at last, though not reconciled to the parting with their lands, acquiesced, saying that he would no longer oppose the will of the Nation.

The night previous to the signing the Treaty, Red Jacket came to me privately, and told me that he would not sign the Treaty in the Council-house, when the other Chiefs did so, because he had pretended to them that he was opposed to it; but that, after its execution by the others, he would come to me privately, and have his name affixed to it. He added, that it would not do for the Treaty to go to Philadelphia without his name, as General Washington, when he examined it and found his signature wanting, might imagine that he had been degraded, and had lost his rank and influence among the Senecas. He desired, therefore, that a vacant place might be left on the parchment, near the top of the instrument, which he would, privately, come and have filled up with his name, and which he accordingly did.\*

In 1791, the County of Ontario, [which then included all Western New York,] although not entitled to it from its population, became, by a Law of the State, authorized to elect a member of Assembly. It was not known in Canandaigua, Geneva, nor any the settlements in the County, excepting a small one in the southern part of it, that such a Law had passed. Colonel Eleazer Lindley, who, with some of his relatives, had established themselves near the Tioga-river, had accidentally heard of its existence; and on the day of the Election, he assembled them together, and got them to vote for him. These votes were never canvassed, but were carried to New York by Lindley himself, when the Legislature met. Notwithstanding this irregularity, he was admitted to his seat in the Assembly, on the principle that every County entitled to a Representative ought to be represented. The following year, General Israel Chapin became its Representative. In 1796, Ontario, for the first time, became divided, a portion of the southern part of it having been detached from it, and erected into a separate County by the name of Steuben.

I had not been in the western part of our State for thirty-two years, until last August, [1841.]

\* The Treaty at Big Tree, the site of the present town of Genesee, is referred to by Colonel Stone, in his *Life and Times of Red Jacket*, 147-163; but the original papers, in *The O'Reilly Manuscripts*, alone tell the story of that event, in all its fullness.—H. B. D.

when I paid a visit to my friend Mr Groig, at Canandaigua. I am at a loss to say whether my surprise or my delight was the greatest, at the improvements that I have found in every part of it, since I had seen it.

I was particularly struck with the city of Rochester. In June, 1797, Louis Philip, the present King of the French, and his two brothers, the Duke de Montpensier and Count Beaujolais, were my guests at Canandaigua. Being desirous of showing them the Falls of the Genesee-river, we rode together to where Rochester now is. There had not, at that time, a tree been cut down, nor was there a hut of any kind. The nearest habitation was at the house of a farmer named Perrin, where, after having viewed the Falls, we dined, on our return to Canandaigua.

Notwithstanding all that I had heard of the progress of Rochester, it was difficult for me to realize that a place that I had last seen, even at that distance of time, an uninhabited wilderness, should now be an active, busy city, containing elegant and costly buildings, and with a population, as I was informed there, of between twenty-five and thirty thousand inhabitants.

#### [NOTE BY MR. O'RIELLY.]

—Here ends the interesting narrative of the Personal Recollections of Thomas Morris. A few explanatory words may be added.

By the Treaty with the Senecas at Genesee, in September, 1797, consummated under the management of the Author of the foregoing Narrative, their remaining claims on the lands of Western New York, excepting in the "Reservations," below named, were sold directly to Robert Morris. The first land-sale, in 1787, was made to Phelps & Gorham, who soon after transferred their right to Morris. Morris had bound himself to extinguish the whole Indian title between Seneca Lake and the Niagara frontier, as a consideration of his sale of the lands to the Holland Company, Sir William Pulteney, and others. The whole body of land within those boundaries is about six millions of acres; and of this vast tract, the "Reservations" of the Senecas were recognized in the Genesee Treaty as follows:

1. Canawagus Reservation, two square miles, lying on the West bank of the Genesee-river, near Avon.
2. and 3. Little-Beard and Big-Tree Reservations, containing together four square miles, lying on the West bank of Genesee-river, opposite Genesee.
4. Squawkie-Hill Reservation, two miles square, on the bank of Genesee-river, North of Mount Morris.
5. Gardow Reservation, containing about twenty-eight square miles, lying on both sides of Genesee-river, a couple of miles South of Mount Morris village, in the town of Mount Morris.
6. Canaden Reservation, sixteen square miles, lying on both sides of Genesee-river, in Allegany-county.
7. Oil-Spring Reservation, one square mile, on the line between Allegany and Cattaraugus Counties.
8. Alleghany Reservation, forty-two square miles, lying on both sides of the Alleghany-river, and extending from the Pennsylvania line, north-eastwardly, about twenty-five miles.
9. Cattaraugus Reservation, forty-two square miles, lying on both sides and near the mouth of Cattaraugus-creek, on Lake Erie.
10. Buffalo Reservation, one hundred and thirty square miles, on both sides of Buffalo-creek, and extending about seven miles wide, eastward from Lake Erie.
11. Tonawanda Reservation, seventy square miles, on both sides of the Tonawanda-creek, being about twenty-five miles from its mouth, and extending eastwardly about seven miles wide.

||| There were two Copnam's Stone, and one named Gilbert, at a house with me in 1827-1828, one of whom was the first "white child born at Rochester." Saw bones 100 years old, and then younger, were about very age day within a year rather any.



12. Tuscarora Reservation, one square mile, three miles East of Lewiston, on the Mountain Ridge.

—Such were the "Reservations," such the narrowed limits within which the Senecas, the most formidable tribe of Iroquois or Six Nations, were circumscribed, by the sale of their remaining territory in Western New York to Robert Morris. Their first sale, as before alluded to, was made to Phelps & Gorham, in 1787; but the benefits of it chiefly accrued to Robert Morris, as he bought out the rights of those pioneer speculators; and thus, having also bought the pre-emptive right above-mentioned from Massachusetts, Morris was able to fulfil his engagements by giving a clear title to the Holland Company and to Sir William Pulteney, for nearly all the vast tract between the Seneca Lake and the western boundary of the State of New York—Thomas Morris, the author of the foregoing narrative, having been the chief agent of his father in effecting these concluding arrangements with the Indians.

Nearly contemporaneously with the commencement of settlements by Phelps & Gorham, Robert Morris, and others, between Seneca Lake and the Niagara frontier, on lands bought from the Seneca Tribe, the State of New York caused certain lands eastward of Seneca Lake, (the Indian title to which lands it had extinguished by Treaty with the Cayugas, Oneidas, Onondagas, Tuscaroras, and Mohawks, between 1785 and 1789,) to be surveyed into suitable tracts for paying the bounties due to its soldiers in the Revolutionary War. This tract is known as "the great Military Tract," and consisted of about seventeen hundred thousand acres, exclusive of the "Reservations" of the tribes from whom it had been purchased by the State. This tract, one of the finest regions in the world, now forms the Counties of Onondaga, Cortlandt, Tompkins, Cayuga, and Seneca, and parts of Oswego, Wayne, and some other Counties. Although this "Military Tract" will be remembered as a monument of the liberality with which the State sought to repay the services of the soldiers it enlisted as its quota for the Revolutionary Army, it is a saddening thought that little benefit accrued from it to many of those soldiers or their families, as the unsettled condition of things, for several years after the Revolution, caused many holders of Patents for these bounty lands to sacrifice them at rates varying from eight to thirty dollars for six hundred acres! that being the amount of land assigned to each private soldier—officers getting larger grants proportioned to their rank, up to the Major-generals, who got Patents for six thousand six hundred acres. Thirty dollars for six hundred acres was the highest price quoted in 1793, ten years after the Treaty which formally closed the Revolutionary War! After the surrender of the forts of Oswego, Niagara, etc., held by the British till after Jay's Treaty, in 1796, and after the Treaty between Morris and the Senecas concerning the ownership of lands West of Seneca Lake, the price of land in the "Military Tract," eastward of that Lake, rose considerably, three dollars per acre being the current price in the year 1800.

An outline of the subsequent intercourse with the "Six Nations," or the relics thereof, between 1797 and 1838, as also of all preceding Treaties between them and the State and General Governments, may be found in a book about *Settlement in the West, or Sketches of Rochester and Western New York*, and also in the Collections of papers given by me to the Historical Society. In the latter year, 1838, some arrangements with the Senecas, in a "Treaty" at Buffalo, cancelled their title to the "Reservation" near that city—the consideration being partly in money invested for their benefit and partly in lands beyond the Mississippi, to which Western lands immigrated most of the relics of the Senecas and other Iroquois tribes, who had, during the forty years since the Treaty of Genesee (in 1797) considered the "Buffalo Reservation" as the principal refuge of their shattered Confederacy.

And thus faded away the power of the Iroquois tribes, or "Six Nations," in the State of New York.\*

\* As this page is passing to the printer's hands, it is announced that the Iroquois tribes, or Six Nations, have just sold to the United States Government, the lands in Kansas which they took in 1838, in part payment for the relinquishment of lands in the State of New York. The Council for this purpose was held at the Cattaraugus Reservation in June, Walter R. Irwin attending as Commissioner on behalf of the Government. "By the terms of the Treaty," says

But the story should not be closed without reference to the fate of the other "contracting party."

The reverses which befel Robert Morris, soon after his purchase and sale of the millions of acres in Western New York, form a strong contrast to the triumphs of his commercial skill and financial ability, before and during the Revolutionary War, and for a number of years thereafter.

Intelligent people generally know that no man of his time bore a nobler character as a merchant and a patriot. With many ships on the ocean, with his notes-of-hand forming a currency, with his drafts honored everywhere among capitalists in the United States and in some of the principal European cities—his cash and credit largely contributed to clothing, feeding and paying the Revolutionary Army when the distress among the troops, on several occasions, incapacitated them for effective service, and when the impoverished public treasury returned blank answers to the requisitions of Washington. In these trying ordeals Robert Morris occupied a position that should endear his memory to the American people through all time: and in proportion to the respect for his character must be the general regret that his latter days were spent almost in penury. Within the brief period of three years after he extinguished the Indian claims in Western New York, and thus perfected the title to the millions of acres he had sold to the Holland Company, Sir William Pulteney and others—so sudden was the reverse with him—he was necessitated to conclude a letter to a correspondent with the following remark, under date of Philadelphia, Dec. 11, 1809:—"If you should find it necessary to write again, be good enough to pay the postage of your letters, for I have not a cent to spare from the means of temporary subsistence."

—*Sic transit gloria mundi.*

HENRY O'REILLY.

NEW YORK, May, 1869.

#### SUPPLEMENT.

##### I. INSTRUCTIONS TO A. HOOPS.

(From *The O'Reilly Manuscripts*—New York Historical Society's Library.)

*Instructions for Mr. Adam Hoops, respecting the Survey of Lands in the Genesee Country, purchased by Robt. Morris of Messrs. Gorham & Phelps.*

SIR:—When I first spoke to you respecting the Re-survey of the Lands which I had purchased of Messrs. Gorham & Phelps, I alone was interested in having it faithfully done; and the high opinion I entertain of your integrity, induced that preference which I have given to your services on this occasion. But, since that time, my Attorney, Mr. Franklin, has made *Sale in Europe of the whole of these Lands*; and it is of Importance to the purchasers that this Re-survey should be faithfully & Accurately made; and it is important to me as a Man of Honor to have every thing faithfully performed which Mr. Franklin has agreed or promised on my behalf. Relying, therefore, on your exertions, care & Accuracy, I deliver you herewith the Deed of Conveyance from Gorham & Phelps to me, and Annexed thereto is a Map of the Country according to the Surveya made; but I have been informed that the Surveyors they employed were not all so Capable as they ought to have been, and that one of them, who run the Eastern boundary line, was unfaithful. These are sufficient reasons for making a Re-survey. Mr. Gorham did propose that the Eastern Boundary Line, as already run should stand, and that the State of New York would agree thereto. I was inclined to give my Consent, also, before I knew of the Sale made by Mr. Franklin; but that Sale puts it out of my power to Consent, for the purchasers are entitled to all the

the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, "the title of the Indians to the lands in Kansas is extinguished, the Government agreeing, in consideration, to pay the sum of three hundred and twenty dollars for each and every person entitled to participate in the beneficial provisions of the Treaty of the fifteenth of January, 1838 (about four thousand in number)—the sum to be invested in United States bonds, to be held in trust by the Secretary of the Interior, the interest thereon to be paid annually to the members of the several tribes." H. O'R.



Land which I bought, and of Course to all that is Contained within the Boundary lines as described in the Deed of Conveyance, except what is therein excepted, together with another exception arising from a Covenant between Messrs. Gorham & Phelps and me, dated the 11th of Decr 1790, of which you have a Copy herewith—in Consequence whereof Mr. Daniel Ross came forward & claimed his Contract for Township No. 5, in the first Range, which of course I have agreed to Confirm to him; but none of the others having put in their claims within the time allowed for their doing so, I cannot now confirm the Contracts they had made with Messrs. Gorham & Phelps. Consequently, those Townships and parts of Townships, as well as all others not excepted in the Deed of Conveyance, must be Surveyed, to the use of those who purchased under me.

It is therefore incumbent on you who have undertaken this business, to Ascertain truly & accurately the several Boundary Lines, agreeable to the Deed of Conveyance, and then the Township Lines; but these last are only of Importance to my purchasers so far as my purchase goes, for as to the Townships which Messrs. Gorham & Phelps had Sold previously, it is of no Consequence to us whether the lines are truly run or not; but as Mr. Phelps will be on the Spot, you will do well to advise him to have the whole Tract Resurveyed, which may prevent Law suits Amoogst his purchasers or their Assigns hereafter. If he agrees to this, the business will be very plain & easy; for, after fixing the boundary Lines, you will have only to run the dividing lines of the Townships agreeable to what is laid down on Gorham & Phelps's Map or Survey as to the distance between each line; but this I believe will leave a surplus quantity on the Western Boundary for my purchasers, because I am informed that the Eastern Boundary line, as now run, instead of being a Meridian line as it ought, Supposing it to begin from the South, on the Pennsylvania Northern Boundary, it Trends in to the Westward as it proceeds to Lake Ontario, so as to leave out a Triangle supposed to Contain about Thirty Thousand Acres, which will be included in my purchase by running a True Meridian from the 82 Mile Stone on the Pennsylvania Boundary; and if Mr. Phelps does not choose to have the lines of his Townships accurately Run, or if the present possessors of those Townships should object, then the said Triangle will remain for my purchasers over & above their Townships.

In the Course of these Surveys, the following particulars are required by my purchasers, and I make it a point of Honor to satisfy them as far as possible. Hitherto I have given to them such information as I received and believed to myself, and it is my only desire to Convey Truth to them; therefore, keeping this in mind, you will make a Report Truly descriptive of the Country, and particularly describing—

1. The general Face of the Country in each Township;
2. The Navigable Rivers, and also the Rivulets in each Township;
3. The different Mill-Seats in each Township;
4. The proportion of level, arable ground & Soil of ditto;
5. The proportion of Hilly Country, the Soil & situation in ditto;
6. The prevailing Timber in each Township;
7. The State of Underwood, Meadow & Grass Ground in do;
8. The Fisheries, and also the Game in do;
9. The Fruits, & Herbage in do;
10. The distance of each Township from Mills already Erected;
11. The distance by Water & by Land, where there is no River Navigation, to the County Town;
12. The general State of the surrounding Settlements;

If in addition to this, you can point out the *Chosen Spot*, in each Township it will be a very Acceptable Service to the proprietors, who wish to know such Tracts or parts of Townships as possess the peculiar advantages of Water Navigation to the Great Rivers—good Soil, good Mill Seats—good pasture for Cattle, Free from Underwood, Abundance of Sugar Maple, Oak, Hickory, & other Timber of Superiour Quality. &c. &c.

In short, they wish to receive a very Accurate plan, with as much information as possible relative to the points Stated, and also relative to the Swamps and Mountains or high Grounds, which they would wish to have accurately laid down, together, with the Roads that are made & making, and the Number of Persons now settled on each Township. By this last Article they must mean the Number of Inhabitants settled on the Townships sold before my purchase, because they must know that none can be settled on those

which I bought, as no Sales thereof have been made but to themselves.

I am sensible that more is asked of you than the Common Duties of a Surveyor require you to perform. The Expense of the Survey is to be mine; but I am inclined to believe that, if you faithfully perform all that they have required, they will be induced to make you an Adequate Compensation. If, however, they do not, I will satisfy you for any extra Trouble you may have.

It will be necessary that you ascertain the quantity of Acres of Land in each Township distinct from the Water Acres, as they refuse to pay for the latter; and I had almost forgot to mention that Messrs. Gorham & Phelps had made an engagement with the Rev. Saml Kirkland for Two Thousand Acres in the Township No. 7, in the seventh range. This you may deduct out of that Township. You have herewith a Copy of Mr. Phelps's letter on this subject, & I remember what he mentions of this agreement, but he does not say whether his 2000 Acres were located or not. If they were not, Mr. Kirkland must take rough & smooth together, & not expect to pick the best Land of the Tract.

I have had the Deed of Conveyance from Messrs. Gorham & Phelps to me Recorded in the Secretary's Office at New York, but I think it ought also to be Upon Record in Ontario County. Young Mr. Gorham is the Recording Officer of that County; you will therefore have it Recorded in his office, & pay him the Fees taking his Receipt for the Deed when left with him Containing a promise to Record & Return the said Deed to you. You may take a Correct Copy of the Deed for your use in the Survey & send me the original by My Sons when they return or any other very safe hand or if none such offers in time bring it yourself.

I shall Urge the Mr. Ellicotts to follow you as speedily as possible & I hope one of them will bring with him the Astronomical Instrument making by Mr. Rittenhouse which will enable you to Run the Meridian lines free from the errors occasioned by the Variations of the Compass &c. I am required to make a Return of your Survey & Report, so as to be in London by or before the end of this year, which I hope you will enable me to Comply with, but do not suffer this Circumstance of haste to interfere with Accuracy in the performance of what is required, for I think the latter must be far more important to the Gentlemen than the former. As you want money the Traders & others will supply it for your drafts upon Messrs. Wm. Constable & Co. in New York, or on me here & you may depend that any you draw shall be punctually paid. I am Sir

Your obedt hble Sert

R. M.

[ENDORSED; Phila. June 12, 1791. Instructions of R. Morris to A. Hoops for Surveying the Genesee Country, &c.]

## II. INSTRUCTIONS TO COLONEL SAMUEL OGDEN.

PHILAD'A. Jan'y 20th, 1791.

SAM'L OGDEN ESQ'R.

SIR,

In Consequence of the Articles of Agreement entered into the 21st ulto. by Oliver Phelps & myself in which Nathl. Gorham Esq'r is expected to join of the first part and you of the second part, I think it is proper that you should repair with all reasonable expedition to Boston, where the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts will be most probably to be in Session before, or by, the time you can get thither.

And as Mr. Gorham has not signed the above mentioned Articles of Agreement I deliver herewith to your care & Trust, Two of the said Instruments of Writing being exact Copies of each other except that One of them has been doely executed by Oliver Phelps Esq'r as well as by you & me in pre-ence of Wm. W. Morris & Garrett Cairinger, the other only by you & me in presence of the same Witnesses but by accidental Omissions at the time it was not Signed & Sealed by Mr. Phelps, the intention of delivering these Papers to you is that on your arrival at Boston you may get them executed in presence of Legal Witnesses by Mr. Gorham & the one by Mr. Phelps which he had before omitted. One of these Copies so Executed is to be returned to me, the other is either to remain with you or to be delivered to Messrs. Gorham & Phelps as the case may Require, one Copy being already in their or your possession—

I deliver you also Articles of Agreement bearing date the 1st of last month between Messrs. Nathl. Gorham & Oliver Phelps of one part, & myself of the other, which have been doely executed by Mr Phelps & by me but not by Mr.

Gorham. You will be pleased to get these Articles executed by him in presence of Legal Witnesses and return the same to me when you come back. Conformably to the tenor and intent of these Agreements, you are to Consult with Messrs. Gorham & Phelps as to the best Mode of proceeding so as to secure for them & me on the best terms possible, the Preemption Right of the State of Massachusetts to the Tract of Country lying between the Western Boundary of Messrs. Gorham & Phelps late purchase & Lake Erie bounded on the North by Lake Ontario & on the South by the Boundary Line of the State of Pennsylvania. To Effect this business all your address & good sense must be brought into Action for I am informed that Mr. Jno. Livingston of New York has associated a Company for which He will appear at Boston as the agent to make this purchase. I am likewise informed that another Company of New Yorkers have associated for the same purpose & that Doctor Cragie is gone forward as their Agent. Not knowing who are the Members of these Societies I cannot judge how far they may be formidable or not but the Characters of the two Agents are very different, Mr. Livingston you know better than I do and I trust you can manage him, Mr. Cragie is quiet, sly, sensible & penetrating. He will try to discover your business & Conceal his own, and I suppose the best thing you can do will be to Conceal as long as possible your designs upon this Preemption Right from every Soul but Gorham & Phelps & Mr. Russell, and should it turn out that neither of the above Agents or any other Person or Persons can Succeed in making a purchase of that right, it may be best to keep that part of your Errand Secret altogether letting the said Right fall in to Messrs. Gorham & Phelps upon the Agreements which now exist between them & the State of Massachusetts.

But should either of the above Agents or any other Person or Persons make such Offers as will Induce the Legislature to make Sale of the said Preemption from Messrs. Gorham & Phelps then you will Consult with these last mentioned Gentls and in Conjunction with them fix the Mode of your proceeding whether to bid in your own Name in theirs or in mine, but I am induced to believe that it will be best that you should bid in *your own Name*, declaring that you are Associated with Persons Capable of making good the Engagements you shall enter into.

Messrs. Gorham & Phelps & you must fix upon the highest Sum that they will go to for this purchase & the shortest terms of payment that they will agree to—after which you will Consult also with them the most probable means of succeeding at a lower price & more favourable terms of payment for my Own part I will abide for my share by the terms they fix provided the price does not exceed the Sum & the periods of payment are not Shorter than what I shall mention in a private letter dated a day later than this.

Mr. Phelps when here, said that Mr. Gorham would probably have a reluctance to sign these Agreements because he had inadvertently given a writing to Mr. Jno Livingston purporting that He upon Certain Conditions therein expressed would not oppose the said Livingston in his pursuit of the Preemption Right. I have a very high Opinion of Mr. Gorham's Honor and if He has such Scruples about signing or acting I would take his Word of Honor Sincerely pledged to you, that He will consider himself bound to fulfill the several Articles of Agreement on his part in case the said Right falls into his & Mr. Phelps hands in Consequence of their present existing Agreements with the State or if it falls to us by purchase or by means of any Measures that shall be Concurred by you & Mr. Phelps—and that immediately subsequent to such event He will Execute the said several Agreements. But should He refuse to give such assurance you will then desire Mr. Phelps to Cancel all the Agreements & let each party Act for themselves, my private letter tells you *how to act for me in such case*. Messrs. Gorham & Phelps seem by their letters to think it would be best to quiet Mr. Livingston and to have a Coalition with the New York Company. I have thought of this & determined not to have any thing to do with any body in this business but themselves, therefore our Competitors must outbid us or we them to carry the bargain—I submit some few Observations by way of Memorandum to your Consideration they will refresh your Memory & you can apply them in Conversations where it may be useful to do so.

I am Dr Sir

Your Sincere Friend  
& Ob't h'ble Ser'vt

R. M.

P. S. Mr. Phelps & myself did agree to admit your Brother Isaac to hold one sixtieth part of the preemptive right (if we purchase) on the same terms we get it, he making the proportional payments as they become due excepting the first. This I confirm on my part & so must Mr. Phelps & I expect that Mr. Gorham will not object & therefore draw up the Agreement & sign it on my behalf or I will sign it when you please.

SAML OGDEN Esqr.

P. S. you will ask of Messrs Gorham & Phelps copies of their existing Agreements with the State of Massachusetts.

#### MEMORANDUM FOR MR. OGDEN.

The quantity of Land in the Preemptive Right is Computed at four Million of Acres exclusive of Messrs. Gorham & Phelps late purchase.

#### OBSERVATIONS.

1st The quantity is Computed on boundaries that have not been measured, & it is probable that the quantity of Acres is greatly overrated. Gorham & Phelps have 42 miles from East to West the No. & So. Boundaries being the Same & they have barely two Million of Acres East of the Genesee—from the Genesee to Niagara is said to be 70 miles & the No. & So. boundary being the same as Gorham & Phelps's there cannot be 4 Million of acres unless the Triangular piece on the Borders of Lake Erie, So. West of Niagara makes up for the deficiency of 14 miles from East to West of the whole Tract.

2nd Gorham & Phelps have 12 Miles Square East of the Genesee River & Ebenezer Allan & others have Indian Grants for which some allowance must be given or perhaps sd Grants must be confirmed in whole or in part.

3d. No Allowance in the above Estimation is made for Lakes Rivers & other Waters.

4th. No Allowance for useless Mountains or for Swamps that cannot be drained.—All these observations apply against the quantity being 4 Million of Saleable Acres.

The British are possessed of the Posts at Niagara & their Garrisons are ill disposed to American interests, they will use their interest & influence with the Indians to prevent them from Selling their Rights to these Lands, they are doing so now & they will at all events discourage our Settlements on them.

The Indians one & all Complain of Mr. Livingston & of Mr. Phelps's Negotiations with them and Assert in plain terms that they have been Cheated. They say they will not sell their right to the remaining Lands as these are their Hunting Grounds. They have asked Restitution of those ceded by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix.—They have asked the President of the U. S. if they have not a right to keep their Lands, to which they have been answered in the affirmative. They ask why they may not if they do sell be allowed to make the most of them by selling to whom they please, &c.

A party in this City are encouraging Corn Plander to persevere in these Claims in the Hope that they may hereafter purchase of the Indians particular Tracts on low terms &c. All these & many other Obstacles must be Surmounted by the purchasers of the preemptive Right & the Cost will be a great deal of money, trouble, Travel & be subject to Lies, Malicious Reports and much abuse.

The Necessity of putting it out of the Power of other purchasers of the preemptive Right, to Undersell R Ms. present purchase has influenced him to fix the high limits therefore Colo. Ogden will always keep in Mind that about £50,000 Lawfull is the Sum that ought really to be paid. He will also keep in Mind that the first payments, will be most difficult to accomplish & therefore should be as light & distant as possible & the Annual payments should be divided on as many years as can possibly be obtained so as to make the payment of each year as light as may be.

But Mr. Ogden must also keep in Mind that we must get this bargain if possible & not loose it for a thousand or two thousand Dollars more than the limits.

It is probable that I may be able to pay the Cost of the Preemption Right to the State, Earlier than the Stipulated Periods therefore you must fix for a Disc't. of 6 p'ct, & ann to be allowed upon every Anticipated payment.

#### III.—DEPOSITION OF MR. DEAN.

The Deposition of James Dean of lawful Age testifeth and saith that this Depoent attended a Treaty which was



held by Oliver Phelps Esqr with the Indian Nations at Buffalo Creek; That this deponent officiated at the said Treaty as an Interpreter—That the Senecas as far as this deponent had an opportunity to discover their Sentiments, did unanimously agree to dispose of part of their Country to the above mentioned Oliver Phelps Esquire—That this Deponent altho he does not perfectly recollect the particulars of the Contract made between the said Phelps and Senecas, yet conceives that the said Phelps engaged to pay to the said Senecas the Sum of 5000 dollars the first year after the date of the said Contract, and five hundred Dollars  $\frac{1}{2}$  year for ever—That as far as this deponent was concerned in negotiating said Contract he conceives that every matter and thing respecting the same was fully and clearly explained to the said Senecas. And that the Writings respecting the said Contract were deposited in the hands of Colo. John Butler—And further this Deponent saith not.

JAMES DEAN.

WHITES TOWN, NOV. 25th, 1790.

MONTGOMERY, SS. NOV. 25, 1790. Personally appeared James Dean, Signer to the foregoing Deposition and after being duly examined & cautioned to testify the truth the whole truth & nothing but the truth, made Solemn Oath that the foregoing Deposition by him subscribed was the truth, the whole truth & nothing but the truth.

Before me, EPHRAIM BLACKMER  
Justice of Peace.

#### IV.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING, HELD AT CANANDAIGUA, NOVEMBER 8, 1793.

At a Meeting held at the Town of Canandaigua, in the County of Ontario and State of New York, on Friday, the eighth of November, 1793, immediately after the adjournment of the Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the peace, at which all the Judges and assistant Justices, & a large majority of the Justices of the Peace, together with all the inhabitants conveyed from different parts of the County on that occasion, were present. The Hon. Timothy Hosmer, Esq, first Judge of the County, in the chair—Nathaniel Gorham, Clerk—the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

WHEREAS, certain restless and turbulent characters from the Eastern District of this State, evilly disposed towards the welfare of this County, have for some time past endeavored to stir up sedition among the peaceable Inhabitants thereof and excite them to acts both treasonable and improper:

AND WHEREAS, they have proposed to many Individuals in the County, that the County of Ontario, in conjunction with that of Otsego, and part of Tioga and Herkimer, should immediately shake off all dependance from the State of New York and support their Independence by force of Arms, in case the State should be unwilling to ratify and confirm the same:

AND WHEREAS the passions of the dishonest and disorderly, of the ambitious and of the timid, have been flattered by the expectation of having Laws passed for the screening Individuals from the payment of their just debts for six years, and they have been falsely told that all the Indian Lands, as well those belonging to the State of New York as those which the said State together with Massachusetts have guaranteed to individuals, should become a prey to the rapacity of their hungry followers, and have engaged to support these measures by a number of armed troops collected from Vermont and elsewhere, in case of opposition:

AND WHEREAS, also, the said persons have called a Meeting of the inhabitants of this County, to be convened at Geneva, in the town of Seneca, on the twenty-fifth of the present month, which meeting is to be attended by said persons, and sundry others not inhabitants of this County:

THEREFORE, RESOLVED, that the Inhabitants of this County of Ontario, sensible of the many advantages that they have derived from their connection with one of the most respectable States in the Union, and desirous of the continuation of the same advantages, highly resent the ill-timed and improper attempt made by the characters above alluded to, to disturb their peace and harmony; that they conceive their measures are pregnant with danger, and such as, if carried into effect, would introduce into our infant Country, all the complicated evils which anarchy and confusion can create:

RESOLVED, that this meeting highly resent the Threats made use of by said persons, and conceive that, under the pro-

tection of the State of New York, they have nothing to fear from any banditti they can collect for the purpose of forcing them into measures which they heartily disapprove of.

RESOLVED, that this meeting, fully impressed with the impossibility of the proposed State's defraying the necessary expenses of the most moderate government that can be devised, and aware of the impolicy as well as the injustice of raising by enormous taxes on uncultivated lands, such a revenue, or of devoting to those expenses property purchased under the faith of the States of New York and Massachusetts, and of drawing into our flourishing County, people that such iniquitous measures would attract, recommend to the persons above alluded to, to persevere some more laudable mode of gratifying their ambition, and to desist altogether from proceedings [ ] to interest and welfare:

RESOLVED, also, that it is the opinion of this meeting that the proposed meeting at Geneva, ought not to be attended as it was called by strangers to the County; and that we will consider as inimical to the County, such persons belonging to it, who at said meeting shall consent to any of the proposals before reprobated.

RESOLVED, that the meeting expect after having made this public declaration of their situation, that those intrusted with the administration of the State, will take the most vigorous measures to suppress any of the attempts made to destroy the peace and quiet of this County.

RESOLVED, that the Chairman of this Meeting, together with the Clerk thereof, be requested to sign the above Resolutions and cause them to be printed in the different newspapers printed in this State.

By order of the Meeting

TIMOTHY HOSMER, Chairman.  
NATH. GORHAM, JUNR., Clerk.

#### V.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES. (CONTINUED.)

##### 155.—GOVERNOR WENTWORTH TO REV. ELEAZER WHEELOCK.\*

PORTSMOUTH, 28<sup>th</sup> October 1774.

MY DEAR AND REVEREND FRIEND,

The public affairs, which have hitherto so engaged me as to prevent my writing you lately, now leave me only an hurried moment, to present my best respects to you—The Charter of incorporation for Llandaff will be completed before next Post—Poor Mr Jaffrey's illness has delay'd it—In a letter from Paul Wentworth Esq. He says, "The Instruments for Dartmouth College are making under the inspection of Dr. Solander & Dr. Irvine, by Ramsay who is incomparably the best hand in Europe, that it would be a crime in such a case not to prefer him, to the persons you mention. I have mentioned'd the Subscription to Lord D—— who has promised me his support. These things ship'd in the Fall-ships or in the spring early, with something of my own, towards a library."

I think we may rely on having the most perfect apparatus, and a liberal addition to Col<sup>o</sup> Phillips generous donation

I shall not cease to Study the interest of D Coll: as the best service to the Province; altho' a few Men (in this days paper) have against their consciences, publish'd me an enemy to the

\* From the original in the Wheelock Papers, belonging to Professor Henry B. Smith, of New York City.



Country—merely to gain popular applause. They know both my Heart & Purse has been open for this Province, for seven years past, and both been freely drawn; I defy the Comm<sup>ee</sup> of ways & means, to prove one Guinea among the whole given for the public—My poor old Uncle 78 years old—impair'd by Fits, and over a better Heart than Head, which was devoted to penurious pursuits, has been prevail'd on to figure away as a Signer to this business, & thereby to distinguish the extended & impair'd period of of an unremark'd Life, with an act of indiscretion—For which I pity him and them, without an emotion of resentment.

The Carpenters of Boston are actually at work on the Barracks—87 are arriv'd & at work from New York—The Sons of liberty at Boston approve our Men being there, All this is notoriously fact? Why then should our Comm<sup>ee</sup> prevent a few poor Men out of the woods, picking up forty or fifty dollars each, to support their families this winter, and pay their debts to this Comm<sup>ee</sup> and others, who exact to the last farthing, & withhold even the hand of Charity, when one of these Men was lately reduc'd, by Fire? Is it not better to work lawfully with others their brethren of Boston, than to be put into Goal & become Slaves to this Committee? Can a Carpenter see his wife & babes starving, and refuse employ to feed them—because Humhyn Wentworth & Co. say it is not patriotic? and at the same time woud & do see many rot in Goal, without granting one farthing of their superflutys, to free the Prisoner?

In politics as in Divinity—may we not say—not ev'ry one that sayeth Lord, Lord:

My opinion is—That peace & harmony will again resume their Reign in America, and time rectify the present misfortunes. Our difficultys in this place are totally bro't about by Livius party who avail themselves of the general disquietudes that prevail in America—That Genl can't remain very long in any capacity to sow discord; and my Heart ever happy in forgetting enmity, will lead to heal all divisions—If not, it is not less determin'd, than those who put snow on their tongues.

Whenever anything arrives for the Coll: I will take care you shall be notify'd, and proper attention had to their safety.

May the best of Heaven's blessings here & hereafter, attend you and yours, is ever the prayer of my dear Sir,

your affec<sup>t</sup> friend

J. WENTWORTH.

P.S. I have given to Dr. Pomeroy my good friend one or two Rights of land—in Millstield or Errol or both—I wish more was in my power. Rev<sup>d</sup> Doctor WHEELOCK.

## VI.—SELECTIONS FROM THE VAUGHAN PAPERS.

CONTRIBUTED BY F. J. DREER, ESQ., OF PHILA.

### 1.—Letter from Robert Fulton.

NEW YORK, May 8th, 1812.

MR. VAUGHAN.

DEAR SIR:

There is a Mr. Daniel French, one of us poor mechanics in Phila. occupied in building a Steam ferry-boat. I do not know where he lives or works, but Mr. Oliver Evans or his people can inform the person you will be so good as to send to enquire. Having been bail for the appearance of Mr. French to answer a debt of 340 dollars, he must be here on Wednesday next, or I shall have to pay the money. Will you have the goodness to send a porter to Oliver Evanses furnace to Enquire for French, then to find French and deliver to him the inclosed letter. If this could be done on Sunday or Saturday French could come on the Steam Boat on Monday. He is I suspect very poor, and perhaps may not have money to pay his expences to this city. If the porter can find out his situation, I mean pecuniary, and need require it for his Journey, please to let him have 8 dollars on my account. How do you proceed with the Church?

Yours with esteem & respect,

ROB<sup>t</sup> FULTON.

### 2.—Letters from General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

CHARLESTON, Sep<sup>r</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1804.

DEAR SIR

Your favour of the 8th ultimo, with the Books by the sloop *Sincerity*, amounting to \$54.75, I received safe, and am much obliged to you for them. In this enclosure I send a check on the National Bank in your favour for \$100 dollars, that you may be in Cash on my account, as well as to pay for my Boat, (which I hope will be ready to be sent here by the time you receive this) as for such Books as I may request you to take the trouble to procure me. And, first I will be obliged to you to pay for me a years subscription (9 dollars) to the *Gazette* of the United States, the same sum to Relf's Philadelphia *Gazette*, & six dollars to the *Portfolio*, taking duplicate receipts for the same, & transmitting me one. I will also thank you to subscribe for me both to Dr. Barton's and Dr. Cox's Journals. I altogether agree with you that it is much to be wished they could be united. Volney's *Tableau du Climat et du Sol des Etats Unis* were sent to me from Paris as soon as they came out. I shall therefore not want the translation. I see by the papers that the residue of Pinkerton's, & the 2d

volume of Washington's Life has appeared, & I flatter myself you will soon forward them.

On receiving your Letter concerning the worm, which has been supposed to destroy our Pine Trees, I suggested to the Agricultural Society the propriety of appointing a Committee to investigate the causes of that evil, & they have done so. We are very uncertain whether the white worms you allude to, are the cause, or the effect of the death of the Trees, as they are always found between the Bark & Sap of dead Pines, altho' the death may have been occasioned by a storm or the Ax. Some Planters have informed me that this destruction is owing to a small black Bug, & have promised to send me some of them.

No instance has yet been found where the white worm or black Bug, have penetrated beyond the sap into the solid wood, so that the Tree, tho' its vegetation has ceased, remains good for the purposes of building, at least for some time. Mr Tho<sup>s</sup> Rhett Smith is now putting up some buildings with good sound Timber of this kind. The death of the pine Trees will be however of very great detriment to our Plantations, as it throws such a superabundance of timber on our hands at present, that in a few years we shall be without any.

Mr Joseph Manigault has about seven thousand acres of Pine Land on the Sea Coast about 25 miles to the Northward of Charleston, and it is estimated that the Pine Trees on five thousand acres out of the seven thousand are dead. Tho' this is the greatest loss I have heard of, yet it may serve to give you an idea how far this evil may tend, if not prevented.

When our Committee report (which will not be for some months, that they may have time to collect every fact on the subjects in various parts of the country) I will furnish you with the particulars.

The papers will give you an account of the dreadful Hurricane we have experienced. I was in this City. The Slates were stripped off part of my roof; and a Brig, a Schooner, a Sloop, & abundance of small Craft were driven on a Lott in front of my House, where I plant Rye. At my Plantation at Pinckney's Island, in Port Royal Harbour, I hear that my Garden, consisting of about 4 acres, is become a perfect sand bank, and the greatest part of the Point in which my House stands, is washed away. There are contradictory accounts of the injury done to my Crop; one account says,—I shall not make cotton enough to have feed for the ensuing year; while another says, I may yet make, if the seasons should be good, and we have a late fall, a third or half a Crop. Thank God no lives were there lost. My Brother & Sister with their families, & my two eldest Daughters were on Sullivan's Island, & are safe. In Georgia the tempest was much more

violent than it was here. I have not yet heard from the place where I plant on the Ogeechee. Mr. Pinckney unites with me in Compts to, you & I remain with great esteem,

Yr hble Servt,

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

JOHN VAUGHAN, ESQ.:

P. S.—I will be obliged to you to send me two dozen strong earthen flower pots well packed of of the followingsizes: 2 of 13 Inches; 4 of 12 Inches—6 of 11 Inches—6 of 9 Inches; and 6 of 7 Inches. I received some lately from Mr. Freytag, & they were very brittle, not by any means so strong as some I had several years ago from Philadelphia.

Be so good also as to desire the Editors of the Papers mentioned in my letter, to direct them from the 15th of November to the 1st of June to me at Beaufort, South Carolina, at all other times to me in Charleston.

### 3.—*Recommendation of John Vaughan.*

LONDON, March 2d, 1776.

We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, are personally acquainted with Mr. John Vaughan. He is descended of a worthy family, has had a very liberal education, is a young man of principles, and not only unexceptionable, but exemplary in this conduct.

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY,  
RICH<sup>d</sup> OLIVER.

### 4.—*Letter from Fisher Ames.*

BOSTON, Aug<sup>t</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1792.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have to ask of you the favor to enquire for lodgings, for me and my wife (do not start my friend). I hear that your city is so full of French that it is difficult to get a decent place.

Mr. McKenzie, where Mr. & Mrs. Cabot lodged, I am sure is not filled with French, and probably would suit me better than another house. I calculate to be with you in season for the opening Session. I intend to keep a servant.

My Porter has not reached me, and I am not sorry for it, as I have been at house-keeping so little time as to have little occasion for it. I prefer giving directions concerning it on the spot.

All goes well here. There is appearance of increasing industry & wealth in town & country. Boston however, improves too slowly to be mentioned to one who observes the growth of your city.

I am, my dear Sir,

Your obliged friend & hble serv<sup>t</sup>

FISHER AMES.

MR. VAUGHAN.

# VII.—NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN NEW ENGLAND.—CONTINUED.

[Reprinted from *The Boston Pilot* of 1856.

By JOHN GILMART SHEA, LL. D.

The United Colonies of New England having made proposals for a kind of alliance, Father Druilletes was chosen in the Summer of 1650, to repair to Boston to confer with the Commissioners. With full letters, as plenipotentiary, he set out from Quebec on the first of September, with one French comrade, John Guerin, and several Indians; and after losing their way and suffering greatly, reached Norridgewalk, now Indian Old Town. By the twenty-eighth of September he reached Augusta, then called Coussinoc; and Noel, an Indian Chief, who accompanied him, addressed Winslow, the Commandant of the post, in Indian style, giving him presents and committing the Father to his care.

The Commandant, John Winslow, entertained the highest esteem for Druilletes, and promised to treat him as a brother. He kept his word: and there sprung up between the Plymouth Puritan and the French Jesuit such a degree of friendship, that while the former styled the Missionary his Xavier, the latter bestowed on his friend the name of Pereira, in remembrance of Xavier's devoted friend.

After meeting a deputation of the Sokokis, or Saco Indians, to whom he proposed an alliance, Druilletes and his companion, with Mr. Winslow, proceeded to Merry Meeting Bay, where they embarked on the twenty-fifth of November.

Passing Damariscotta, where Maine's first Catholic church in later times was to rise, the voyagers at last, on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, reached Boston.

The principal men of Charlestown immediately waited on him; and Major-general Gibbons, hearing the character in which he came, invited him to his house and, says the good Father, "gave me the key of a room, where I might in "all liberty pray and perform the other exercises "of my religion; and he besought me to take no "other lodging while I was in Boston."

Father Druilletes does not state in his own narrative that Guerin attended him, nor that he carried his little chapel with him; but as this is by no means improbable, we may infer that the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered in Boston, in December, 1650.

He began his negotiations with Governor Dudley and the Boston Magistrates: but as the Abnakis lay in a territory claimed by Plymouth, they referred him to that Colony. The Missionary accordingly started, on the twenty-first of December, for Plymouth. On his arrival here he

was very courteously received by Governor Bradford; who invited him to dinner, and very considerably had a dish of fish prepared, for it was Friday.

The Plymouth people, more interested in the French trade, were more inclined to give the aid which the Governor of Canada asked, against the Iroquois, as a condition of an alliance.

Returning to Boston, he stopped on the way at Roxbury, and spent a night with John Eliot, the celebrated Apostle of the Indians. Here, too, he won esteem; and the New England Missionary, already a correspondent of the Jesuits, urged his French fellow-laborer to pass the winter with him.

At Boston, Druilletes found them now more inclined to aid the French, as the Governor of Plymouth expressed himself favorable: and having, by conferences and visits, gained all whom he could to vote in his favor at the next meeting of the Commissioners, he sailed from Boston on the third of January, 1651, and putting into Marblehead on the ninth, left a proxy with Mr. Endicott to act for him at the meeting.

By the eighth of February, he was again at the Kennebec prepared to resume his Missionary labors.\* Such was the first known visit of a Catholic Priest to Massachusetts. There is not a word in his narrative to show the existence of a single Catholic at Boston, Plymouth, Roxbury, or Marblehead; and, indeed, the only Catholic whom he found in his voyage, was a French sailor at York.

The great mass of his Catechumens on the Kennebec, in spite of his long absence, had persevered; their dying children had been baptized and buried beneath cross-surmounted graves. His neophytes had even become Catechists, communicating to the less fortunate the knowledge which they had acquired. His labors in this happy Tribe were soon repaid with abundant fruits; and he continued his Mission till March, 1652, the only interruption being a visit to Quebec and another to Boston, in 1651. Of this second visit to the English Colonies, we have no details; but it seems to have extended to Hartford, as there are indications of his kindly reception there.

His field was, however, the Indians. The Abnakis had adopted him as a Chief; and revered him as their best and most devoted father.†

With his departure, the Abnak Mission ceased for a time; and for some years, no Catholic Priest, it would seem, stood in the territories of New England.

Father Druilletes returned, indeed, in the lat-

\* Druillete, *Narre d'un Voyage*, Mss., privately printed for Mr. James Lenox, of New York. For a translation, see Collections of the New York Historical Society, Series II. Vol. iii.; or the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* for 1855.

† Shea's *Catholic Missions*, 140.



ter part of 1656, to his former station at Norridgewalk; but in the following Spring bade a last farewell to his Abnakis children\*

Missionaries are said to have resumed his labors there in 1659, but this is uncertain; and many of the Catholic Abnakis, despairing of obtaining a resident Missionary, emigrated to Canada and joined the Algonquin Mission, at Sillery.

Philip's War also induced many to strike towards the St. Lawrence; and in the Summer of 1675, a large party of Sokokis proceeded to Three Rivers, and a larger party of Abnakis to Sillery, which they reached in the Spring of 1676, after undergoing the utmost extremity of famine during the Winter. Here the Missionary Father, James Vaultier, received them with all cordiality; and after providing for their temporal wants, began to instruct them in the faith. They showed every disposition that he could desire; and their Chieftain, Pironacci, was a model of fervor and piety. Several were soon baptized; and the Abnaki Christians began to form the majority at Sillery. Old and young attended the Missionary's instructions, and afterwards repeated them to each other in their cabins. The medicine-men were unheard of, intoxication unknown, while purity reigned for the first time among them.

In 1677, a Mission was also established on the River Loup, for the Penobscots and Passamaquoddis, many of whom were gained to the Faith by the zealous Father Morain.†

A few years latter, in 1683, we find Father James Bigot and Father H. J. Gassot, stationed at Sillery, now almost exclusively an Abnaki Mission and the centre of Christianity for the tribes of Maine. As this spot, however, was no longer fit for an Indian village, the soil being completely exhausted, Father Bigot resolved to seek a new site; and as a charitable lady, the Marchioness de Bauche, had given means to found a new settlement, he purchased a tract on the River Chaudiere, just by the beautiful falls of the river. Many settled here: and, in 1685, all that had remained at St. Joseph's or Sillery, proceeded to St. Francis, as the new Mission was called, in honor of the holy Bishop of Geneva, and the cradle of the Algie church was deserted. The new Mission flourished, and though it subse-

quently removed to another spot, bears, to this day, the name of St. Francis.

Scarcely had the zealous Father Bigot thus established the Abnaki Mission in Canada, than the Government urged him to renew the work of Drulletes on the Kennebec. With his brother, Vincent, he set out for the village of Abnakis, where, notwithstanding the opposition of a French fishery Company and a War which the Indians were waging on the English, these two Missionaries induced no less than six hundred to join the Mission at St. Francis.\*

Almost at the same time, the Rev. Peter Thury, a secular Priest connected with the Seminary of the Foreign Missions at Quebec, left his newly founded Mission at Miramichi, to plant the cross at Panawaniske, or Indian Old Town, on the Penobscot.† Here he had been invited by the Baron de St. Castin, who had built a fort there, and having married the daughter of the Sagamore Modockewando, had acquired great influence among the Indians. He was a man of deep religious feeling, and offered to support the Missionary at his own expense. M. Thury accordingly founded, in 1688, the Mission of St. Anne; and as the Church he gathered there subsists to this day, it is the oldest Catholic Church in New England.

The War still continued to desolate the State of Maine; in 1689, the Penobscots of this Mission took part in the attack on the English Fort Penikese, having first approached the Sacraments with their wives and children: and during the expedition the rosary was constantly offered for their success.‡

The English were now, under Sir William Phipps, preparing to ravage the Acadian settlements; and M. Thury soon after retired to Port Royal, but fortunately returned to his Mission; for on the twenty-fifth of May, 1690, Phipps took Port Royal and carried off the two Clergymen there, the Rev. Louis Pettit and the Rev. Claude Trouvé. The former was carried to Boston, which the Rev. Mr. Geoffroy, one of his associates, visited in 1687, on his way to France.¶ Between the epochs of the visits of these two Priests to Boston, the witch-mania had broken out in New England; and an Irish Catholic woman had perished—its first victim. Glover, for such was her name, was probably one of the unfortunate women whom English barbarity tore from their homes in Ireland, to sell as slaves in America. English she could scarcely speak: and on being accused as a Witch, by a daughter of a man named Goodwin, for whom her daughter washed, she was arrested and put to the usual tests. One

\* Father Gabriel Drulletes was born in France in 1593; and after entering the Society of Jesus, was sent to Canada in 1643. He was immediately applied to the Missions of the wandering Algonquins; and after losing his sight, which was miraculously restored, continued his labors amongst them for nearly forty years. He evangelized the Montagnais, Algonquins, Crees, Papanachois, and Abnakis, on the St. Lawrence and Kennebec; and proceeding to the West in 1666, labored among the Ottawas and Chippeways, at Sault Ste Marie, for several years. He died at Quebec, April 8, 1681, at the age of eighty-eight. He was highly esteemed for his sanctity. Poor's French Documents, Boston; Shea's History of the Missions, 141; Davity, Desc. du Monde, p. 45.

† Relation, 1676-7. (Edition, Lenox.) pp. 69-107.

\* Charlevoix, i., 676; New York Colonial Documents, edited by Dr. O'Callaghan ix., 440.

† New York Colonial Documents, ix. 57.

‡ Charlevoix, i., 416.

¶ He spent three weeks there. Taschereau, Memoir on the Missions of Acadia.

of these was the repetition of the Lord's Prayer : she repeated it in Irish ; but as it was not understood they required more. She repeated it next in Latin : but not quite correctly : in English she could not, as she had never learned it. This, however, corroborated the testimony of the girl ; and poor Glover was hanged, because she could not pray in a language, to her, foreign and unknown ; and, strangely enough, for not being able to pray in pure Latin ! \*

The defeat of Phipps, at Quebec, enabled the French to recover the ascendancy in Acadia. Mr. Petit returned to Port Royal, or Annapolis ; while the Bigots, at Norridgewalk, and M. Thury, at Old Town, continued their labors among the Indians.

In 1693, Father Julian Binnetau succeeded Father Bigot on the Kennebec, but retired to St. Francis the next year ; † and was succeeded by the celebrated Father Sebastian Rale. ‡ M. Thury continued at his Mission at Panawaniske, or Old Town. He was joined in 1696-7, by the Rev. Henry Honoré Fleury Deschambault, whose talents, youth, and vigor rendered him one of the hopes of the Mission : but he expired on the twenty-ninth of August, 1698, and was soon followed by M. Thury, who closed his career on the third of June, 1699. His death was a severe blow, for he was not only a Priest of great zeal and piety, but a man of great ability and discretion, well fitted for the trying circumstances in which he lived. He was interred in his Chapel, where so recently another Missionary of the Tribe, Father Kenneth Kennedy, of the Society, has been laid to moulder beside him. §

On the death of this excellent man, the Seminary of Quebec sent the Rev. Mr. Rageot, and subsequently the Rev. Michael A. Gaulin to Indian Old Town, or Panawaniske, where they remained till 1703 ; when the Mission was transferred to the Jesuits. Father Stephen Laverjat seems then to have taken up his residence there ; and we find him at the spot for several years. A Recollect, Father Felix Cappe was there in 1711, and another Recollect, Father Simon, at Medoktek, on the St. John's. ||

The War between the Indians and the New

\* Bancroft, iii, 75, 76. Chandler's *American Criminol Trials*, i, 76 ; Hildreth's *History of the United States*, i.

† *New York Colonial Documents*, ix, 567.

‡ Before Father Rale, Fathers Joseph Aubery and Peter de la Chasse were also there ; but we have no means of ascertaining the precise time.

§ Of Father Binnetau, we only know that he was at St. Francis in 1694, and soon after in the West, where, while attached to the Illinois Mission, he followed the hunters to the prairies of Missouri, and contracted a fatal fever, of which he expired in the arms of Father Gabriel Marest, as that Father tells us in a letter dated 1711.

|| Peter Thury, born at Bayeux, was ordained at Quebec, on the twenty-first of December, 1677. He was sent to Acadia in 1684, and founded a Mission at Miramichi in the following year. Taschereau's *Memoir on the Acadian Mission*.

Louis H. F. Deschambault also belonged to the Seminary of Quebec. He was ordained in 1694. Taschereau ; O'Callaghan's *Colonial Documents*, ix, 676.

|| *Colonial Documents*, ix, 752, 858.

Englanders continued, or was revived, after brief intervals. In 1700, Massachusetts passed a new Act, levelled at the Missionaries, condemning them to perpetual imprisonment, and death on a re-capture—a renewal of the Act of 1647, in almost the same terms, and with a Preamble equally replete with untruth. Like the New York Act of 1700, it charges the Missionaries with having *lately* come into the Province, when in fact, Catholic Missionaries had planted the Cross in Maine before the *May Flower* sailed from England.\* Even Rhode Island, with all her boasted toleration, now specially excepted Roman Catholics. †

The Abnaki Mission on the Chaudiere, was, in the same year, removed to its present site ; and many Indians emigrated from Maine to it.

The New Englanders, inflamed by the Law and encouraged by a reward offered for the head of Father Rale, sent an Expedition under Colonel Westbrook, against Norridgewalk. The Missionary and most of his flock were absent ; but returned only to find their Church and village a heap of smoking ruins.

The Missionary soon after fell on the ice and broke both his legs, so that he remained a cripple for life.

The Treaty of Utrecht restored Peace in 1713 ; but as Maine was yielded up to England, many of the Abnakis again emigrated to Canada and founded the Mission of Bécancour ; but Father Rale remained, and rebuilt his Church.

His position, however, became daily more dangerous. The French Government wished all the Indians to emigrate to Cape Breton : the Missionaries urged a Convention between the two Crowns ; but meanwhile the Indians, roused by repeated injuries, took up arms. Father Rale's Mission was again attacked and plundered in 1722, and his flock reduced to utter want : his life was in constant danger, but he was cheerful and undaunted. F. Stephen Loyard, who had succeeded the Recollect Father on the St. John's, was in similar distress, and sailed to France to obtain relief, in 1723.

While Peace was negotiating, in 1724, the English resolved to make one more attempt on the life of Rale. On the twenty-third of August, 1724, a force of English and Indians attacked the village during the absence of the braves : at the first report of musketry, the heroic Missionary rushed from his Chapel to offer himself to the enemy, anxious to lay down his life for his flock, to draw on himself the wrath of the enemy, and to enable his neophytes to escape. He was the object of the

\* 12 William III. Chap. vii.—*Old Colony Laws*, 134.

† The Rhode Island Act bears date 1663-4, but the penal clause was introduced subsequently, probably about 1699. The question has been frequently discussed, and will be found treated at some length in *An appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain respecting the United States*, by Robert Walsh, 42.



hatred of the foe: no sooner was he seen than every musket was turned upon him; and he fell at the foot of the cross, riddled with wounds. Rushing on him, the infuriated men then hacked and mangled his palpitating corpse, clove open his head, broke his legs, and trampled upon him in their rage.

No Missionary occupies a more prominent part in our early history. The reverence of the French and Indians for him is only equalled by the bitter hatred of the English, and their many, and at last successful, attempts on his life. Learned, zealous, and laborious, Father Rale was careless of his own ease and comfort, unwearied in toil, eager for martyrdom, and most careful of the religious progress of his flock.\*

The other Missions were undisturbed, and when Peace was restored, we find the Abnakis of the Kennebec soliciting a successor to their Missionary, and a chapel-service to replace that carried off to Boston. The King ordered presents to be made to them, "to cover the body of the Missionary," that is, to condole with them for their loss; he also directed their Chapel to be suitably furnished. The Superior of the Jesuits at Quebec chose for the dangerous post, Father James Srenne, who made them a visit in 1729, and took up his permanent residence among them in the following year.† He remained here for some years, although we cannot positively state the duration of his Mission there. Le Beau, a rambling traveler, found him still there in April, 1731; but the Tribe was rapidly disappearing; the Sokokis had mostly repaired to Beancourt, near Three Rivers, the Wawenocks and Androscoggins had indeed joined the Tribe at Norridgewalk, but War and emigration had greatly reduced the village. A Missionary is indeed said to have been there in 1754, but it is doubtful. Before the loss of Canada, it had become the abode of merely a few straggling families, and soon after was entirely deserted. The monument of Rale is now the only trace of the once celebrated Indian village.

At the time of Father Rale's death, Father Lauverjat was still on the Penobscot; but as he was greatly opposed by the young Castins, he returned soon after to Medoktek, leaving the Penobscots without a Missionary, in 1732.

The War of the Spanish succession, which broke

out in 1744, desolated what is now called Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. The Catholic Missionaries were again deported or compelled to seek refuge in the woods; but acting as mediators, they at last gained the confidence of the English colonists. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, enabled them to renew their labors in peace; but, six years after, War again broke out and gave a death-blow to the Catholic establishment in Maine and on its borders.

Father Germain, of the Society of Jesus, was the last of the old Jesuit Missionaries in Maine. His chief station was the Mission of St. Anne, on an island in the St. John's, the old Medoktek, whence he visited the various Tribes in Maine, leading a life of laborious usefulness amid the general respect. As the fatal War advanced, he deemed his post unsafe and retired to Canada.\* The Missions of Maine were deserted; and the fall of Quebec seemed to forbode difficulty and danger to the Abnaki Church.

Such is, in brief, the history of the Catholic Church among the New England Indians, and spite of wars and penal laws, it will compare favorably in zeal and numbers with that founded by the labors of Eliot and his associates.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

#### VIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

INDIAN BELT FOUND AT MERRICONEAG, (HARPSWELL).—Some weeks ago Mr. Henry Barnes, of Harpswell, laid upon our desk a series of copper tubes, attached to each other with slender, soft leather thongs, and arranged in the form of a belt. He informed us that they were brought to the surface of his field by the plow, in November last, about thirty rods north-east of the place, where in 1861, several skeletons were exhumed by the same means, with about sixty beads of wampum and several large copper tubes, with ornaments of the same metal apparently for the nose and ears.

The place where these aboriginal relics were found is on or near the line of the ancient carrying-place, between the waters of Merriconeag Sound and Casco Bay; and being short, and the most feasible on all the long peninsula, it received the name of "Merriconeag," meaning the "Quick Portage," and thus gave the ancient name to all that part of the present township.

The foundation of this belt was made of soft, prepared deer or moose-skin, with a thin padding

\* Sebastian Rale was born in 1658, in Franche Comte, where his family occupied a distinguished position. He came to America, and arrived at Quebec the thirteenth of October, 1689. He was first stationed at St. Francis; then among the Illinois; but from 1695 to his death, the thirteenth of August, 1744, was Missionary at Norridgewalk. He was acquainted with several languages; and his Abnaki Dictionary, carried off in 1722, was published in the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*. The original is still preserved as a treasure at Harvard College. A monument was erected to his memory by Bishop Fenwick, on the twenty-ninth of August, 1833.

† E. B. O'Callaghan's *Colonial Documents*, ix, 1002, 1014.

‡ Williamson's Maine, i. 465-666. ii. 259, 267.

\* Taschereau's *Memoir*.



made of small bulrushes, fastened together, side by side, with a tough grass thread passing through at intervals about an inch apart; though some of them were woven together. Over this cushion were placed the several rows of the copper tubes, ranged perpendicularly across the belt, which was about eight inches wide, and probably wider. Several pieces of flat thin copper were also found imbedded with the other materials; but so much corroded and broken, as to leave no means for deciding what relation they had to the belt, or what other use they could supply.

These tubes are of different length and diameters, and are formed of thin copper, accurately rolled into form, with one edge lapping over the other where they meet, and all preserving great uniformity in their respective rows. The shortest are about a fourth of an inch in length, and are about fifty in number. The next in length are about three-fourths of an inch in measurement, and were about a hundred and fifty in number. The next are two and a half inches, and number more than a hundred; and a few are two and a half or three inches long. There are many vacant places in the rows, where others have been lost by corrosion, as the indications of the fastenings show. The diameters are generally three-sixteenths, and some are one-fourth of an inch. The whole number was probably not less than four hundred.

They were secured above the padding and brought close together in the rows, by strings passing through them and fastened to a cross cord or thong at each end, secured to the foundation. These strings were in part made of prepared deer or moose-skin, so cut in strips as to be square; and the other part by a two-twined cord, made of flax, as is shown by the fibre and odor when burnt.

A fringe of the soft leather, having one of the shorter of the tubes on each of the strips, with a knot below each tube to prevent it from slipping off, formed the ends of the belt; and the whole, when the copper was kept bright and the colors were fresh, made a jaunty addition to the dress of the skin-clad native. Similar bright copper ornaments of Indian use in other parts of the country, were in early times taken for gold by Europeans.

Pieces of sole leather, hard and thick, were also found in the same cavity. From the angular bend on the side of one of these fragments, a suggestion is derived that this material formed a box or case for the deposit of the belt when not in use. The largest piece is about fifteen inches long and seven or eight wide, with an appearance at the edges of having been still larger.

The soft leather and also the rushes, when burned, give off a greenish flame, showing how much they are impregnated with the rust of the

wasted copper.

One small piece of leather is of a different character, having the hair of the animal adhering to the surface, but easily rubbed off. A few bones of birds and an arrow-head of stone were also found with the rest of these articles.

Similar tubes have been found on our coast in recent times, bearing marks of great antiquity, some of which have been deposited in the Cabinet of the Historical Society, and also on an Indian belt, near the celebrated Dighton Rock, near Fall River, in Massachusetts, with a breast-plate of brass and brass arrows in a sort of quiver. Mention is also made in Weymouth's voyage to our coast, in 1605, of "girdles, decked round about with little round pieces of red copper." Earlier still, Verrazzano, in 1497, found copper among the aborigines of the East coast of the present United States; and tubes of the same metal, corresponding precisely in description to those found at Harpswell, have been exhumed from the mounds, in the valley of the Ohio.

The question arises, whence did the natives procure this metal? The fact that sole-leather and flaxen twine were found with these tubes, is a sufficient indication that they may have come from European countries. The navigators to the coast in 1602 and 1607, found several articles of transatlantic manufacture; and why may not these copper ornaments have been derived from the same sources? or did they come from the mines of Lake Superior?—*Brunswick Telegraph*.

#### DARK DAY.

MESSRS EDITORS.—Your article on the Eclipse, which is to take place on the seventh of August, speaks of the total eclipse on the sixteenth of July, 1807 and the *Dark Day* as one and the same event—a mistake into which it is very natural for the younger part of society to fall, but into which no person who witnessed either of those remarkable occurrences, is in any danger of falling. In the *Dark Day*, the seventh of May, 1780, there was no eclipse at the time; but the thick darkness of the day and night ensuing, was from a very unusual accumulation of clouds and smoke, which came on about eleven o'clock A. M., and was such as caused people to unyoke their teams, suspend work, and light candles in their houses.

The best description of the phenomenon and a philosophical dissertation upon the causes were written at the time by Judge Tenney, of Exeter, which may be seen in the publications of that day.

It was the good fortune of the writer to witness the total eclipse of the sixteenth of June, 1806, in all its glory and beauty. Instead of its being a *dark day*, it was one of peculiar brightness—not a cloud obscured the sky here (George-

town) during the day. But at Washington, persons who had crossed the Atlantic to observe it, saw it by short intervals through the clouds.

It came on in the forenoon, the four minutes of total obscurity were between eleven and twelve o'clock. There was no great diminution of light, though it was pale, white, and cool, till the last pencil of ray was cut off. Then stars appeared, the fowls went to roost, and we gazed with astonishment upon the moon, obscuring and covering the sun at midday. Nor did we fail to reflect and feel that we were gazing upon a scene which would never be witnessed again, in this region, by any person then living. These four minutes of new and exquisite sensation seemed quite a space for reflection when, upon the darting down of a single pencil of sunlight, the whole spectacle vanished. Apparently, seven-eighths of the sunlight returned in a moment; the paleness wore off; and in an hour we had the full blast of a morning sun. Instead of a dark day, we had but four minutes of anything like darkness.

J. SPOFFORD.

—*Salem Gazette*.

#### THE MEN OF NEW-ENGLAND, A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

EBENEZER POMEROY TO CAPT. SETH POMEROY.

NORTHAMPTON, June 11, 1745.

SIR: I, your mother, relations and friends are generally well, blessed be God. We want to hear from you and the fleet and army, and a particular account of the bigness and strength of the City Louisburg, the height of the walls, &c.; your power and interest against scaling the walls to take the city, for I suppose that if you get in the inside of the city the place is not taken, for I conclude that every house is so strong that they are each, after a sort, a castle. But those things I must leave to those who are on the spot, who are the best judges, but still we want to hear of all the men of war that came from France being taken, store ships and all; we want to hear of the City Louisburg being taken, but we desire patiently to wait God's time; but, in the mean time, for your encouragement, I would inform you and your soldiers that God, in his providence, hath remarkably stirred up a spirit of prayer in this town for victory in this grand expedition, and I hear also throughout the land; for in this town the parents and some other relatives of those gone in the expedition have constantly set apart some time every week to pray to God for success in this grand affair, and we have good reason to conclude that it hath not been in vain, for God hath, in a very remarkable manner, smiled upon the fleet and army on many accounts, and we really hope and earnestly pray, that the Lord of Hosts,

and God of Armies would still be on our side, and then there is no danger but your enterprise will be crowned with glory and triumph. Be much in prayer—abstain from all appearance of evil—watch particularly against those sins a soldier's life exposeth men unto; and above all keep always the fear of God before your eyes, and that will be a security to your living and dying.

With respect to your business at home, all goes on well: your wife manages affairs with conduct and courage, and indeed your business, that she was unacquainted with before you went away. The boys are industrious—the new pasture is fenced—the hay all got in well, finished yesterday. My service to the General and to all the officers of my acquaintance, and my due regards to Commodore Warren, and my love to your soldiers, and in particular to those that went from this place. The Lord prepare and prosper you, and all with you, and return you again to your respective homes, which is the desire and prayer of your loving and affectionate father,

EBEN'R POMEROY.

To SETH POMEROY, Cape Breton.

REV. BENJ. POMEROY TO HIS WIFE.

LAKE GEORGE, July 23, 1759.

MY DEAR: Saturday last at break of day our troops, to the number of twelve thousand, embarked for Carillons, all in health and high spirits. I could wish for more appearance of dependence on God than was observable among them; yet I hope God will grant deliverance unto Israel by them. Mr. Beebe\* and I, by the advice of our Colonel, stay behind, but expect soon to follow. A considerable number of sick are left here in the hospitals; five died last night. I have been well in general. Want very much to hear from you—our dear children the people—and the neighboring ministers, &c. I would mention, would time permit me to describe it, the affecting scene of last Friday morning. A poor wretched criminal, Thomas Bailey, was executed. Mr. Brainerd and myself chiefly discoursed with him, but almost all his care was to have his life prolonged—pleaded with us to intercede with the General for him, but there was no prospect of succeeding. His crime was stealing or robbing, whereof he had been frequently guilty; once received 1,000 lashes, and once reprieved from the gallows, but being often reproved he still hardened his heart and was suddenly destroyed. Several prayers were made at the place of execution, the poor creature was terrified even to amazement and distraction at the approach of the King of Terrors. An eternity of sinful pleasure would be dear bought with the pains of the last two hours of his life. He struggled with his

\* An associate Chaplain.

executioners I believe more than an hour ere they could put him in any proper position to receive the shot. The captain of the guard told me since that he verily believed that the devil helped him. I was far from thinking so; yet his resistance was very extraordinary.

I am, with increasing love and affection, my dear, your most affectionate, loving husband,  
BENJ. POMEROY.

MRS. ABIGAIL POMEROY, Hebron, Conn.

LETTER BY WASHINGTON.—At the meeting of the New-England Numismatic and Archaeological Society held in Boston a few days since, the following interesting autograph letter by Washington was exhibited:

“NEWBURY, 5th of June, 1782.

“MY DEAR SIR: Colo. Hazen’s sending an officer under the capitulation of York Town for the purpose of retaliation, has distressed me exceedingly. Will you be so good as to give me your opinion of the propriety of doing this upon Capt. Asgill should we be driven to it for want of an unconditional prisoner. Presuming that this matter has been a subject of much conversation, pray, with your own, let me know the opinions of the most sensible of those with whom you have conversed. Congress by their resolve have unanimously approved of my determination to retaliate; the army have advised it; and the country look for it. But how far it is justifiable upon an officer under the faith of a capitulation, if none other can be had, is the question? Hazen sending Capt. Asgill on for this purpose makes the matter more distressing, as the whole business will have the appearance of a farce if some person is not sacrificed to the manes of poor Huddy, which will be the case if an unconditional prisoner cannot be found, and Asgill escapes.

“I write to you in exceeding great haste, but beg your sentiments may be transmitted as soon as possible (by express) as I may be forced to a decision in the course of a few days.

“I am—with much sincerity

“and affect

“D Sir,

“Yr Obedt Servt

“Go. WASHINGTON.

“Major-Genl. LINCOLN.”

#### IX.—NOTES.

THE FIRST WASHINGTON IN IRELAND.—We take the following from *The Londonderry Journal* of February 3d, 1783:

“Whereas on February the 14<sup>th</sup> 1783, it hath pleased kind Providence to confer on Mathew

“Neely, of Burnelly, parish of Tamlaghtsinlagan, and County of Londonderry, a man child, whose appearance is promising and amiable, and hopes the being who first caused him to exist, will grant him grace. Also, in consideration and in remembrance of the many heroic deeds done by that universally renowned patriot, General Washington, the said Mathew Neely hath done himself the honour of calling the said man child by the name of *George Washington Neely*, he being the first child known or so called in this kingdom by the name of Washington, that brilliant western star.”  
De V.

THE QUIPU.—Among the various devices for enabling the blind to read, before the present system of raised letters was introduced, David Macbeath, a blind teacher of the Edinburgh School, hit upon the principle of the Quipu. He constructed a string-alphabet which consisted of a cord knotted in various ways, so that the protuberances represented certain characters. The cord was wound round a vertical frame which revolved as the reader drew the cord towards him.  
U.

MONTCALEM.—At the sale of Lord Ashburton’s Sevres china, in London, last March, the famous Montcalm vase, painted with the picture of the storming of a fortress,—one of a pair presented by Louis XV. to the Marquis of Montcalm, the defender of Quebec—was knocked down, after a spirited contest, for the enormous sum of £1,682 10s. This all but unique piece was purchased by Lord Borford.  
O’C.

ALBANY.

“Woolball, a round mass of wool; several are sometimes found in the stomachs of sheep, as hair-balls are in oxen, and formed in the same manner.”

“Hairball, a spherical mass of hair, several of which are sometimes found in the stomachs of oxen, deer, and other animals, and are sometimes voided by stool, being formed of the hair of the animal, which it has licked off and swallowed.”

The above words and definitions, the writer has not been able to find, in any Dictionary, except one by Dyche, of which seven editions are said to have been printed in England before 1752; neither Bailey, nor Walker, nor Worcester, nor Webster contain it.

Of the woolball, we have never seen a specimen; nor heard of one before. Of the latter we have one, and have heard of some being found in the stomach of a cow, in this vicinity, but not



preserved. The one we have is as large as a duck's egg, and smooth on the outside as if glazed.

The above articles, "*Woolball*" and "*Hairball*," are veritable things; and deserve a place in an English Dictionary, as much as many other names of things. A friend at hand remarks that he has found the *hairball* in the stomach of a deer. And we might suppose that they would be found in this country, as much as in England, and more too. But we have not found the words in any Dictionary printed this side of the Atlantic. Worcester says of Dyche's Dictionary that it had an extensive circulation in England, and the sixteenth edition was published in 1777.

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.

AMERICAN FLAG AT FORT STANWIX.—Mr. Lossing, writing of the Siege of Fort Stanwix in August, 1777, (*Field Book of the Revolution*, i. 242,) says: "The garrison was also *without a flag*, when the enemy appeared, but their pride and ingenuity soon supplied one in conformity to the pattern adopted by the Continental Congress." [14 June, '77.] "Shirts were cut up to form the white stripes, bits of scarlet cloth were joined for the red, and the blue ground for the stars was composed of a cloth cloak belonging to Captain Abraham Swartwout, of Dutchess County, who was then in the fort."

The words in *italic* are so in the text. Mr. Lossing does not refer to his authority for the above statement, which is, in the main fact, correct, but differs, in the details, from the account published in the *Narrative of Colonel Marinus Willett's Services*, from which Mr. Lossing seems to have borrowed his matter, although with some changes, and an addition in the last part of the sentence.

Relating an attack on the enemy at Peekskill, in March, 1777, Willett says: "A blue camlet cloak, *taken here*, served afterwards to make the blue stripes of the flag which was hoisted during the siege of Fort Stanwix." *Narrative*, 42.

Again, at p. 50, the *Narrative* states: "The fort had never been supplied with a flag. The necessity of having one had, upon the arrival of the enemy, taxed the invention of the garrison a little; and a decent one was soon contrived. The white stripes were cut out of ammunition shirts; the blue out of the camlet cloak *taken from the enemy at Peekskill*; while the red stripes were made of different pieces of stuff procured from one and another of the garrison."

This seems to dispose of the "cloth cloak belonging to Captain Abraham Swartwout of Dutchess County," which turns out to have been spoil taken from the British. X.

\* Shirts furnished to private soldiers. *Mil. Dict.*

#### THE LOVEWELL FIGHT.\*

Capt. John Lovewell's Fite with the Indians at Saco Pond, with thirty three men in his company; there names as fol'wth.

Lieut Jonathan Robbins, killed,	} of Dunstable.
Lieut Josiah Farwell, wounded & died,	
Ensign John Harwood, killed,	
Serjeant Noah Johnson, wounded,	
Robert Usher, killed,	} of Woburn.
Samuel Whiting, wounded,	
Ensign Seth Wyman,	
Corporal Thomas Richardson,	
Timothy Richardson, wounded,	} of Concord.
Ichabod Johnson killed,	
Josiah Johnson, wounded,	
Eleazer Davis, wounded,	
Josiah Davis, killed,	} of Groton.
Josiah Jones, wounded,	
David Melvin,	
Eleazer Melvin,	
Jacob Farrah, killed,	} of Billerica.
Joseph Farrah,	
Mr. Jonathan Fry, Chaplain, of Andover, wounded & died.	
Sarjeant Jacob Fullam, of Weston, killed.	
Corporal Edward Lingfield, of Northfield.	} of Groton.
Jonathan Kittridge, killed,	
Solomon Kies, wounded,	
John Jefts, killed,	
Daniel Woods, killed,	} of Havard.
John Chamberlain, wounded,	
Elias Barron, wounded & died,	
John Gilson, wounded,	
Joseph Gilson,	} of Groton.
Ebenezer Ayer,	
Abel Astin,	
twelve killed on the spot,	
wounded & died,	3
wounded & lived,	9
not hurt.	9
	33

#### PILGRIMAGE TO NIAGARA FALLS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE: It may interest many of your readers, influenced though they may be by different feelings, to see a copy of the Decree from His Holiness, Pope Pius IX., encouraging Pilgrimages to the "Church of the Blessed Virgin," at Niagara Falls. It was published originally by *The Canadian Freeman*, in compliance with the wishes of Bishop Lynch, of Toronto, and is now again going the rounds. As the Decree is "to avail for all future

\* We are indebted to Rev. A. P. Marvin, the historian of Winchendon, Mass., for this copy of an old return of the Lovewell fight.

"time," it surely deserves a place among the "historical items," as well as in ecclesiastical formulas.

BREFFNEY.

"PIUS P. P. IX.

"FOR A PERPETUAL REMEMBRANCE.

"Our Venerable Brother, John Joseph Lynch, the present Bishop of Toronto, set forth to Us, that it is his wish to establish a Sacred Pilgrimage at the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Peace, situated near the Falls of Niagara, in that Diocese. Wherefore he earnestly besought Us graciously to open the heavenly treasures of indulgences, by establishing for the faithful the above named Holy Pilgrimage. We, to increase the piety of the faithful, and to save souls by the heavenly treasures of the Church, favoring the prayers addressed to Us, grant, through the Divine mercy, to all the faithful of both sexes who are truly penitent and have confessed their sins and received Holy Communion, a plenary indulgence and remission of all their sins, on whatever day in any year they may choose to perform the Holy Pilgrimage at that Church, and there pray piously to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, for the concord of Christian Princes, the peace and triumph of Our Holy Mother the Church, the extirpation of heresies, and the conversion of sinners. On whatsoever day the faithful shall perform the pilgrimage to the aforesaid Church, with contrite heart, and shall pray as above prescribed, we grant an indulgence of seven years and seven times forty days, from canonical or otherwise enjoining penance, in the usual ecclesiastical form; all of which indulgences, absolutions of sin, and remissions of canonical penance, We make applicable to assist the souls who have departed this life in friendship with God. Notwithstanding all past acts to the contrary, this is to avail for all future time.

"Given at St. Peter's, Rome. Sealed with the Fisherman's Ring, March 1st, 1861, in the 15th year of Our Pontificate.

"J. CARD ANTONELLI.

"PIUS IX., Pont. Max."

#### X.—QUERIES.

To COLLECTORS.—What is known of the book mentioned by Limborch in his correspondence with Locke, (Amsterdam, January 16, 1693,) under the title, *Doctrina Demonum probata quod sit magna illa apostasia horum ultimorum temporum: scripta ab N. Orchard, Ministro in Nova Anglia?*

G.

TIVOLI.—In the month of September, 1804, I find in one of the city papers, "To be sold, one

"of the handsomest places on the east bank of the Hudson river, known and laid out into town lots, by the name of TIVOLI, at Red Hook landing, one hundred miles from New York.

"There is on the premises a new Mansion House, Gardens well stocked with choice fruit trees, Grape vines, flowery shrubs, Ice-house, Out-buildings, &c.

"This situation, at a short distance from the sea, is secure against any sudden attack of foreign invasion, and free from all kinds of epidemic disorders; it has several springs of excellent water; adjoining R. R. Livingston's park; and being surrounded by the most genteel neighborhood, substantial farmers, and a thick settled country, &c. Apply to Mrs. Catharine Cox, No. 49 Vesey street."

Is this the origin of the name, *Tivoli*, here?

De V.

"A MOUNTAIN OF SALT.—A California paper gives the following interesting description of a mountain of salt in the south-eastern part of Nevada. It is reported to be five miles long and six hundred feet high, and of unknown depth. It is chemically pure and crystalline. Like rock, it requires blasting from the mine, whence it is taken in large blocks, and is transparent as glass. It is believed that there is but one other place on the globe where salt exists in such a state of purity, in workable quantities, and that is in Cracow, Poland. This is but another evidence of the state of purity in which the force of nature has left her deposits in this interesting portion of the Continent."

We can remember, when quite small, hearing old people say that one of the early Presidents of the United States had mentioned in some Message to Congress, the existence of a *Mountain of Salt* in our western territory; and was ridiculed for being hoaxed. Can the Editor of THE MAGAZINE tell us which one of the Presidents, and if this is not the mountain, now discovered, to which he alluded?

E. F. R.

#### XI.—BOOKS.

##### RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

1.—*Memorials of a Century.* Embracing a record of individuals and events chiefly in the early history of Bennington, Vt., and its First Church. By Isaac Jennings, Pastor of the Church. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859. Duodecimo, pp. 408.

In January, 1861, the First Church in Bennington, Vermont, celebrated the Centenary of

its organization; and its Pastor, Rev. Isaac Jennings, before an immense audience, preached a historical Sermon, appropriate to the occasion. That Sermon was considered to possess so much historical value that Mr. Jennings was requested to print it; and he availed himself of the opportunity to extend it, and make, instead of the naked Sermon, a memorial, at once, of the Church and the neighborhood.

The volume before us is the result of that determination; and the first nine Chapters of the work relate to the settlement of the town, the organization of the Church, the first Meeting-house, the difficulties in the Church, the Revivals in the Church, the first seven Pastors, transient Ministers, etc.; and these are followed by elaborate Chapters on "the Land-title Controversy," the Battle of Bennington, personal notices of all the leading residents of the town, the Schools of Bennington, the Churches which have been established there since the first Church was organized, etc.

Bennington, a hundred years since, was Vermont; as Paris, to-day, is France. It was the great center around which the men on "the Grants" revolved with rigid constancy; and that place may be truly said to have been to Vermont, in the words of Mr. Jennings "the cradle to its infancy." It was originally one of those offshoots of favoritism such as we now see in the reckless Grants of the Federal domain to partizan favorites or corrupt speculators; and, although it had a name as early as 1748, it is said that thirteen years elapsed without an attempt being made to settle it—"the first immigration reached there, on the eighteenth of June, 1761,"—when twenty-two persons squatted on the territory.

This little volume gives the history of this infant settlement, and consequently of the origin of the State of Vermont, in all its known detail; and no one who shall carefully follow the statements of the author will deny that he has been pains-taking and unusually successful. Indeed, in view of the fact that the Author was not in possession of much material, the use of which those enjoy who live in the vicinity of New York, and was compelled to rely mainly on the local records, and traditions, and printed works which were more readily attainable, we wonder that he has done so well in securing for his readers such an excellent work.

There is one effect of this dearth of material which is to be regretted: in his narrative, of the Land-title controversy, like Governor Hall, in his *History of Vermont*, he seems to ignore, entirely, the existence of the least legal right in the Colony of New York, to the lands now embraced within the bounds of the State of Vermont, and to any right of jurisdiction thereon.

He even pretends to ignore, as "untenable," the Grant of what is now known as New York to James, Duke of York; and he seems, also, to suppose that those who sustained that Grant and the subsequent legal judgments based on it, were nothing more than usurpers and thieves.

All this may do for a Vermont audience; but Mr. Jennings should know that that Grant, which was the recognized foundation of not only the Colonial Government of New York but that of New Jersey; which was firmly established, and subsequently recognized, by international Treaty; which was re-affirmed, by competent authority, in Treaties, in Courts, in Parliament, throughout the whole world, over and over again, really possessed *some* character and was entitled to *some* consideration, even in Vermont.

We have noticed this, in this place and to this extent, because we fancy we know just what the meaning is of what we are saying. We happen, also, to possess some unpublished material on this subject which was prepared by the Counsel of New York for the use of Edmund Burke who represented that Colony before the Home Government: and we think we possess, also, all that Mr. Jennings and Governor Hall have quoted, as well as some material which they have not referred to. If we do not know the purport of what we are saying, therefore, it is not because we have no means for learning; and where, as we saw in our last number, the most intelligent living Vermonter—on this subject, at least—admits the *criminality*, in law, of those who resisted the claims of New York, it strikes us that there is very little real difference between us concerning the real character of the claim of New York, whatever there may be between him and "the Gods of the hills," in Vermont.

A Chapter is devoted, very properly and very effectively, to "the Bennington battle;" and although the author has not said all about it which he might have said, nor said clearly, in all cases, what he has said, this narrative is certainly one of the best on that subject, if we except the description of General Schuyler which he has given on page 187, which we are constrained to say is gravely unjust and entirely unfounded on facts.

A long series of biographical sketches follow; and these are succeeded by Chapters devoted to institutions of learning which Bennington possesses or has possessed; to the various Churches which have been constituted since the First Church was organized; to the Centennial Celebration at which was preached the Sermon on which this Memorial was founded; etc.

Mr. Jennings has shown great aptness, throughout, as a writer of local history; and we have looked over his pages with much interest. There



are portions of the work, as we have seen, which we conceive to have been written without due examination of both sides of the evidence and under influences of local prejudice which are far from beneficial in the calm examination of any bitterly controverted question, in which an entire community is interested; yet we cannot withhold from its author the high credit which is justly due to him.

2.—*Essays and Lectures*: 1. On the early history of Maryland; 2. Mexico and Mexican Affairs; 3. A Mexican Campaign; 4. Homœopathy; 5. Elements of Hygiene; 6. Health and Happiness. By Richard McSherry, M.D. Baltimore: Kelly, Piet, & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. ix, 125.

The Author tells us that these Essays were written for the most part as a diversion from the severer duties of his profession; and they may, therefore, be allowed to be less formal and complete.

The first, on Colonial Maryland, was intended to be "a faithful chart" of that interesting field of inquiry. It is a Review-paper, in which are very clearly and very fairly set forth the leading points in the history of that Colony—the history of the State is merely glanced at. It is, in fact, one of the best summaries of that history; and for that reason, may be usefully referred to.

The two papers on Mexico are also Magazine-papers. The purpose of the Author, in the first of them, seems to have been to present a brief survey of the social and political condition of that country, since it established its independence; the latter a sketch of the war-services of the Marines in the War with the United States. In both, the Author has been, necessarily, brief; although, in each he has also been, willingly, just.

In the fourth paper, the prejudices of the partisan predominate in the face of unquestionable facts. Arguments and theories against this or that supposed or real peculiarity of Homœopathy are idle in view of the positive success, in practice, of that system, whether set in direct opposition to those arguments and theories, or not. We *know*, as any one *may* know, if he will, how highly successful pure homœopathy has been, at the bed-side; and we are a living witness, the weight of whose testimony is conceded by some of the most ultra of the opponents of the system, of the superior effect of *pure* homœopathy, in the treatment of one of the most acute diseases known to the practice, four times repeated and most obstinate in its character. Doctor McSherry may *call* it what he pleases: we *know* just what it is capable of accomplishing, even in the hands of a non-professional whose knowledge of the old practice was just nothing and whose respect for it and for those who practiced it, as such, was less than his knowledge of their system.

In the Author's paper on Hygiene, he admits the supreme ignorance of the profession on some of the most simple features of its duties. That physician is certainly not qualified to set himself up as a censor to judge between antagonistic systems and to condemn what he cannot comprehend, whose judgment is uncertain as to zymotic diseases and who is compelled to admit, in the most public manner, his entire ignorance of the process by which an *ague* is produced, of "the absolute cause" of cholera and influenza, and of the causes which lead the small-pox, the measles, and the scarlet-fever, to be dangerous to those who are exposed to their influences. Doctor McSherry admits that he is just as ignorant, on those subjects, as this: we can afford to be subjected to his criticisms much better than to his practice.

The volume is a very neat one; and it will be found to be very useful to more than one class of our readers, as a useful book of reference.

3.—*History of Athens County, Ohio, and incidentally, of the Ohio Land Company and the First Settlement of the State, at Marietta, with personal and biographical sketches of the early settlers, narratives of pioneer adventures, etc.* By Charles M. Walker. With Map and Portraits. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. viii, 600. Price \$6.

When we received the Circular announcing the forthcoming "Ohio Valley Historical Series," we did not venture even to hope that the excellent Publishers would strike out so boldly and produce works of such sterling merit as those which have since issued from their press, as portions of the series. The appearance of *Boquet's Expedition*, the first volume of the series, encouraged us, but it was left for the second and third volumes, which are now before us, to show the extent of the Publishers' liberality, and that of their confidence in the liberality and good judgment of the book-buyers of the Western country.

In the truly beautiful volume before us, Mr. Walker notices, first, the "Indian occupation of Ohio,"—the occupation of that country by the Wyandots, the Delawares, the four families of the Shawanese, and the Ottawas—and the Wars with those tribes, including "the Dunmore War;" in the latter of which he refutes one of the fictions set in motion, as history, by our pugnacious friend, Charles Whittlesey. He devotes a Chapter, also, to "The Ohio Company,"—in which he pays just homage to the memory of Generals Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper, the founders of that Company,—and two are devoted to a sketch of the pioneer settlement at Marietta and to the early history of the Territory.

The fifth Chapter opens with the "Act establishing the County of Athens;" and the history of that County is continued therein, to the present time, with unusual minuteness and as unusual a collection of statistics concerning nearly

every conceivable subject. Each Town in the County, as well as the Ohio University, has a Chapter devoted to its particular history; and an Appendix, well supplied with Documents, and an Index close the volume.

We have never found a more complete local History, nor one in which the Author has more successfully labored to present the annals, the statistics, and the local biographies of a community, with fidelity and elaborate minuteness; and as a specimen of really elegant typography, it is worthy of all praise.

4.—*Colonel George Rogers Clark's Sketch of his Campaign in the Illinois, in 1778-9*, with an Introduction by Hon. Henry Pirtle of Louisville, and an Appendix containing the Public and Private Instructions to Colonel Clark and Major Bowman's Journal of the Taking of Post St. Vincents. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. viii, 119. Price \$2.00.

This is the third of "the Ohio Valley Historical series," of which we have just written; and it is exactly uniform in style, although a thinner volume, with the *History of Athens-county*, already noticed above.

The importance of the Expedition of Colonel Clark is known to every well-informed person, as that to which we are mainly indebted for our possession, to-day, of the immense range of country, West of the Alleghanies; and the personal narrative of that Expedition, from the pen of its commander, it will be seen, is necessarily a paper of great historical interest, both as a portion of the local history of the West and as an element in the history of our relations with Great Britain, France, and Spain.

The Appendix contains a series of Documents and a re-print of Major Bowman's Journal; and a tolerably good Index closes the volume.

The typography of the volume is excellent.

5.—*Memoirs and Letters and Journals, of Major-general Reidesel, during his residence in America*. Translated from the original German of Max Von Eelking, by William L. Stone. In two volumes. Albany: J. Munsell. 1868. Octavo, pp. (I) viii, 306, (II) .

The Northern Campaign of 1777 has immortalized those who prominently participated in it, whether as victor or vanquished; and of these, the von Ridesels, husband and wife, are among the most distinguished.

We have been long acquainted with the German edition of this work; and we have usefully employed it on more than one occasion. It is a most valuable work to all who desire to become acquainted with the details of the history of the Campaign referred to; and as the original material is presented, the student is enabled to judge for himself concerning the matters of which it treats.

Mr. Stone has translated this work and, here

and there, scattered throughout a few illustrative Notes. He has added also, we believe a few letters in the Supplement; and an Index closes the work.

As this addition to the resources of the English-reading American student introduces to him a fresh supply of material, we have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to it; and the elegance of the typography, as is the case with nearly all of Mr. Munsell's volumes, will bespeak for it additional welcome, from both the wearied professional and more jaunty amateur.

6.—*The Future Ecumenical Council*. A letter by the Bishop of Orleans to the Clergy of his Diocese. Baltimore: Kelly, Piet, & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 52.]

The coming Council is anxiously looked for, by many who are not Catholics; and it is proper, therefore, that Catholics should not overlook it.

In this Pastoral Letter, its Author has treated, successively, of Councils and their character, origin, organization and authority; of the programme of the proposed Council; of the causes which have led to it; of the Past; of the help offered by it; of the ill-founded fears concerning it; of its relation to "the separated Churches;" and of the Catholic Church itself. It is, on these several subjects, very clear, very able, and very conciliatory; and as the Pope himself has particularly noticed and commended it, it must be considered particularly adapted to the occasion.

As this will be the first General Council of the Church, since 1545, when that of Trent was convened, it will be historically as well as ecclesiastically notable; and that importance will be increased by reason of the invitations which have been issued by the Pope, to both the Greek Church and "Protestants and non-Catholics," to join in its deliberations—invitations, by the way, which, it seems to us, may be accepted by the greater number of Protestants without the violation of any of the fundamental principles of their respective "Confessions of Faith."

7.—*The Adventures of Philip on his way through the world*. With illustrations by the Author. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869. Octavo, pp. 267. Price 50 cents.

*Vanity Fair*. With illustrations by the Author. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869. Octavo, pp. 332. Price 50 cents.

*The Virginians*. With illustrations by the Author. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869. Octavo, pp. 411. Price 75 cents.

*The Newcomes*. In two volumes. With illustrations by the Author. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869. Octavo, pp. (I) 210, (II) 202. Price 75 cents.

The Harpers are publishing all the writings of Thackeray, in uniform style, at a low price; and no one need be without Thackeray by reason of



the expense attending the purchase of his works.

Of the works themselves we need say nothing: of this edition of them we can say truly that it is very neat, very well illustrated, and very cheap.

8.—*Letlice Lisle*. First issued in America in Littell's *Living Age*. Boston: Little & Gay. s. l. [1869.] Octavo, pp. 34. Price 33 cents.

A pleasant story, reproduced from that most interesting and valuable of eclectics, Littell's *Living Age*.

In this form, it will be acceptable to travelers, sojourners in the country, and transient readers, generally.

9.—*Cipher: a Romance*. By Jane G. Austin. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 175.

We have run over a good part of this romance, and found it sufficiently exciting to command our attention, even when we could very poorly devote all the time which we gave to it. We do not know that we can say more in favor of the work, since time is that of which we have least to spare for any merely useless purposes.

It is very neatly printed and illustrated.

10.—*Cord and Creese*. By the Author of "The Dodge Club." With illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 199.

This is one of those thrilling stories which seem to be necessary, now-a-days, to arouse the greater number of the readers of light reading from the intellectual languor which controls them. It is full enough of incident and of terrible combinations to satisfy any one.

The volume is neatly printed and well illustrated.

11.—*The Sacristan's Household*. A story of Leppe-Detmold. With illustrations by G. C. Butts. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 158. Price 75 cents.

*The Dodge Club; or Italy in 1859*. By James De Mille. With one hundred illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 133.

These works are uniform in size and style with the greater number of the novels which are issued by Messrs. Harper—they are very neatly printed, on good paper, and as neatly illustrated.

12.—*He knew he was right*. By Anthony Trollope. With illustrations by Marcus Stone. Part II. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 375. Price 50 cents.

A continuation of the very neat edition of this work which we have noticed in a former number.

13.—*Alice's adventures in Wonderland*. By Lewis Carroll. With forty-two illustrations by John Tenniel. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869. Small octavo, pp. 192.

This is a very beautiful volume, for children;

but we confess we do not find any thing in it for their instruction. It has decidedly an English air; and we suspect that it has been transplanted from that soil into our own. We are sure that Lee & Shepard can find on their lists, volumes, the produce of our own country, which are vastly superior to it.

14.—*The Wreath of Eglantine and other Poems*; Edited and in part composed by Daniel Bedinger Lucas. Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 199.

A volume of poems, by two hands, one a lady, both Southrons, seems to merit more than a passing notice; and the peculiarities of the subjects, also, entitle them to our attention.

The lady's contributions, collected after her death and now first presented to the world, in this form, are mainly in blank-verse; yet they are certainly well written and full of genuine poetry. They are devoted to such subjects as a lady of refinement might be expected to select as the subjects of her muse; and, although she evidently preferred to linger among Southern scenes, she scarcely alluded to the presence of hostile armies or to the bitterness of the strife which has been so disastrous to all that republicans have so closely cherished.

On the other hand, Mr. Lucas has tuned his lyre to Southern warlike strains; and he has not hesitated to sing of the prowess of Southern chiefs, to denounce Southern wrongs, to look forward, hopefully, to the days of expected Southern reascendency.

"The Battle of Ball's Bluff" is commemorated; "The Song of the South" is sung in earnest confidence of a speedy resurrection; "Jefferson Davis" is made immortal in verse; the Consecration Ode of the Stonewall Cemetery, at Winchester, and the "Lament of Virginia" express the author's sympathy with the South, in evil as well as in good report.

Our readers need not be told that we have seen no reasonable excuse for the insurrection in the Southern States; that we believe and have maintained, steadily, that their attempted withdrawal from the Union was in open violation of the letter of their own positive compacts and without reasonable cause; and that the suppression of the insurrection was a reasonable and legal duty; yet we should be unjust were we to deny to the Southerners what we claim for ourself—the right to love their country before all others; the duty of sympathizing with their own countrymen before all others; the consolation, even in reverses, of having discharged their duty, as citizens, to the country to which they belong. Indeed, that man ceases to be a man who ceases to love his own countrymen, especially when both are in distress; and such an one is fit only to be an outcast

Then there must be some mistake — and it is not the thing of a double illusion. The power is on our side. The stars and the sun, and the Nation, that hold on the battlefield. And it is just such a moment as when the thick with some day long on in the Rebel.



and a wanderer, without a country, a home, or a friend. As a Southron, therefore, Mr. Lucas is reasonably sympathetic with Southern men and Southern fortunes, and reasonably denunciatory of those who "invaded" Southern soil and violated Southern rights—as much so, indeed, as we are reasonable in our sympathies with those who carried our banners into the field and fell while honorably defending them.

We cannot say much for either the smoothness of Mr. Lucas's verses or the aptness, in many cases, of his figures; but he is evidently a man of earnest convictions and great decision of character; and he has conveyed his meaning honestly if he has not done so elegantly.

The volume is very beautifully printed, on tinted paper; and many of the pieces are ornamented with pretty good head-pieces.

15.—*School History of Pennsylvania, from the earliest settlement to the present time.* Designed for Common Schools, Academies, Colleges, Families, and Libraries. By J. R. Sypher. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 364.

There are few subjects which are more essential, in the education of children, than the history of one's own country; and there are few professional sins, which our educators have to account for, that are greater than their very general neglect, while educating our children, of the history of the United States and of the State and community in which they reside. Indeed, there seems to be a perfect mania among our educators, to attend to ancient matters—both history and languages—almost entirely to the exclusion of the history and the language and literature of our own country; and it is high time that some change be effected in that matter. We are glad to learn, however that we are soon to have a history of New York, by a competent hand, which our children can read and study, as they now read and study Astronomy and Algebra; and Messrs. Lippincott have done for the children of Pennsylvania a similar good service, in the very neat volume which is before us—a volume which every little one in that important Commonwealth may study with the best results.

As far as we have been able to examine the volume, we have been pleased with the manner in which Mr. Sypher has discharged his important duties. His style is admirable; his arrangement of the subject is judicious; his accompaniments are appropriate, well-selected and carefully presented. He has not occupied valuable space with unnecessary illustrations nor with information, on other subjects, which every child in Pennsylvania is supposed to understand; and his supplementary tables are such as are necessary for reference to every one, old and young, who has any intercourse with that portion of the Union.

We shall welcome similar volumes for the several States, whenever sensible men shall have sense enough to see how necessary they are and how little that necessity has been attended to, heretofore.

The volume is very neatly printed; and its very few illustrations are pretty good.

16.—*Three seasons in European vine-yards: treating of Vine-culture; Vine disease and its cure; Wine-making and Wines, red and white; Wine-drinking, as affecting health and morals.* By William J. Flagg. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 332.

This volume will be a godsend to thousands of grape-growers, throughout the country, who have become disgusted with their want of success and yet are not without hope of the future nor unwilling to employ means to secure it. There have been thousands, as there are thousands to day, who have planted their vines in their village gardens and watched and petted them, year after year, without succeeding in the production of a single good berry; and these amateurs, many of whom are among our own Morrisania neighbors, after disappointments, year after year, become disgusted with their ill-success and send their vines to the dogs.

The volume before us is the work of an American vine-grower—a son-in-law, we believe, of Mr. Longworth of Ohio—and his experience and observations, among the Vineyards of Europe, are clearly set forth and brought in play against American practices, American climates, and undrained and unprepared American soils.

Here and there, it is true, Mr. Flagg launches out into Wine-drinking and its probable effects on our people, etc.; but that portion of his volume need not trouble any one, even our friends, the Sons of Temperance, since the very good index at the end of the volume will indicate the pages on which the reader may find the sensible remarks which he has offered concerning drainage, planting, pruning, etc., and the probable causes which have insured ill-success, and what will probably remedy it.

The illustrations are appropriate and very well executed; and the volume, throughout, is a very handsome one.

17.—*The Symbolism of Freemasonry; illustrating and explaining its Science and Philosophy, its Legends, Myths, and Symbols.* By Alfred G. Mackey, M. D. New York: Clark & Maynard. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. Title and 864. Price \$2.25.

We are not a Free-mason, and we may not, therefore, be a competent judge of the beauties and virtues of the system of Free-masonry; but we cannot help thinking that the common, everyday use of the most sacred names and subjects, for such purposes as this and by such persons as

we see connected with it, are very nearly blasphemous, if not entirely so.

There seems to be no name nor subject that is too sacred to be hauled into Masonry; and we find in this volume, by Doctor Mackay, more glaring instances of this ribald use of what the greater number of Americans regard as among the most sacred of names, than in any other which has met our eye. All this is wrong. It is a public insult to see "the ineffable name" and "the chief corner-stone" of the Scriptures, irreverently mixed up with heathen legends and civilized speculations, by those who have no respect for either beyond their value in the market, as articles of trade.

As a specimen of bookmaking, this volume is very handsome; we wish we could speak as warmly in favor of its contents.

18.—*Glimpses of Pleasant Homes. A few Tales for Youth.* By a member of the Order of Mercy. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 236.

The purpose of this beautiful volume seems to be to attract to those "pleasant homes" which have been too long neglected, the wayward steps and diverted affections of those who have been thrust from them by means of a false system of education and an artificial state of society.

There can be no more important undertaking than this. There can be no more sacred an enterprise than to arouse the individuality of the parent and that of the child, which have been smothered by the usurpations of the State, in its haughty interference with the mother, in her maternal duties, and in the assumption to itself of the duty of moulding the character and the habits of the child, as far as that can be done by education; and, if it has not come too late—if the mothers and fathers of our youth, trained in new schools of thought, have not become too far gone in nothingness—we shall hope to see it followed by other and sturdier blows. The blessing of every thoughtful parent will follow all such undertakings.

The exquisite style which distinguishes all the Society's publications, is seen in this beautiful volume.

19.—*Why Men do not Believe; or, the principal causes of Infidelity.* By N. J. Lefort. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 251.

The distinguished author of this volume was, for many years, Professor of Theology in the University of Louvain; and he could not have devoted his talents to the solution of a more important problem than this.

"Why Men do not believe?" is the question;

and it is answered, from the Catholic standpoint, both historically and critically,—historically, in the instances of Augustine, of the Christians of the Fourth Century, of the primitive Protestants, and of modern skeptics; critically, in an examination of what Faith is, of what Infidelity, of the primary as well as the moving causes of Infidelity, etc.

Every portion of the work is admirably written; and, although we do not wholly concur with the learned author in all his illustrations and conclusions, we are glad to await to his little volume that credit to which its high merit and general usefulness eminently entitle it.

This volume is very handsomely printed, as are all the issues of this useful Society.

20.—*Impressions of Spain.* By Lady Herbert. With Fifteen Illustrations. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 272.

Some months since, we noticed Lady Herbert's travels in the Holy Land with hearty approval; and all that we said concerning that work is applicable to this.

Her graphic description of Spain, from a friendly standpoint, presents that kingdom and its people and institutions in a different light from that in which we ordinarily see them; and it is well that we should hear the "other side," sometimes, in order that a correct judgment may be formed.

As a specimen of book-making—the typography as well as the engravings—this volume is one of the handsomest issued in the trade.

21.—*Historical Records of the City of Savannah.* By F. D. Lee and J. L. Agnew. Savannah: J. H. Estill. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. xii, 212, 48.

We have here a very excellent little history of the City of Savannah, from the origin of its settlement, in 1732, until the present time.

It is illustrated with wood-cuts; and although it is not as handsome a volume as some others, it will be very useful and very acceptable.

22.—*Thunder and Lightning.* By W. de Fonvielle. Translated from the French, and edited by T. L. Phipson, Ph. D., F. C. S., &c. Illustrated with Thirty-nine engravings on wood. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 285.

*The Wonders of Optics.* By F. Marion. Translated from the French, and edited by Charles W. Quin, F. C. S. Illustrated with seventy engravings on wood and a colored frontispiece. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 276.

*The Phenomena and Laws of Heat.* By Achille Cazin. Translated and edited by Elihu Rich. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 265.

The above form the commencement of a series of scientific volumes, written in a simple style,

and elaborately illustrated, for general circulation.

The project was well conceived and it seems to have been well carried out, in the volumes before us. There is ample room for the circulation and operations of useful books, like these, in the thoughtless, giddy, and ignorant throngs, of young people as well as old, who crowd our thoroughfares and flirt in our assemblies; and it is to be hoped that the enterprize of the excellent publishers will be amply rewarded, in this instance, by as extended a circulation as the works are entitled to.

The volumes are very neatly printed; and they will form a useful supplement to any family library.

23.—*Juliette; or, Now and For Ever.* By Mrs. Madeline Leslie. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 416.

Mrs. Leslie was favorably known to Mr. Irving; and she gracefully recognizes his friendly advice by dedicating this work to his memory.

The story is part of a series of "Home Life" sketches; and one who is fully competent to pass on its merits informs us that the subject is admirably handled and that the story is an excellent one.

24.—*The Gates wide open; or, Scenes in another World.* By George Wood. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 354.

We do not know who George Wood is, nor what he is; but it strikes us that, in the volume before us, in which he professes "to picture the 'scenes of another world,'" he has displayed very little skill and less good judgement.

It is quite questionable, in our mind, that works of this class can be either useful or entertaining, even under the most favorable circumstances: it is not at all a matter of speculation, that we condemn, in toto, the use of such names, as characters in the scenes which the author presents, as those of Deacon Colgate, of the Baptist Tabernacle-church, Judge William Jay, of Bedford, in this County, and Mrs. Jay and her daughter.

It seems that it was once quietly dropped by the public; and notwithstanding it has been resurrected under a new and more taking title, we shall not be sorry to learn that it has again died of neglect.

25.—*The Student's Scripture History. The Old Testament History. From the Creation to the Return of the Jews from Captivity.* Edited by William Smith, LL.D. With Maps and Wood-cuts. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 715.

We have before noticed the very useful series of "Students Histories" which Doctor Smith is preparing for the press and Harper & Brothers are re-printing; and our readers need only be remind-

ed of the high terms in which we referred to their usefulness, both to the "Student" and the general reader.

In the volume before us we have a clearly-written epitome of "the Old Testament History," improved with illustrative Notes and appropriate engravings; and an elaborate Supplement and a minute Index complete the work.

No more useful work of its class can be found for the family book-shelf or the "working library" of the student; and its excellent Index will make it exceedingly useful as a book of reference, merely.

26.—*Five acres too much.* A truthful elucidation of the attractions of the country, and a careful consideration of the question of profit and loss as involved in amateur farming, with much valuable advice and instruction to those about purchasing large or small places in the rural districts. By Robert B. Roosevelt. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 296.

We have heard it said that this is a "burlesque" on rural life; and we have looked all through the volume for the "burlesque" without finding it. It may be there, but we have not seen it; and if any one from the city will just move out, either to Flushing or Westchester, and try it, as Mr. Roosevelt has evidently tried it, they will fully agree with us.

For any one who is not country-born and country-bred, five acres are too much, either at Flushing or elsewhere; and, no matter where the victim may have been born, five acres are too much—one acre is more than enough—anywhere within twenty miles of New York, unless for market-gardens, with German market-gardeners to till them.

There is no doubt that Mr. Roosevelt has colored some of his pictures highly; but he has many precedents therefor—indeed "the other side" tints, with the rose color, everything that it makes. It is evidently the work of a man who has been there, and seen the beauties of amateur farming, and learned that such farming is worse than a nuisance.

The volume is a very neat one and is cleverly illustrated.

27.—*Rhetoric: a text-book, designed for use in schools and colleges, and for private study.* By Rev. E. O. Haven D. D., LL. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 381.

We have carefully examined this volume and are well pleased with it. The author has evidently mastered his subject; and without being tedious, he has presented it, with great precision and distinctness, to his readers.

Both for the student, as a text-book, and for general use by those who are given to writing, we know no work on this subject which is better adapted for its purpose.



28.—*Eudoxia: A Picture of the Fifth Century.* Freely translated from the German of Ida, Countess Hahn Hahn. Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 287.

We have not yet found time to do more than glance over this volume; and we are not prepared to write fully of its contents.

It is evidently a story of the earlier days of the Christian Church, in which the strife of parties and the horrors of martyrdom abound in perfect fullness. In those portions which we have read the scenes are exceedingly graphic; and we must say that a very nervous person had better not undertake to look at them.

29.—*Sights and Sensations in France, Germany, and Switzerland;* or experiences of an American Journalist in Europe. By Edward Gould Buffum. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 310.

We took up this volume expecting to find a repetition of the old story which every sight-seer in Europe has told, over and over, and which dozens have put into print. We were mistaken, however. It is, indeed, a series of stories of tramps in the Champagne District, in Hamburg, and in Switzerland, and of life in Paris—the latter as seen by a young man, an American, and unmarried—but it is not the *old* story which we have heard and read before; but a *new* story, from the same materials, with improvements.

The several Chapters of this volume are devoted to as many subjects; and those subjects are handled in a most masterly manner, as far as style is concerned: we know nothing of the correctness of the several narratives: but they have at least the appearance of truth.

The work must become popular among those who take pleasure in reading of the manners and habits of other nations.

30.—*The Wedding Day in all ages and countries.* By Edward J. Wood. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 299.

This is certainly a most agreeable volume. Indeed, we have examined very few which will compare with it for variety and interest; and our excellent friends, the Harpers, can do no better service, either to old or young, than to multiply such works as this, on subjects which appeal, as this appeals, to rich and poor alike, in their recollections of what have generally been considered the happiest days of their lives.

The volume is a very neat one; and will undoubtedly find an extended sale.

31.—*Saint Augustine, Florida.* Sketches of its history, objects of interest, and advantages as a resort for health and recreation. By an English Visitor. With Notes for Northern tourists on St. John's River, etc. St. Augustine: E. S. Carr. 1869. 16 mo. pp. 62.

St. Augustine, in Florida, is one of the most notable, as it is the most ancient, of American cities.

It was the first-settled, endured more ravages, and its inhabitants have acknowledged more foreign rulers and various flags than any other. Its history, therefore, is interesting; its antique remains of old Spanish customs and characteristics are interesting; its ancient fort and cathedral, its narrow streets, its projecting balconies, are also interesting.

In the little hand-book before us, this venerable city is fully noticed, for the benefit of those who visit it, in search of the health which they have too often sacrificed elsewhere; and it is well adapted for that purpose, both from its agreeable style and its thoroughness.

32.—*Famous London Merchants. A Book for Boys.* By H. R. Fox Bourne. With twenty-five illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869. 16 mo. pp. 295.

What more useful "book for boys" can be placed in their hands, than a series of sketches of Merchants who, by dint of their own enterprise, have not only become justly famous, themselves, but made London famous, also?

Richard Whittington and Thomas Gresham, Edward Osborne and William Herrick, Thomas Smythe and Henry Garway, Dudley North and Thomas Guy, William Beckford and Henry Thornton, Nathan Meyer Rothschild, and Samuel Garney, and George Peabody, whose biographies are given in this volume, lived from 1353 to 1869; and in relating their lives and services, Mr. Bourne has necessarily brought before his readers very much concerning the growth and influence of trade, as well as the work and character of his heroes.

If the boys will read the lessons which this volume contains, and profit by them, they will become good men and useful citizens.

33.—*Manual of Methodism;* or, the Doctrines, General Rules, and Usages of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with Scripture Proofs and Explanations. By Bostwick Hawley, D.D. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1868. 16mo. pp. 176. Price \$1.

The title-page describes, generally, the contents of this very neat volume; and it brings into such small compass as will enable it to be generally circulated, such an exposition of the doctrines and usages of the Methodist Church as will be found most useful to the multitude.

The volume opens with a historical introduction, in which the "Origin of Methodism," in Europe and America, is particularly noticed; and we regret to see, repeated therein, a statement which has been proved, more than once, and can be proved again, as often as shall be necessary, to be wholly and unequivocally incorrect.

It certainly does not become those who profess to be Christians to insist, in the teeth of the best of evidence, on retaining errors in their

authorized publications and in continuing defiantly to circulate them. That practice should be left, if it must needs be practised at all, to those who make no such profession; and we beg to remark that as a "Methodist Church," *as such*, existed in America, long before Mrs. Barbara Heck and Philip Embury inaugurated their movement in the city of New York, in 1766, there is nothing in that patent fact which should cause any one to disregard it or to assume positions which are wholly inconsistent with it.

The Articles of Religion, the Rules of the Church, etc., follow; and there can be found no more useful work, in so small a compass, on the subject on which it treats.

84.—*Wayside Thoughts*, by Samuel H. Lloyd. New York: W. J. Widdletou. 1869. 16mo., pp. 83.

This pretty little volume was originally printed for private circulation; but now, without revision, it is given, through the Trade, to the public. Its author is an active business man, who sometimes finds, it seems, a little time to think of something else than dollars and cents; and his thoughts, judging from these and other samples which we have seen, wander in the right direction, when they wander at all.

The "Thoughts" embalmed in this little volume, are brief, well-defined, and practical; and they are generally devoted to moral and religious topics—such, indeed, as an earnest, intelligent Christian man may reasonably be supposed to most delight in.

We know no more appropriate memorial of the author's peculiar worth as a man and peculiar ability as a writer.

35.—*Elm Island Stories*. The Ark of Elm Island. By Rev Elijah Kellogg. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869. 16mo. pp. 288.

A very neat volume, devoted to a simple and instructive sea-story which will serve to amuse and yet to teach boys, for whom it was designed, a great deal of interesting and very useful knowledge.

86.—*Glimpses of the Spirit Land*. Addresses, Sonnets, and other Poems. By Samuel H. Lloyd. New York: John A. Gray & Green. 1869. 16mo., pp. 174. Price \$1.50.

In our January number, we noticed, among our privately-printed volumes, one bearing this title; and we expressed our entire satisfaction with it, as a work of decided merit, as we then understood the term.

Others, better qualified than ourself, seem to have concurred in our judgment; and the wide demand for copies has led its talented author to make some additions to its contents and to throw it open to the Trade, for general circulation.

We are pleased to know that Mr. Lloyd's muse has been thus welcomed by the world; and we trust that she will not hesitate to continue her visits, hereafter, since we assure her of a most hearty welcome by those whose welcome she will most highly esteem.

37.—*The General; or, twelve nights in the hunter's camp*. A Narrative of real life. Illustrated by G. G. White. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869. 16mo. pp. iv, 268.

This is a very entertaining little volume of adventures in camp-life, in the western woods, of "The D—Hunting Club."

The plan of the work is a series of stories, by an old hunter, told, night after night, for the amusement of such a party as we have alluded to; and, just as all such stories are, whether told by sailors or hunters, old men or old women, they are all full of romance, with a sprinkling of fact to make a variety and give a semblance of truth to the whole.

It is just the book for the disposition of waste time, in some country nook, away from town scenes and town associations, when there begins to be felt a hankering for more bustle than there surrounds one, and more excitement than the unfrequented quiet of rural scenes can possibly produce.

38.—*Helping-hand Series. Salt-water Dick*. By May Mauvering. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869. 16mo. pp. 280.

This is one of another of the many series of story-books which its publishers have done so much to circulate, for the instruction of "Our young folks," and for their own profit.

It is devoted to pleasant descriptions of the Chincha Islands and the guano trade, of Peru and its earthquakes, of the trip around the Horn and of Rio Janeiro and Santa Cruz, closing with enough of a plot to make the story exciting.

It is a very pretty little book, devoted to a pleasantly-told little story, which will be very acceptable to little people.

39.—*Cassell's Representative Biographies. The Public Life of Queen Victoria*. By John McGilchrist. Felt & Dillingham, New York: 1869. 16mo. pp. viii, 200. Price 75 cents.

*The Life of Benjamin Disraeli*. By John McGilchrist. Felt & Dillingham, New York. 1869. 16mo. pp. viii, 112. Price 50 cents.

Neat little editions, for popular use, of well-written biographies of the Queen and her late distinguished Minister of State. We have glanced over them; and, notwithstanding their foreign origin—they are written and printed in England—and the peculiar subjects on which they treat, they will undoubtedly secure an extended circulation in this country.

# INDEX.

- Adams, John. Enlogy on, at Boston, 53.
- Alamance. The Battle of, 1, 2.
- Alaska. The purchase of, 103.
- Albany Institute Series, 336.
- Allen, Ethan, castiga ed, 126.
- , Levi, oo Ethan Allen, 126.
- Allentown, N. J., Presbyterian Church, 250.
- America, Baronets in. 233; Proclamation regulating the value of coin, there, 116; cutting coin, there, 117; ancient prophecies concerning, 140; ante-columbian discovery of, 170; Address of citizens of, to the Spanish Government and People, 158.
- American Antiquarian Society, 257.
- American Bibles, 58, 277, 278.
- American Revolution. First blood in it, 1; New York in, 3; Burgoyne's Campaign, 38; Women of, 103, 120.
- Americans in Pisa, 274.
- Ames, Fisher. Letter from him, 397.
- Amwell, N. J., Presbyterian Church, 250.
- Ancient prophecies concerning America, 140.
- Andre, Major. His execution, 141.
- Ante-columbian discovery of America, 170.
- Anthraxite Coal. Where first used for fuel, 203.
- Antietam. Battle of, 193.
- Apple Blossoms, 1812-1832, 273.
- Arizona. Rains in, 53, 205.
- Army, (The). Its nationality, 273.
- , of the Potomac, 353.
- Arnold, Benedict, 109, 110.
- Argill, Captain, 397.
- Authorship disputed, 57, 210, 211.
- Averill, General. Report of Cavalry operations, in 1862, 271.
- Bancroft, (Mr.) and Colonel Joseph Reed, 45.
- Baronets in America, 336.
- Barton, Isaac, 67.
- Beckwith, Colonel. Document by, 260.
- Benefit of Clergy, pleaded in New Jersey, 272.
- Bethlehem, N.J. Presbyterian Church, 251.
- Bibles, American, 48, 277, 273.
- Bibliography of Documents on the War, 336.
- Big Tree. The Treaty of, 179-184.
- Bird. A strange one, 57, 59.
- Birmingham piece, (The) 118.
- Blossoms. See *Apples*.
- Book lost, 144.
- Books. Recent publications noticed, 59, 146, 211, 250, 337, 399; privately printed in America, 138, 170.
- Boston. Massacre, 1, 2; inaugurated the slave-trade in America, 209; in 1741, 237; in 1774, 383; order of, after the fire of 1630, 274; New Jerusalem Church, 253.
- Bound Brook, N. J., Presbyterian Church, 254.
- Bouquet's Expedition. Author of narrative of, 77.
- Bourne, Hon. E. E. His Address reviewed, 112.
- Bonton, Doctor N., as a historian, 75, 76.
- Boyd, Lieut. The slaughter of him and his command, 383.
- Boynton plank-road. Battle at, 163.
- Brooks's *History of Medford*, 336.
- Brown, Colonel, 269.
- Buel, Rev. Samuel. Letter from him, 55.
- Bunker's-hill. Battle of, 206, 207.
- Burgoyne's Campaign, 38.
- Burr, Aaron. described by Alexander Hamilton, 259.
- Butler, Gen. B. F., at Lowell, 218.
- Calumet, (The) 58.
- Campbell's Portrait of Washington, 276.
- Canada. Conquest of, 277.
- Canal. The Erie. Origin of, 323.
- Canal System in New York, 361, 323.
- Canandaigua, in 1792, 377; Treaty of, 379.
- Catholic Church in New England. Notes on early history of, 313, 391.
- Cavalry operations in the War. Report on, by General Averill, 271; by General Pleasanton, 290.
- Central American languages. Manuscripts in, 315.
- Chapman, Thomas. His diary, 1795-6, 357.
- Charleston, S. C. The Slave-trade there, 209.
- Charlestown, Mass, 336.
- Cherokees in the Revolutionary War, 161.
- Cherry Valley. The attack on, 176.
- Christian Worship. The first in New England, 112.
- Church in New England, (The) 87.
- Claverack, N. Y. The Reformed Dutch Church there, 283.
- Clay, Henry. Reminiscences of, 142; unpublished letter of, 105.
- Clergy. Benefit of, pleaded in New Jersey, 271.
- Clinton. Sir Henry, 200.
- Coat of armor. Use of, 219.
- Coiner. The first Federal, 118.
- Coins. Notes on, 115; Proclamation regulating value of, 116; cutting them, 117; copper, in New York, in 1781, 117; Genuine or Bogus, 118.
- Cold Harbor. The Battle of, 185, 240.
- Colden, Cadwallader. In the American Revolution, 1; his Despatch on the Battle of Golden-hill, 20.
- Colfax, Captain, 149.
- Colles, Christopher, 202, 323.
- Committee of Safety, in North Carolina. Its acts, 121.
- Concord. Battle of, 206.
- Congressional Documents on the War. A bibliography of, 336.
- Continental Village. The affair at, in 1777, 204.
- Costis, G. W. P. Unpublished letter from, 10.
- Customs. Flag of the, 274.
- Cranberry, N. J., Presbyterian Church, 254.
- Dark Day. (The) in, 1780, 395.
- Dartmouth College, 204, 253.
- Dartmouth, Lord, 24.
- David and Goliath, 239.
- Deckard rifle, (The) 191.
- De Kalb, Baron. Unpublished letter from, 18.
- d'Peyster Collection, (The) 66, 276.
- Detroit. Brief sketch of the early history of, 132.
- Dey, Miss. Unpublished letters from, 109, 110.
- Dickinson, Mahlon. Unpublished letter from, 256.
- Dighton-rock. The inscription, 175.
- Discovery. The ship, 31.
- Disenters in New England. Petition from, for relief, 35.
- Dollar, (The) 118.
- Donop, Colonel. His Diary and Report, 45.
- Doctrina Demonum. What is it? 399.
- Drake. The family of, 129.
- Duane, James. Unpublished letter from, 25.
- , The two families of, 336.
- , William J., 345.
- and Duaneburg, N. Y., 336.
- Dyar, Harrison Gray, 324.
- Eliot, Rev. Jacob. Diary of, 1723, 33.
- Episcopacy. Inclination of Massachusetts to return to, in 1662, 26.
- Erskine General Sir William. Unpublished letter from, 319.



- Exeter, N. H. Mob there, in September, 1786, 37.
- Fairfax, G. W. Warraot to George Washington, 197.
- Falmouth, Maine. The Burning of, in 1775, 202.
- False History corrected, 143.
- Farmer's Brother, 373, 374, 382.
- Fayetteville, (N. C.) Independent Light Infantry, "35.
- Fillmore family, (The) 58, 279.
- First Blood in the Revolutionary War, 1.
- First Christian Worship in New England, 110.
- Fish, Major Nicholas. Selections from his papers, 203.
- Flag, at Fort Stanwix, 398; of the United States, 274; of the Customs, 274.
- Flo'sam, 53, 140, 204, 272, 333, 394.
- Fort George, 51.
- Fort Stanwix, 398.
- Franklin, Benjamin. Unpublished letter from, 257; his autobiography, 335.
- Franks, Major, 100.
- Fredericksburg. Battle of, 353.
- Freehold, N. J. Presbyterian Church, 254.
- Freemasonry. Charles Thomson on, 356.
- Fulton, Robert. Unpublished letter from, 142, 359.
- Genesee. Treaty of. *See* Big Tree.
- George I. Portrait of, 277.
- Georgia. The People of, 235.
- Gettysburgh. The Battle of, 97.
- Glances at old times, 271.
- Glenville, N. Y. Reformed Dutch Church there, 213.
- Golden-hill. The Battle of, 1, 2.
- Goliath and David, 259.
- "Gotham." Origin of the word, 58.
- Governor's Foot Guard, 335.
- Greenwich, N. J. Presbyterian Church, 250.
- Gridley, Colonel Richard. Unpublished document from, 312.
- Gront, Jonathan, 263, 329, 337.
- Gulford, Conn. Early history of, 225.
- Haines family, (The) 281.
- Hall, Miland, on the early history of Vermont, 375.
- Hamilton, Alexander. Letters from, 253.
- , Mrs. Elizabeth. Letters from, 111, 112.
- Handbills, Revolutionary, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19.
- Hardin, Colonel John, 233.
- Hardwick, N. J. Presbyterian Church, 251.
- Harvard Oration, 1649, 44.
- Haven, S. F. On the Popham Colony, 338.
- Hay, Judge, 51.
- Heath, General William. Unpublished letters from, 257, 318.
- Herkimer, General Nicholas, 40.
- Higginson, Rev. Thomas. His petition, 35.
- Hills, Joseph. His petition, 33.
- History corrected, 143.
- and Law, 59.
- Hopewell, N. J. Presbyterian Church, 248.
- Humphreys, General, at Fredericksburg, 353.
- Indian relics in Massachusetts, 54; in the West, 203; in Louisiana, 334; in Maine, 394.
- vases, 334.
- Indians in New Jersey, 57.
- Inland navigation in New York. *See* Colles. Canal System, Eric Canal, Wright.
- Intolerance in New England, 35.
- Ireland. The first "Washington" there, 397.
- Irish Republicans and General Washington, 201.
- "Its," 210.
- Jackson, General. Unpublished letter from, 318.
- Jamaica, L. I. Church at, 152.
- James Family, 77.
- Jefferson, Thomas. His death, 53; executor of Kosciuszko, 55; Hamilton description of, 259.
- Johnson, Edward, of Charlestown, Mass., 335.
- , Sir John, 41.
- Johnston, General Joseph. Letter of, concerning his surrender, 333.
- John-street, New York, Methodist Church, 143.
- Jones, Captain Thomas, of the *Discovery*, 31.
- Journal of a tour through the United States, in 1795-6, 357.
- King, Rufus. His birthplace, 50.
- Kings (The) of Scarborough, Maine, 50.
- King's-mountain. The Battle of, 189.
- Kingston, N. J. Presbyterian Church in, 253.
- Kingwood, N. J. Presbyterian Church in, 251.
- Knapp, Samuel L., 52.
- Knowlton, N. J. Presbyterian Church in, 252.
- Kosciuszko. His Will, 54.
- Lahrbush, Captain, 187.
- Lamington, N. J. Presbyterian Church in, 252.
- Law and History, 59.
- Lebanon, N. J. Presbyterian Church in, 252.
- Lee (The) Family, 80.
- , Gen. Robert E. His Report on the Pennsylvania Campaign, 97.
- Letters advertised in 1752, 336.
- Lexington. The "Battle" of, 1, 2, 206, 115.
- Liberty-poles, in New York, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14.
- Lillie, Major John, 123.
- Lion old, Abraham, 210.
- Lincolns (The) of Massachusetts, 57.
- Little Beard, 283.
- Livingston, Catharine, 108.
- , Lease in Western New York, 372.
- London, Eden, 216, 320.
- Lovewell fight. Return of men engaged, 398.
- Magnetic Telegraphs in the United States. *See* Telegraphs.
- Magrath, Doctor, 210.
- Maidenhead, N. J. Presbyterian Church, 248.
- Maine. The Northmen in, 30; the Kings of, 50; Indian relics in, 394.
- Mangum, Willie P. His name, 271.
- Manuing, Prest. Unpublished letter from, 255.
- Mansfield, N. J. Presbyterian Church, 250.
- Manuscripts. Unpublished volume by Rev. Thos. Shephard, 295; of Central American languages, 305.
- Marriage Allegations, at London, 128.
- Marriages, of Slaves, in Massachusetts, 135; in U. S., 145.
- Maryland Campaign of 1862. Report of. *See* Pleasanton, General.
- Maoun, Midshipman, 351.
- Massachusetts. Slavery in, 52, 135, 319, 329; Indian relics, 54; her Shilling, 115; her boundary dispute, with Rhode Island, 273; marriages of her slaves, 135; her claim in Western New York, 371; old and new, 280.
- Materials for Telegraph History, 179, 252, 329.
- Mayflower, The, 33.
- Meade, General. His Report on the Rapidan Campaign, 1864, 161.
- Medford, Mass. Brooks's History of, 336.
- Mementoes of Western Settlement, 368.
- Methodist Church, in John-street, 143.
- Middle Smithfield, N. J. Presbyterian Church in, 252.
- Mitlin, General Thomas, 45, 47.
- Military operations, in Virginia, in 1864, 303.
- Millstone, N. J. Presbyterian Church in, 253.
- Milton, John, 129.
- Mob, in Exeter Hall, N. H., 37.
- Montcalm Vase, (The) 397.
- Montgomery, Mrs. General. Unpublished letters of, 111.
- Montresor, Major. Unpublished letter from, 318.
- Morris, Robert. His purchase of Western New York, 371.
- , Thomas. His narrative of the settlement of Western New York, 368.
- Motley, John Lothrop, 149.
- Mountain of Salt, 399.
- Mount Bethel, N. J. Presbyterian Church in, 250.
- Mutiny Act, of 1765, 3.
- Nationality of the Army, 273.
- Negroes. In South Carolina, 209; in Massachusetts; *see* Massachusetts.
- New England and New Englanders, 65, 82, 150, 216, 280; Synod of, in 1637, 35; petition for toleration, by dissenters in, 35; Quakers in, 35, 36; inclination of, to return to Episcopacy, in 1662, 35; first Christian worship in, 112; notes on early history of Catholic Church in, 313, 391; ship building there, for the Royal Navy, 335; men of, in 1745, 396.
- New Hampshire. The Exeter mob, 37; in 1775, 388.
- New Jersey. Indians of, 57; Presbyterian Church in, 248; benefit of clergy, in, 272.
- New Jerusalem Church, in Boston, 283.
- Newport, in American Revolution, 57.
- Newton, N. J. Presbyterian Church in, 251.
- Newtown. Treaty of, 373, 374.
- New York, (City) in American Revolution, 3, 106; The Park, in, 6; Prince William Henry there, 130; John-street Church, 143; in 1758, 183; in 1776, 203; Presbyterian Church in, 69; St. Paul's Chapel, 70; its healthfulness, 72; public schools in, 153.
- New York, (State) Copper coinage of, 117; her canal system, 264, 323, 328; settlement of the western parts of, 368; attempt to divide into two States, 373.
- New York Historical Society. Want of a Catalogue of its collections, 276.
- Niagara Falls. Pilgrimage to, 398.
- Niagara, Fort. Journal of Siege of, in 1759, 197.
- North Ana. Battle of, 164.

- North Carolina.** Pioneers of Freedom in, 271; in American Revolution, 118; women of, in the Revolution, 120.
- Northern Campaign of 1777,** 38.
- Northmen** in Maine, 30; discoverers of America, 170.
- Notes,** 51, 143, 206, 274, 335, 397; on Coins: 115; on early history of Catholic Church in New England, 313, 391.
- Observations on Military operations in Virginia,** in 1864, 309.
- Official Reports of operations in the War,** now first printed, 97, 161, 240, 271, 290.
- Ogden, Colonel.** His attempt to capture Prince William Henry, 131.
- Oriskany.** Battle of, 38.
- Oxford, N. J.** Presbyterian Church in, 250.
- Parks story, (The) again,** 51.
- Parks, Daniel,** 51.
- Parties in the United States,** 93.
- Peace of 1815,** 207.
- Pennsylvania,** Campaign of 1863. Gen. Lee's Report of, 97.
- Pepack, N. J.** Presbyterian Church in, 252.
- Petersburg.** Operations before, 165.
- Phelps & Gorham's purchase, in Western New York,** 371.
- Physick, Doctor Philip Syng,** 179.
- Pickens, General Andrew.** Unpublished letter from, 260.
- Pilgrimage to Niagara Falls,** 398.
- Pinckney, General C. C.** Unpublished letter from, 389.
- Pisa. Americans in,** 274.
- Pleasanton's (Gen.) Report of Maryland Campaign of 1862,** 290.
- Pleehle's Farm.** Battle at, 169.
- Pomeroy, Rev. Benjamin.** Letter from, 396; Professor J. N., 93; Captain Seth, Letter from, 396.
- Popham, George,** 112.
- Popham Colony. (The)** 338, 341.
- Portland, Maine.** Destruction of, in 1775, 202.
- Potomac-falls.** Pretended Northern inscription there, 175.
- Poughkeepsie, in American Revolution,** 106.
- Presbyterian Church in America, before the Revolutionary War,** 249.
- Princeton, N. J.** Presbyterian Church in, 252.
- Prince William Henry.** Attempt to seize him in New York, 131.
- Privately-printed books in America,** 138, 270.
- Proclamation concerning value of coin in America,** 116.
- Prophecies concerning America,** 140.
- Providence, R. I.** Early history of, 143.
- Prudden. Rev. Thomas,** 152.
- Public School System Condemned,** 91.
- Pulteney, Sir William.** His purchase in Western New York, 371.
- Puritans (The)** defended, 58.
- Quebec.** The siege of, 106.
- Queries,** 57, 144, 210, 276, 336, 399.
- Quipi, (The)** 397.
- Railroad.** The first, for passengers, in the United States, 54.
- Ramsor's Mill.** Battle of, 208.
- Rapidan Campaign of 1864.** Meade's Report of, 161.
- Reams's Station.** Battle of, 168.
- Red Jacket,** 373, 374, 381.
- Reed. (Colonel Joseph.) and Mr. Bancroft,** 45.
- Replies,** 58, 143, 210, 277, 337.
- Reports of the Military operations of the War.** See Official Reports.
- Revolutionary War.** First blood in, 1; New York, in, 3, 106; Burgoyne's Campaign, 38; Newport, in, 57; Poughkeepsie, in, 106.
- Rhode Island and Massachusetts.** Boundary dispute, 273.
- Rifle.** Deckard, 191; the first breech-loader, 190.
- Ritual of Slave Marriages in Massachusetts,** 137.
- Rowan-county, N. C.,** in 1774, 118.
- Rowley, Mass.,** 274.
- Ruggles. Rev. Thomas.** His early history of Guilford, Conn., 225.
- Rivers in Arizona,** 53.
- Sabin. Joseph,** 96.
- Safety.** Committees of. Their jurisdiction, 121; warrant of, 260.
- Salem, Mass.** The First Church of, 66.
- Saratoga, in the olden times,** 273.
- Savage, Edward.** The portrait-painter, 29.
- Schools in New York City,** 153.
- Schuyler. Mrs. General.** Unpublished letter from, 106.
- Scott. General, in Mexico,** 210.
- (The) family,** 212.
- Scrap, 274.**
- Selections from Portfolios in various libraries,** 255, 317, 388.
- Seventh Presbyterian Church, New York,** 69.
- Shapnack, N. J. Presbyterian Church in,** 251.
- Shepard. Rev. Thomas.** An unpublished volume by him, 295.
- Sherman. (General.)** on the surrender of General Johnston, 333.
- Ship-building in New England, for the Royal Navy,** 335.
- Shirley's Impartial View,** 337.
- Slave-marriages in Massachusetts,** 135.
- Slavery in Massachusetts.** Letter on, 329; the Winchendon case, 216; Note on, 52; slave-marriages, in, 135.
- in South Carolina,** 209.
- Slave trade inaugurated by Boston,** 209; in Charleston, 209.
- Smith. General W. F.** His Report on the Battle of Cold Harbor, 241.
- South Carolina.** Railroads in, 54; Committee of Safety, 260.
- South-mountain.** Battle of, 292.
- Sovereignty, in the United States,** 94.
- Spanish People and Government.** Address to, 188.
- Spottsylvania. Battle of,** 163.
- St. Paul's Chapel, New York,** 70.
- Stone cutting-instruments found in Spain,** 275.
- Sullivan's Campaign,** 144.
- Snyderland, Vt.** Its first Minister, 53.
- Synod of 1637,** 35.
- Tally-sticks,** 209, 275, 335.
- Tappan. Mrs. Doctor.** Unpublished letters from, 106, 108.
- Tea-tax. (The) in North Carolina,** 118.
- "Tea down the damning lie." The author of,** 57.
- Telegraphs in America.** History of, 179, 262, 329, 337.
- Thomson, Charles,** on Freemasonry, 356.
- "Ticonderoga, Who took,"** 126.
- Its capture,** 147, 346.
- Tivoli, Duchess-county, N. Y.,** 399.
- Treaty with France,** 1775, 204.
- Trenton, N. J.** Presbyterian Church there, 248.
- Tribune (The) and Joseph Reed,** 45.
- Tatill family in America,** 61.
- Tyng. The case of Rev. S. H., Junr.,** 80.
- Varick, Captain Richard,** 105, 203, 204; Jane, 107, 110; Sarah, 109.
- Vaughn, John.** Recommendation of, 390.
- Vaughn papers. (The) Selections from,** 359.
- Vermont.** Early history of, 345.
- Verplanck family.** The first four generations of, 276.
- Verrazzano,** 28.
- Virginia, as a penal Colony,** 296; observations on military operations in, 309.
- Vredenburg, Miss Jane,** 105, 106.
- Walworth, John,** 59.
- War. Horrors of,** 207.
- of 1812,** 207.
- Ward. (The) family,** 129.
- Warren, Doctor,** 207.
- Washington. (George) and the Irish Republicans,** 201; Campbell's portrait of, 270; letters by, 141, 397; the first of the name in Ireland, 397; a Field Marshall, 58; his birth-day first celebrated, 134; surveyor's warrant, 197.
- Washington. (The) family,** by Savage, 29, 30.
- Watson, John F.** Unpublished note by, 256.
- Wayne, General Anthony.** Unpublished letter by, 257.
- Weldon Railroad.** Battle of, 168.
- Wentworth, Governor John.** Unpublished letter from, 388.
- Western New York.** Memorial of its settlement, 265.
- Westminster, Vermont.** Battle at, 1.
- Mass., Church at,** 343.
- Wheelock, Rev. Samuel.** His Diary, 1741, 237.
- Whitehall, N. Y.,** History of, 277.
- Whiting, Rev. Samuel.** His Oration, 1649, 44.
- Wilderness.** Battles of, 162.
- Wiley, Captain John.** Unpublished letter from, 199.
- Wilkinson. Jemima,** 376.
- William Henry. (Prince) in New York,** in 1732, 130.
- Williams, Rev. John.** Unpublished letter from, 317.
- , Roger,** 143.
- Willis (William) and the Popham colony,** 338.
- Winchendon Slave Case,** 216, 319.
- Winchester.** Battle of, 98.
- Women of the Revolution,** 105, 120.
- of North Carolina,** 120.
- Woodhull, General.** His death, 152.
- Woodhalls,** 297.
- Work and Materials for American History,** 35.
- Worship. The First Christian, in New England,** 112.
- Wright, Benjamin.** His services in constructing the Erie Canal, 323.
- Yale College.** Subscription for the Divinity Professorship in, 318.
- Yonkers,** 67.















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